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THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR
Volume 4

William Palmer

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THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR.

VOL. IV.

SERVICES OF THE PATRIARCH NICON

TO THE

CHURCH AND STATE OF HIS COUNTRY,

AND THEIR REQUITAL

BY THE

CREATION OF A MERELY NATIONAL OR STATE CHURCH IN RUSSIA;

With some Account

OF

THOSE PUNISHMENTS, PERSONAL AND PUBLIC, WHICH WERE FORETOLD BY NICON, AND WHICH HAVE ACTUALLY ENSUED.

By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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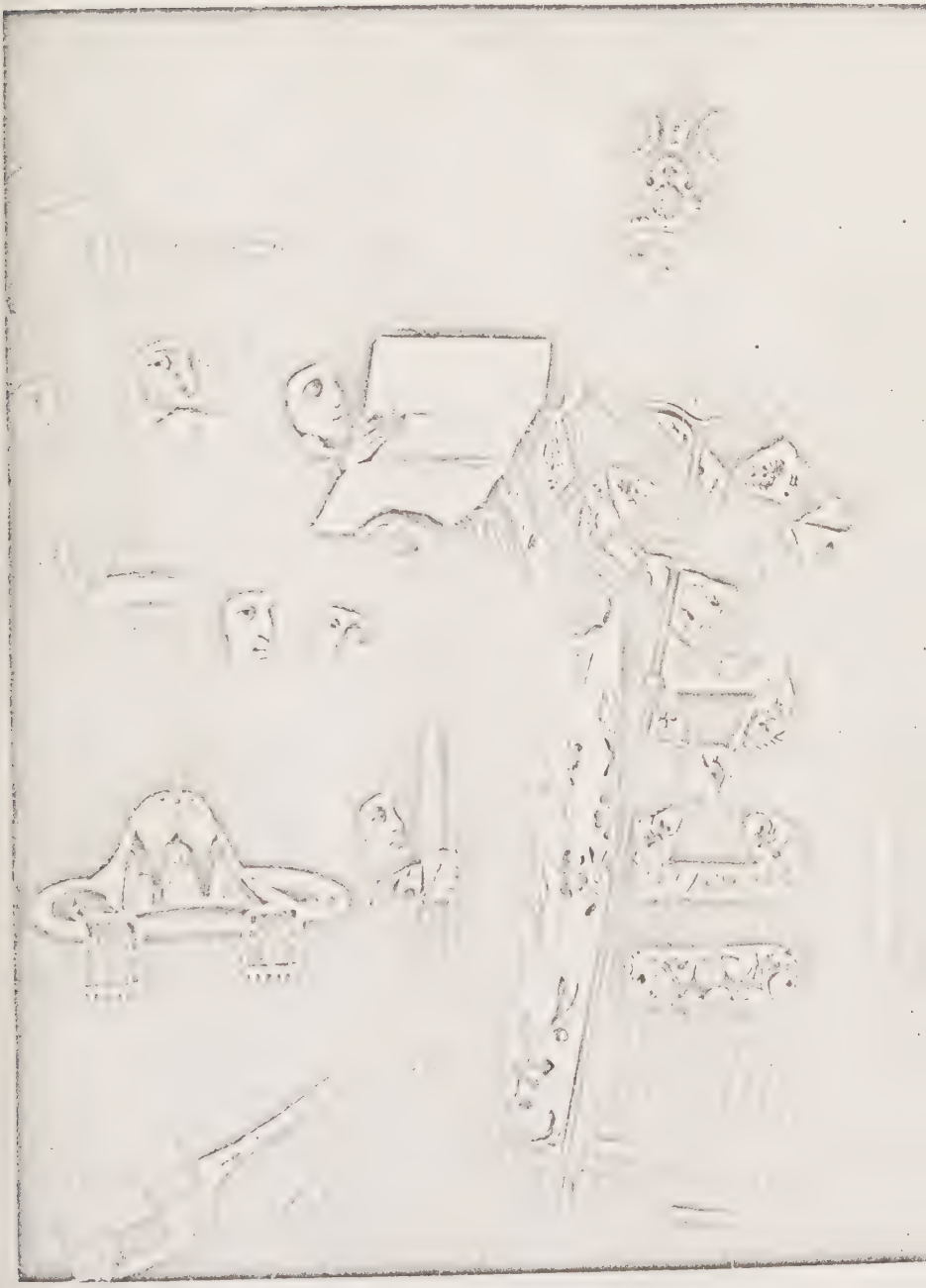

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THE PATRIARCH NICON,

WITH MONKS OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY PAINTING IN THE CHURCH AT VOSKRESENSK.

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THAT day shall not come except there come first

The Apostasy:

And then shall be revealed the *Man of Sin*, the Son of Perdition, who opposes himself, and exalts himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the Church of God, showing himself that he is God (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4).

'And he shall sit,' the Apostle says, 'in the Church of God:'

That is: Secular powers, in contravention of the divine commandments, shall begin to lord it over the Church of God.

And he shall command men to worship him: not outwardly or sensibly, but in the same way in which now

the Bishops,

abdicating their own sacerdotal dignity and honour, worship kings and princes as their lords and masters, and petition them in all matters, And seek from them honour.

Whom the Prince of the Apostles Peter curses (2 Peter ii. 14-17).

Replies of Nicon, p. 193-195.

THE PATRIARCH AGAINST THE TSAR,

THE CHURCH AGAINST THE WORLD;

SMYRNA AND PHILADELPHIA AGAINST PERGAMUS AND LAODICEA,

PATIENCE AND CHARITY AGAINST VIOLENCE AND INIQUITY;

THE RESURRECTION (VOSKRESENSK)

AND THE NEW JERUSALEM (NOVI IERUSALIM)

AGAINST BABYLON AND ANTICHRIST.

PREFACE TO VOLS. IV. V. VI.

In volumes ii. and iii. we have treated the affair of Nicon as a controversy respecting the relative limits of the spiritual and the civil powers, raised between the only monarch professing 'Orthodoxy' and one of the five patriarchs of the 'Orthodox Catholic *Eastern* Church,' and decided by a plenary Council of that Church in favour of the civil power.

In the volumes (iv., v., and vi.) now published the same affair is treated from a narrower point of view, as an internal *national* controversy, which has given occasion to the creation in Russia of a merely national Church, under the supremacy of the State.

Such institutions as are now called National Churches, or State Churches, are manifestly only accidental and temporary corruptions of Christianity. A nation must have already received Christianity from the Apostolic source before it can separate itself, and pretend to be self-sufficient; and a ruler must have been the disciple of some Apostle or successor of Apostles before he can pretend himself to supplant the Apostolic authority; unless, indeed, like Mahomet, he pretends to be a prophet as well as legislator, and founds and propagates a new religion of his own.

In the history of Christianity the spirit of nationalism appears as a source of error and division earlier than State-supremacy. The *national* prejudices and passions of the Jews led them to reject and to persecute Christi-

anity; and even the first Christians of Hebrew origin were many of them so infected by the same prejudices that they produced the sect and heresy of the Ebionites. After the emperors of the Roman world had become the disciples of the Apostolic episcopate, the subordinate nationalities of their Eastern subjects in Mesopotamia, Armenia, Syria, and Egypt (and through Egypt that also of Abyssinia) adopted, in spite of the emperors, different shades of the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies, and so formed the separate Chaldæan, Armenian, Maronite, Syrian-Jacobite, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches; while those of the inhabitants of the cities of the same countries who were of Græco-Roman origin held mostly to the Orthodox Catholic creed of the Roman empire, and were thence named by the lesser heretical nationalities 'Melchites,' that is, followers of the emperor.

In the formation of the Greek schism (from the middle of the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century) there were mixed influences, among which the undue power of the Byzantine emperors, no doubt, was the chief: but there was also the discrepancy of the Greek language and rite and nationality from the Latin; and certain innovations made uncanonically in the West were used as pretexts by the emperors of C.P. and their patriarchs when it suited their purpose to make or to renew the schism.

The Eastern Churches, when thus separated from the Papal communion, at different times between A.D. 858 and A.D. 1054, formed a *schismatical* communion, but not, strictly speaking, either a *National* or a *State* Church: not a National Church, because the Bulgarians, Servians, Moravians, Russians, and other Slavonians, converted within this interval from Constantinople, were by no means of one and the same nationality with the Byzan-

tine Greeks, or, as they called themselves, Romans; nor a State Church, because not only were all these Slavonian nationalities generally independent of the Byzantine emperors, but even of the Christians of what we may call the Greek nationality some, as those of Sicily and Southern Italy, and the whole patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, had been dismembered from the Græco-Roman empire.

The Byzantine hierarchy of the four Eastern patriarchates was no doubt an organisation of imperial origin, portending from the first the development of a claim of State-supremacy in the affairs of the Church. The city of Constantinople itself was a creation of the emperors; and the only title of its bishops to be raised above those of Heraclea, and even above the Apostolic sees of Alexandria and Antioch, was this, that Constantinople was the civil capital, and New Rome; a new Rome not of the Apostles Peter and Paul and of their local successors on the spot of their martyrdom and burial, but a new Rome of the Christian emperors only.

Nevertheless, the traditions of the old Apostolic Catholicism were not at once dishonoured or infringed by the Byzantine emperors, still less by all their clergy: and when missionary bishops from Constantinople came to be metropolitans or bishops of sees outside of the Byzantine empire, this very fact threw the inherent defect of the Byzantine Church into the background, and the Apostolic character of the missionary alone remained, both in their own consciences, and in the eyes of their disciples and flocks.

Thus the Slavonians generally received the faith without any idea of a preponderating or supreme authority attaching to emperors or princes. Nor was it easy for such an idea to grow up among them so long as not only their own minor nationalities were divided, but

even in one and the same nationality—as in the Russian—there continued to be a number of separate and independent sovereignties or principalities. It is true that they received the Creed imperfectly translated, in one important clause, by the substitution of the Slavonic word *sobórnomyou*, which means only *collective*, for the Greek word *καθολικὴν*, Catholic, which means also œcumenical, or *territorially-universal*. But this was an accidental and unintentional defect, partially remedied by the conjoint use, though not in the Creed, of the original Greek word *καθολικὴ*, and of a Slavonian word, '*vselenskaia*,' an exact equivalent to the Greek 'œcumenical' or 'throughout all the world,' which expresses that part of the sense of the word *καθολικὴ*, Catholic, which the word sobornomyou, used in the Creed, omits. They had also the disadvantage of having received their rite and their hierarchy from Constantinople without any distinct tradition that the unity of the œcumenical Church was essentially connected with the see of Old Rome, or any actual direct connection of their own Church with that see: so that during two centuries they passed repeatedly, without a thought, from union to schism, and from schism to union, and again back to schism, following tacitly and as it were unconsciously their mother Church of Constantinople, without knowing what vast issues lay under her vacillations. Naturally, as they were repeatedly through Constantinople in union with Rome, they could have no definite idea of deliberate schism during this time, nor any idea of the catholic or œcumenical unity of the one true orthodox Church having shrunk into the East. Still there came in among them in those two centuries, through particular Greek metropolitans and bishops, documents, of no true synodical authority, full of schismatical malice and calumny against the Latins or Latin Franks and Germans. And these

documents were not suppressed and destroyed at those times at which the Empire and See of Constantinople restored communion with Rome. So their influence—through mere ignorance—grew and accumulated. And when at length the schism was fixed by Cerularius in A.D. 1054, and intensified in A.D. 1202 through all the violences which had been committed by the Crusaders, the idea of universality was necessarily limited by the addition of the epithet *Eastern*, without which the titles *Orthodox* and *Catholic*, or *Œcumenical*, would not of themselves sufficiently exclude the Latins of the West. This word, then, or title, '*Eastern*,' became the weak point of the now practically but not canonically (for schism could not be canonical) schismatical communion, connected by territory, language, and rite, or at least by spiritual derivation, with the Eastern half of the old Christianised Roman empire.

This weakness the Russians, in common with the other Slavonian Churches, had at least from A.D. 1054; but the idea of a national religion, or of the civil ruler being supreme in ecclesiastical matters, they as yet had not.

That Russian Orthodox nationality which now exists, and with which we have to do, is something wider, territorially, than the merely Muscovite Orthodox nationality with which the tsar Alexis, in the seventeenth century, first connected the new principle of State-supremacy in matters of religion. And now that all historical Russia, except Gallicia, is reunited under one concentrated civil government, and that the Church too of Western Russia, and that of the separate language and nationality of Georgia, has been absorbed into the Muscovite State Church, it is instructive to trace the different fortunes of the Greek rite in Western and in Eastern Russia, according as it has been subjected to sovereigns of another creed or to sovereigns of its own.

In the thirteenth century Western and Eastern Russia alike were subdivided into a number of sovereignties called *principalities*, and even into a number of grand principalities, the lesser princes under each of which were still true sovereigns: but the hierarchy for all these was one. There was originally only one metropolitan, who sat at Kieff, and took the title of Metropolitan of Kieff and all Russia. But after Kieff had been sacked and ruined by the Tatars, this metropolitan removed his residence to Vladimir on the Kliasma in Eastern Russia, and only occasionally visited Kieff (where he kept a vicar-bishop) and the other Western dioceses.

When the Tatars (who had sacked and ruined Kieff in A.D. 1237) abandoned Western Russia, still retaining their dominion over all that was east of the Dnieper, the predominance or hegemony among the princes of Western Russia seemed at first likely to be acquired by the princes of Galich in the South. Daniel prince of Galich, in order to strengthen himself, accepted the title and insignia of royalty from Pope Innocent IV., who granted to him the use of the Eastern rite. But Daniel also sent a Russian ecclesiastic, Cyril III., to Nice, to be consecrated there (A.D. 1250) Metropolitan of Kieff and all Russia by the Greek patriarch. And the kingdom of Galich did not last.

Another power arose more in the North, at Vilna, in the small principality of Litva, the ruler of which, Hedimine, had already in A.D. 1328 made himself master of Kieff. The princes of the family of Hedimine, not themselves *Russians* (for the Letts, though akin to the Slavonians, were a separate race, and had a language of their own), were several of them baptised according to the Greek rite; and they had connected themselves by marriages with the princes of Western Russia, while the

majority of their own people and tribe were still heathens. The princes of Litva acquired a suzerainty over the Russian princes west of the Dnieper, and that whole agglomeration of Russian principalities was afterwards called, because subject to the princes of Litva, the grand principality (or, as the Westerns prefer to call it, the Grand *Duchy*[1]) of Lithuania, just as originally there had been one grand principality of all Russia, subdivided into inferior principalities.

Had no external influence intervened, the heathens of Litva would probably have followed their princes in embracing the Christianity of the Greek rite; and in proportion as the lesser principalities were reduced or absorbed by the grand prince of Vilna, there would have been formed an empire of the Greek rite and of Russian nationality and language, divided only by a slight difference of dialect (for the Lettish of Litva proper would have disappeared), and by being under a separate prince, from the principalities and grand principalities east of the Dnieper, which were all finally to be merged in that of Moscow. And in this case, even if there had been made two metropolitan provinces instead of one, one for Vladimir and Eastern and another for Kieff and Western Russia, the hierarchy, whether under one metropolitan or under two, would have remained all united, and in the same connection as before with the chair of Constantinople; and the two kindred empires would probably have been closely connected by intermarriages, so as eventually to coalesce by inheritance into one.

But instead of this, on the extinction of the Piast dynasty, the grand princes of Litva were invited to

[1] Inconsistently, because they ordinarily translate the title '*kniaz*' by *prince*, but only sovereign kniazes they call dukes; and grand kniazes, chiefs among sovereigns, who so are more like emperors, they call *grand dukes*.

become kings of the Roman-Catholic Latin kingdom of Poland, one of the ten kingdoms of the Holy Roman empire of the West as renewed in Charlemagne, and later in the kings of Germany, Otho and his successors. As a condition, they were to embrace the Latin creed and rite; which they did[2] (A.D. 1386); and perhaps were even rebaptised: for the Germans, and others who were in contact with them, with or without reason, retaliated upon the followers of the Greek rite. As a consequence, those of the inhabitants of Vilna and of Litva proper who were still heathens were baptised by Polish priests of the Latin rite. At the same time as the grand principality of Lithuania, in the wider sense afterwards given to the name Lithuania, was peopled by Christians of the Graeco-Slavonian rite, who depended on the see of Constantinople, it was stipulated by the princes and nobles of this rite, in behalf of the grand principality, that the grand princes on becoming kings of Poland should still hold separately the sovereignty of Lithuania, and should guarantee to their subjects of Western Russia the free exercise of their religion, and equal civil privileges in all respects with Latin Christians of Litva proper or of Poland, who might be mixed with them in the grand principality. And this was promised and sworn to by the grand princes.

But if we consider the two religious communions—the Roman-Catholic, or Latin, and the Orthodox-Catholic Eastern, or Greek—each in its mixed human aspect, irrespectively of other properties and accidents, and compare them to two beasts fighting with one another, then it must be confessed by all observers of history that the Latin beast has been the stronger and the fiercer[3] of

[2] The grand prince of Lithuania Yagello then marrying Hedviga, daughter of Louis king of Hungary, who, after the death of his uncle Casimir in A.D. 1370, had become also king of Poland.

[3] 'The words of the men of Judah were *fiercer* than those of the men of Israel.'

the two. Wherever Christians of the Greek rite have been subjugated by any Roman-Catholic power, or have passed without violence under Roman-Catholic rulers, they have yielded either entirely or partially—sometimes it may be hypocritically—to the overbearing zeal or violence or policy of their Latin masters; whereas, on the other hand, a Latin nationality, falling by conquest or otherwise under Greek or heretical rulers, has not been equally submissive; as, for instance, the Celtic race (though physically inferior to the Saxon and Anglo-Norman) in Ireland, and the Poles in Poland proper: though it is true that the Poles have never been subjected by Russia to direct persecution *merely on account of their religion*, such as the Irish Celts were subjected to for two centuries and a half by their English rulers.

After the union of the grand principality of Lithuania with the crown of Poland, the fact which first meets us—a matter of course—is this, that the grand princes, after becoming Latins, did not keep very strictly either to the letter or the spirit of their engagements to their subjects of the Greek rite; and through their influence, together with various other mixed causes, Latinism made proselytes among the nobles and proprietors of Lithuania, while the Greek schism was powerless to make proselytes among the Latins of Poland. At the same time, the attempts of the Poles to *incorporate* or annex the grand principality did not for a long time (not till A.D. 1569) take effect: if they had, the history of the Greek rite would have soon come to an end. Next, as might have been expected, we see the Latin grand princes of Lithuania and kings of Poland showing jealousy, not of the indirect dependence of their Russian subjects on the patriarch of Constantinople, but of their direct dependence on a metropolitan who resided in Eastern Russia, at Vladimir or Moscow, and so

was politically subject to another grand prince, to whom the followers of the Greek rite of the Western principality would naturally more and more look for protection the more their religious rights and liberties were infringed upon by their own Latin grand prince or his Polish councillors. At length the grand prince of Lithuania, Vitold, ordered the bishops of the Greek rite subject to him to elect a *separate metropolitan;* and they, *after in vain objecting* that the act would be uncanonical and schismatical, *obeyed* (A.D. 1414 and 1416). He then sent his own metropolitan, thus elected, to Constantinople for confirmation. The patriarch (who had already consecrated a Greek named Photius to succeed the metropolitan Cyprian for Kieff and all Russia, East and West) refused;[4] but the grand prince persisted all the same; and after that he ordered his new metropolitan to go to the Council of Constance. Gregory Simblak—that was his name—obeyed, so far as to go; but when he and his brethren were there, they openly avowed that they had no intention of being persuaded to union. In the mean time what had been done produced, as its natural consequence, a synodical act of deposition and anathema from the metropolitan residing at Vladimir, and from all the bishops of Eastern Russia, against the schismatically-consecrated metropolitan Gregory Simblak and his adherents; that is, against the whole episcopate of Western Russia; since the canons, no doubt, decree deposition against such as are consecrated to the chair of a living bishop, and to such as are consecrated or obtain any church by the power of civil rulers, and against all who communicate

[4] The patriarchs, however, before that had sent two metropolitans at the same time to Russia. Thus on the death of Theognost, the second metropolitan who sat at Moscow, though the patriarch confirmed Alexis, a native Russian, who went as metropolitan elect in A.D. 1353 to Constantinople, he sent also soon afterwards another, named Germanus, who was not received in Eastern Russia, but was metropolitan in Western Russia, under the grand prince of Lithuania.

with them: and in this case the new separate metropolitan for Western Russia was not only made by the civil ruler alone, but by a ruler not even belonging to the Greek or Eastern communion. However, before long, the patriarchal chair of Constantinople, from whatever motives, consented to the act already done by the Roman-Catholic grand prince of Lithuania and king of Poland, and legitimatised it; or, it may be said, he divided by his own act and authority for the future the metropolitan see of all Russia into two—one for Kieff and all (Western) Russia, the other for Moscow and all (Eastern, or Great) Russia.

So things went on till the time of the Council of Florence, when, with a policy more cunning than attractive, a Slavonian-Greek, Isidore, was selected and sent from Constantinople to be metropolitan of Moscow, though this was contrary to the existing custom, and a native Russian, chosen according to custom, was already on his way to Constantinople to seek the confirmation of his election, and consecration. The consequences were such as might have been foreseen: Isidore was indeed *received*, but he was suspected from the first: and the Greeks of Constantinople were themselves suspected, as seeking for their political necessities to make a bargain with the Latins. So when Isidore announced his intention or desire to attend the Council of Florence, he was warned beforehand against all innovation; and native Russian ecclesiastics were sent with him, with orders to watch him closely. He had no sooner reached the frontier than it became evident that he inclined to the Latins, and that the Latins already knew that they might count upon him. All the same he was really metropolitan of Moscow and all Muscovy; and when upon his return to Moscow he would have caused the acts of the Council of Florence to be read in the cathe-

dral, it was the secular ruler, the grand prince Basil Basilievich, the Blind, not any bishops or ecclesiastics, who rose up in opposition to him. The grand prince forbade the Act of Union to be read, and imprisoned Isidore (A.D. 1440) in the Choudoff, whence soon afterwards he escaped: and at Kieff, under a Roman-Catholic sovereign, he had better success; for he was not only received there, but he consecrated to that see a disciple of his own named Gregory, who for a time seemed likely to succeed in establishing the Union. But when the Turks (A.D. 1453) had taken Constantinople, and had restored the patriarchal chair (as it was naturally their interest to restore it) to the party adverse to union, the Russians of Western Russia, in spite of their Roman-Catholic sovereign, with their clergy, reverted to their old connection with Constantinople.

A century or more later the hopeless and ever-increasing anarchy which had spread from Poland to the grand principality of Lithuania, in consequence of its union with Poland, combined with some other circumstances—there being no hope either at that time of help from Muscovy—caused the whole episcopate of the Greek rite in Western Russia to come to an understanding with the grand prince and king, so that they should mutually support one another against the nobles, the king also having at that time great need of any separate adherents he could obtain: and the bishops agreed, at the instance of the king, to seek union with Rome on the terms of the Council of Florence. This was done by the synod of Brest Litovski in A.D. 1596: and for above twenty years there were no schismatical bishops in Western Russia.

But though the bishops might assume that they had a right to the adherence of their flocks, there was this weakness in the Union made by them, that it was not

made by persuasion and consent, with the concurrence of the people, nor seemingly from any true spiritual conversion, but by the heads only of the hierarchy, who were also of the class of the schliakti or nobility, without the people, and for mixed motives and interests. And when it was made, the attempts of the civil power —which followed naturally—to force the flocks to submit to the now-united bishops, and those of the bishops themselves to take away, by the help of the civil power, the churches and church property from the schismatics, were most irritating and offensive for a population which thus found itself suddenly deserted, and even oppressed and persecuted, by men who only a little before had been its pastors.

But notwithstanding these and other unfavourable circumstances—there being no bishops to head the popular party, and the power of the crown being used freely in support of the Union—a large part of the population following the Greek rite was persuaded or forced to accept it.

About twenty years later the defection of the bishops was remedied, and a new hierarchy was ordained for those who still adhered to the Orthodoxy of Constantinople by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanes, who came to Muscovy and to Little Russia with a commission to act for the patriarch of Constantinople. This same patriarch Theophanes consecrated (24th June A.D. 1619) at Moscow Philaret Nikitich, the father of the tsar Michael, to be 'Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia,' and (in A.D. 1620) he consecrated a metropolitan of Kieff and suffragan bishops of that province, to be subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. So making a beginning from this common point in their history, we may compare the different fortunes and courses of the two Churches of Western and Eastern Russia till they are

both blended together in one and the same State Church of the present Russian nationality.

In the West the new Byzantine hierarchy and its adherents found themselves not only in the same unfavourable position as before, of representing under a sovereign of another creed a subordinate nationality, unequally yoked to the predominating nationality of Poland, but—still worse—in that of representing now *only a part* of their own subordinate nationality, since it had been divided by the Unia, intermixed with the Uniats of their own rite, who had the support of the crown, and oppressed by them as well as by the Latin Polish lords: for very many of the nobles and great proprietors in the grand principality of Lithuania had before that time been Polonised.

They found themselves also at a disadvantage as compared with the Uniats in respect of learning and education. The Uniats had already profited by their union and contact with the Latins: the Catholic schools and seminaries of the Latin Poles and of Italy were open to them; and soon there were founded among them schools and seminaries of their own, in which young men were prepared for the priesthood by able teachers, and especially by the Jesuit fathers, while others were sent to study at Rome in the college of St. Athanasius, founded expressly for students of the United-Greek rite.

Hence the non-united began to imitate, for purposes of defence and rivalry, the Uniats and the Poles, and to borrow from them. And as the Greeks, after the capture of Constantinople, had been used to send their young students into Italy, to obtain there that instruction which they could not provide among themselves—and such students often hypocritically conformed to the Roman-Catholic Communion—so now many of the non-united Russians of the Greek rite in Little Russia and

in White Russia began to feign themselves Uniats for purposes of study. And not only so, but from the Uniat they went also to the Polish-Latin and to other Latin schools, to Germany, to France, to Italy, and even to Rome itself, dissembling, too often, their true opinions and intentions. And though they formed before long confraternities and schools at Kieff and elsewhere, and an Academy of their own, imitated from those of the Uniats and the Latins, still in learning, as in force, not only the Latin, but now also the Uniat beast was *stronger* than the schismatic, the Greek, or non-united beast. And this superiority showed itself in many ways. Not only did the more talented students aspire to add to the first instruction received in their own schools the benefit of a fuller and more complete course, to be obtained only from more learned teachers in the Uniat and Polish or Italian and Roman schools, but on points on which the schism had not turned historically, the inferior, less civilised, and less learned communion often followed and imitated their superiors, the Uniats and the Latins. At an earlier period the Greeks themselves, from studying in Italy, had brought back and popularised in the Levant various details of Latin scholasticism entirely unknown to their Eastern ancestors. For instance, the technical language and definition of 'the Seven Sacraments' or Mysteries, with attempts to imitate the Latin way of defining them each by 'matter' and 'form;' and the word 'Transubstantiation,' with the distinction of 'substance' and 'accidents;' while, on the other hand, the very harmless word 'Purgatory' was rejected and written against, and even called heretical, because it was Latin, unknown to the early Greek fathers, and because it had in time past been made one of the secondary pretexts for schism. In just the same way, later, the non-united inhabitants of Little Russia who had studied in Uniat

and Latin schools, and who were in daily contact with the Uniats, adopted from them various details of Latinism, and even printed these details in their own church-books, sometimes in cases where there was no good reason for modifying or setting aside their own original Eastern tradition and custom. This was certainly a remarkable homage paid by weakness and ignorance to strength; that, in spite of intense religious antipathy, in spite of a general attachment to the Greek rite and a general hatred of the Latin, and an attachment to ritual details rather than to doctrine, they still yielded to the Uniats on particular points on which the Uniats had needlessly and ignorantly (but more naturally) yielded to their Latin teachers.

But while thus in matters of learning and education borrowing from Latin sources, they were exasperated by the oppression of the Latin Poles and the Uniats, and conflicts arose which sometimes even ended in bloodshed. At Polotsk there were two ecclesiastical champions, one heading the Uniats, the other the non-united party, Josaphat Kuntsevich and Meletius Smotritsky (the latter is celebrated also for having been the father of Russian grammar and philology). Nothing could be more irritating and provoking than the way in which Josaphat, with the support of the civil power, took from the non-united their churches, and imprisoned priests who refused his jurisdiction. A cry arose, which alarmed the chancellor Sapieha, that it would be better for the Orthodox to become subjects of the Turks than to remain under the Polish tyranny. The proceedings of Josaphat caused at Vitepsk a popular outbreak, in which one of the insurgents with an axe cleft his skull (A.D. 1619). Some Latin writers have asserted that Meletius Smotritsky had not only excited and encouraged his own party, but that he was present in the

midst of that mob by which the murder was committed, and that he even himself raised his hand against the Uniat archbishop. But of that there is no proof. What is true is this, that, horror-struck at such a result of his own zeal, he suddenly disappeared from the scene of controversy and conflict; and, after three years spent in the Levant (where no doubt he studied religious phenomena, and meditated on the origin of that schism which led to such horrible results), he returned to his own country, and sought reconciliation in a Uniat monastery. And then, to make amends for his former violence, he wrote against the schism, and in favour of Catholic unity. And so, declining to be in any way promoted or brought forward, he ended his days in retirement and penitence. His conversion was not unlike that of St. Paul. For as St. Stephen's prayer and martyrdom obtained the conversion of Saul, who had been such a fiery zealot for Judaism, so Josaphat, who, however provoking he might be, was certainly ready to shed his own blood for that cause for which he persecuted others, obtained by his martyrdom at once the sudden change, and ultimately the conversion, of Meletius, the most able and zealous champion of his opponents, and as it were the leader of his murderers.

But let us now turn to Eastern or Great Russia, named at that time from its capital Muscovy.

When the metropolitan of Kieff and all Russia, Cyril III., after being consecrated at Nice in A.D. 1250, chose for his residence Vladimir on the Kliasma, and afterwards, when the metropolitan Peter, in A.D. 1327, at the request of John I. Danilovich, removed from Vladimir to Moscow, they no doubt had full power to take about with them their own pastoral staff; and no Russian prince or grand prince would have thought of disputing that power. Nor at that time was it a *civil crime* for a metro-

politan or bishop or other clerk to go about freely without asking permission of the prince; especially if he did not go to any foreign country, nor even out of his own diocese.

But in the time of Nicon (in A.D. 1658 and 1664) it *was* a *crime* for the primate to go from Moscow even to a monastery in the same diocese without permission of the tsar; and after he had so gone away, it was a crime for him to return without special leave. And when he had taken away with him the pastoral staff of his predecessor St. Peter, as if to show that the tsar had no claim to the spiritual power symbolised by it, the tsar and the Council of State sent after him to Chernevo, and there all but literally wrested it out of his hands. And when he had offered to give as alms to the hireling patriarchs who had condemned him the klobouk embroidered with pearls and the pectoral which he wore upon his person, and they, as if stung by his reproof, had given them back to him, the tsar and all the council were much disturbed that the patriarchs had treated those things as Nicon's own, to wear, or even to give away in alms, as he pleased; and they rested not till they had reclaimed them.

Let us trace the origin and progress of this great change.

If we look back to the beginning of Christianity in Russia, we see at first, during two centuries and a half (A.D. 988-1250), an hierarchy, consisting of a single metropolitan with his bishops, subject canonically to the patriarch of Constantinople, but, owing to local circumstances, much more independent of the Russian princes than their superior the patriarch was of the Byzantine emperor. Of twenty-three metropolitans who sat during that time, eighteen were Greeks, and only five native Russians. During that time we see the primate and the bishops in the attitude first of missionaries, then of pastors and teachers, instructing, rebuking, and reconcil-

ing the Russian princes, who, on the other hand, reverence them and seek from them enlightenment and support. Somewhat later (A.D. 1327) the prince of Moscow requests the metropolitan Peter, a Volhynian by birth, to transfer his residence from Vladimir to the rising city of Moscow; and this primate and his successors, besides mediating between their Christian flocks and the Tatars, greatly assist the grand princes of Moscow to obtain a suzerainty over the other grand princes and princes still existing in Eastern Russia. In fact, one may say that it was mainly through them that all Eastern Russia was gradually united into one empire, and the power concentrated in a single autocratic ruler.

In pursuing or seconding this policy the primates were clearly influenced by good and patriotic motives, whatever may have been the motives of the princes of Moscow.

From A.D. 1250 to 1452, that is, to the election of the metropolitan Jonah (the last who held together as one ecclesiastical province both Western and Eastern Russia), of eight metropolitans, only two, Theognost (the successor of the metropolitan Peter, and the second who resided at Moscow, A.D. 1328-1353) and Photius (who sat from A.D. 1410 to 1432) were Greeks. So the hierarchy had become more national, and its dependence on Constantinople less sensible. In earlier times the form of election prescribed by the canons, and partly followed by custom, appears to have been this, that the Russian bishops should send three names to the patriarch of Constantinople, and that the patriarch should choose one; but more commonly the patriarch nominated directly, or confirmed and consecrated some native Russian sent to him as elected. But after A.D. 1328 it became the ordinary practice for the Russian bishops to elect their own primate, though he was still confirmed by the patriarch of Constantinople.

In the *Acts of the Archæological Commission*, vol. i. No. 6, there is a letter of the grand prince Basil Basilievich to the patriarch of Constantinople, Metrophanes (A.D. 1448), asking him to consider the canons, and present needs, and, '*together with the Emperor*, and with all the sacred synod, &c., to send a letter authorising the Russians to elect *and ordain* their own metropolitan, since in time past also, in cases of necessity, a metropolitan has been made in Russia.' To this application seemingly there was no answer, or not a favourable one. For there is a second letter, written *to the emperor* Constantine Paleologus in A.D. 1452, when Jonah, previously bishop of Riazan, had (five years after his election) been confirmed and instituted as metropolitan by a local synod. In this second letter the grand prince writes that, going upon *the canons*, they have done this, of pressing necessity, 'seeing that the canons do not forbid us, but rather bid us, so to do.' Jonah died (a little after the accession of John III. Basilievich) on the 31st March A.D. 1461, having previously, at the desire of the grand prince Basil Basilievich, deposited in the cathedral a letter blessing the archbishop of Rostoff,[5] Theodosius, to succeed him in the chair: and Theodosius did in fact succeed him: and thenceforth the metropolitans took the title only of 'Moscow and all Russia,' that is, of all *Great* Russia, or Russia east of the Dnieper. This was in consequence of the patriarchs of Constantinople having now yielded to the demand of the grand princes of Lithuania, that there should be separate metropolitans for Kieff and all Russia, that is, for all Russia west of the Dnieper.

Under the grand prince John III. Basilievich, the metropolitan of Moscow Philip I. (who succeeded Theo-

[5] Mouravieff writes, 'in consideration of the seniority of his see,' to which Vladimir on the Kliasma had originally belonged; and we must remember that at this time Great Novgorod was still independent of the grand prince of Moscow.

dosius in A.D. 1467, and who had before been bishop of Souzdal) was elected by the local synod. From these times we have the *Order of the appointment of a Metropolitan of all Russia*, according to which the synod of the bishops elected, but the grand prince gave[6] to the metropolitan after his consecration the staff, as a symbol of spiritual authority. This ceremony was performed with great pomp for the metropolitan Zosimus, who was appointed in A.D. 1491 by the grand prince alone, without the consent of a synod. Having married for his second wife[7] Sophia, daughter of Thomas Despot of the Morea, after the Turks had taken Constantinople, John III. considered himself to be the successor of the Paleologi; and he acted towards the metropolitans of Moscow as if he were now the sole emperor: they were elected ordinarily by the synod; but the grand prince gave them their investiture. The hierarchy, however, was not as yet enslaved. John III. did not venture, in spite of its opposition, to carry into effect a plan that he had conceived for the appropriation of Church property;[8] the metropolitan Zosimus, his own nominee, being accused of heresy, was tried and deposed by the synod of the bishops (A.D. 1496); and John was obliged to give up his own private secretary, Kouritsin, as guilty of the same heresy, to be burned alive at Moscow. This was brought about

[6] An act capable of a double sense: the orthodox sense, as given by Simeon of Thessalonica, may be found stated by P. Ligarides in vol. iii. p. 282.

[7] His first wife Mary, a princess of Tver, died in A.D. 1467. Basil IV., his son by Sophia (to make room for whom as his successor he disinherited his grandson Dmitri, and that too after having solemnly crowned him), was born in A.D. 1479, and became grand prince in A.D. 1505.

[8] Soon after the appointment of the metropolitan Simon to succeed Zosimus (in A.D. 1496), John manifested an intention of thus despoiling the monasteries in the government of Moscow as well as in Novgorod, where, after reducing that city, he had granted away part of their lands to dieti-boyarskie, and had taken part to himself. But the metropolitan laid before him the letters of St. Vladimir, Yaroslaff, &c., as well as the edicts of the Tatar khans, and John was prevailed upon to give up his intention (Mouravieff, *Hist. of the Russ. Church* p. 92).

by the zeal and perseverance of a monk, St. Joseph of Volokolamsk, and of Gennadius the archbishop of Novgorod (A.D. 1503 and 1505).

From about this time, or before its definitive division into two provinces, the metropolitan see of Russia took the first place among all the metropolitans in the list of the great church of Constantinople. At least in Part ii. of the Appendices to the *Acta Historica*, &c., No. 76, in an *Account of the origin of the Patriarchate in Russia* and *of the Order of the appointment of the patriarch Philaret*, it is written that 'the patriarchs judged it fit to prefer in episcopal honour the Russian metropolitan above all the metropolitans; and decreed that, when there should be an œcumenical council, he should have precedence, and sit above them all, next below the patriarch of Jerusalem.'

So from the reign of John the Third (A.D. 1462-1505) there begins a new phase (A.D. 1462-1589) for the Russian or Muscovite hierarchy. During this time the metropolitans of Moscow and all Russia (of whom, from Theodosius, the first of them, to Dionysius, the last, there were, in 127 years, fourteen) were *de facto*, but not *de jure*, independent of the chair of Constantinople.

In the mean time, while the grand princes of Moscow were gradually establishing a sort of Chinese absolutism, the very opposite to that anarchy which had prevailed when there were many sovereign princes in Russia, the spiritual power of the clergy became more and more concentrated in the primate. In consequence of the vast extent of the dioceses (eparchies), the canons requiring the bishops 'to meet frequently in synods, twice a year, or at the least once,' had never been observed in Russia; but it became the custom for the bishops to leave with the metropolitan each his written assent to all that the metropolitan might do with the advice of such bishops as were near him, provided only that it was not contrary

to the faith or to the canons. This of itself made the government of the Church in practice much more monarchical than it ought to have been; and it deprived both the metropolitan and the bishops subject to him of that mutual benefit[9] which they might have had from habitually conferring and acting together (and the bishops in like manner had too little union with their clergy). And in proportion as the secular absolutism of the grand prince grew and developed, the metropolitan, who lived in his capital and did every thing in concert with him, became more and more of a lord over the inferior bishops, something of the secular authority of the grand prince blending with his own spiritual primacy.

In this way, contrary to the letter and to the spirit of the canons, the metropolitan of Moscow and Great Russia became not only separated from his superior, the patriarch of Constantinople, and, as it were, autocephalous, but also, more or less, separated from his brethren the other bishops, and isolated by the undue preëminence to which he was raised by his close union with the grand prince. And those circumstances which seemed only to enhance and exaggerate his power, so long as he was in agreement with the grand prince, were eventually productive of envy in others and of weakness in himself, rendering his fall certain whenever there should come a change in his relations to the grand prince and to the secular government. And when, in A.D. 1589, from being simply metropolitan, the primate of Great Russia became patriarch of Moscow, with a titular hierarchy of three degrees—metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops—

[9] "If we be all united one with another, no one will make war on us; but if we be divided one from another, then, on the contrary, all will rise up against us. On this account the Christians of that time were confident, and went with boldness even into the market-places, and lived *in the midst of their enemies*, and *prevailed*. And that word was fulfilled which says: "Obtain the mastery (κατακυρίευε) even in the midst of thine enemies"" (St. J. Chrysostom's Comment on Acts v. 1-13, quoted by Nicon in his *Replies*, &c. p. 280).

under him, this pomp of new titles signified rather the close approach of danger than any real increase of honour or power. The new titles were as the garlands and trappings of a victim already destined to be sacrificed.

But it was not only the primate who was thus gradually weakened by undue exaltation and isolation from his brethren, but the bishops also, the clergy, and the whole Church; the rights of all the clergy, and the natural and just liberties of the Christian people, were endangered by the want of common counsel and action between the primate and the bishops, and by the delegation in too great a degree to the primate alone of the care and duty of representing and defending the rights and liberties of all, while he was exposed, without their support, to all the influences concentrated about the civil ruler.

In fact, not the grand princes only, but all the nobles began to envy the clergy the possession of those extensive properties and privileges which had so much increased during the time of the Tatar domination; and the nobles assisted the crown to exaggerate its autocratic power, in order that they too might abuse that power for their own covetousness and injustice, not only towards the poorer laity, but especially towards that order which claimed immunity from the civil jurisdiction, and which more or less checked their violent and oppressive government of the people. There grew up in Russia, as well as in the West of Europe, in the highest classes, and in the government itself, as such, a spirit, which Michaelofsky, in writing of the seventeenth century, calls 'the spirit of the age,' tending towards the secularisation of Church property, and the subjection of the spiritual authority to the State; that is, a tendency towards materialism and apostasy, though the outward forms of Russian life were still very religious.

If we go on to the seventeenth century, we see a sort

of dualism—the whole empire (as it is written in the *Travels of the patriarch Macarius of Antioch*) 'governed absolutely by only two men, the tsar and the patriarch.' If we examine more closely this dualism, taking it as it existed before A.D. 1652, we see in the customary modes of procedure a clear recognition of two distinct and separate authorities—the one spiritual, and the other secular. The tsar, no doubt, did nearly what he pleased in external matters, but he did it through the canonical primate. Whether it were to choose a new bishop or archimandrite, to create a new see or raise the titular rank of an old one, to found a monastery, to give pontifical ornaments to an archimandrite, or to levy contributions of men, money, corn, and service on the properties of the bishops and monasteries, the tsar conferred first with the primate, and the primate was generally ready to comply with the wishes of the tsar, and to do for him or bless him to do what was proposed. And the tsar, on the other hand, was not, generally speaking, likely to wish or propose anything so unusual, irregular, or oppressive as to provoke a refusal. Certainly there were occasions when the Muscovite grand princes or tsars forced the metropolitan to submit to some enormity,[10] and deposed and even murdered those who resisted them. But such acts were exceptional, and as soon as the moment had passed they were condemned as such both by public opinion and by the tsars themselves.

But at length some acts which had been at first only exceptional and abusive came to be more or less customary. The tsar nominated directly to spiritual dignities and offices, and even sanctioned a new Code of

[10] So the grand prince Basil IV. Ivanovich caused his wife Salmone to be forcibly tonsured for her barrenness, and married another, Helena Glinsky, by whom he had a son, John the Terrible, born 25th Aug. A.D. 1530. And so the metropolitan Joasaph was deposed by the Shouiskys during the minority of John IV., who afterwards did similar and worse acts of violence.

laws, by which not only was a part of the Church property appropriated by the State, but all the peasants and other people of the Church and the clergy themselves, with the single, and that not consistent exception of the patriarch, were placed for civil causes under the jurisdiction of the secular courts. The tsar laid imposts too directly on the clergy and their property. This was the state of things when the young tsar Alexis Michaelovich in A.D. 1652 insisted on making Nicon patriarch.

Nicon, after first refusing, demanded as a condition of his accepting the patriarchate a promise and vow from the tsar and his synclete, as in the presence of God, that they would obey him in spiritual matters, and suffer him to correct abuses, and to govern the Church according to the canons; and they gave him the promise he demanded. But this pledge, given in the enthusiasm of a moment, or in compliance with the will and feeling then actuating the tsar, was too weak a dam to head and turn back the settled tendency of the government and 'the spirit of the age.' The only thing which might have enabled Nicon to fight that great battle with a prospect of success would have been an episcopate at once virtuous and enlightened, closely united with their primate, and heartily supporting him. If he had had this support he would have been invincible. But his enlightenment shone in the midst of dark and narrow-minded ignorance, his virtue in the midst of corruption and injustice; his personal energy and power was surrounded by weakness and servility, his charity by envy and malice. His very merits, his great personal superiority, which so maddened the boyars, and which turned the heart of the tsar to jealousy of his friend and spiritual father, excited the envy and ill-will of the bishops also, and even of those of the bishops who might else have been most likely and most able to defend the rights of their own order. The habit of meeting and

conferring together spiritually, and acting together and supporting one another, did not exist, neither between the diocesan bishops and their clergy, nor between the bishops and their primate. Nicon held three synods, certainly, in three successive years (A.D. 1654, 1655, and 1656); but to introduce a new system would have required new educational institutions, and time for men of a new generation formed by them to have grown up and to have become bishops. But the crisis was already at hand; the conflict of the Church with the secular power could no longer be delayed; and Nicon, though personally a noble champion, was completely isolated and unsupported. He had to meet alone the whole shock of that evil which had been growing for three centuries and a half, and which, besides its separate reproduction in Russia, had its seed and root in the remote past of Byzantine history.[11] Nicon himself from the first foresaw the issue. Knowing the mixed character of the tsar Alexis, and the power of those principles and tendencies which had become traditions of the civil government, and the vices of the grandees by whom the tsar was closely surrounded, he did not expect that the tsar would continue to support him for more than three years. And even while the tsar was desirous of keeping his promise, there were abuses, and there was legislation, which he did not feel able at once to correct or to repeal. For instance, he had not the resolution or the power to restore those *slobodas* which had been taken away from the Church domains and confiscated to the crown; nor formally to abrogate or alter the Code of A.D. 1649, which Nicon repeatedly, both by word of mouth and by writing, urged

[11] 'Spiritual jurisdiction was exercised aforetime in Muscovy without any meddling whatever of the officers of the Prince. But for *mixed* cases there was a *mixed* tribunal; and an appeal from it to the Metropolitan and the Prince (*conjointly*), or *to the Prince alone, after the Byzantine fashion*.' Zoruin, *Essay*, &c., Petersburg, 1846. See too the quotations, at p. 234, 274 of vol. iii.

him to abrogate. And with respect to such things, so long as the tsar's general purpose and intention was good and sincere, Nicon thought it allowable and necessary to bear with the tsar's weakness, and to 'have patience.' But if that was so even when Nicon was in the highest favour, and 'seemed omnipotent,' when the tsar leaned upon him, consulted him in everything, forced on him the title of Great Hossoudar, which had belonged to his own grandfather the patriarch Philaret as joint-ruler with his son the tsar Michael, and committed to him the oversight of the civil government, the regency, during his own absences from Moscow, what was to happen when the tsar's feelings had so changed that he governed according to the will and passion of the boyars?

Solovieff writes that 'Nicon's view of the relations of the imperial to the patriarchal power was anything but in accordance with the *traditions of the Eastern Church* as *confirmed* in Russian history' (vol. xi. p. 320): and that Nicon's position was intrinsically a false one, vitiated not only by certain '*confirmations*' of Russian history, but also by the traditions of the Eastern *schism*, as such, from its very beginning, no Catholic can doubt or deny. But things, as they exist in this world, are mixed; and in the concrete mixture of good and evil, truth and falsehood, that element of truth which cannot be absent has such a superiority, that he who in good faith attaches himself to it, even though he be logically and practically in a false position, is in the right rather than his opponents. Neither the better side nor the worse in any heresy or schism have any true or solid standing-ground: if they *think*, they must *move*, either backwards towards the original and full truth, or onwards towards some worse form of error or negation. But the mass may be fixed for generations by circumstances, and, as it were, petrified, so that individuals either think not at all, or think to no

purpose: and individuals commonly seem to themselves to be fixed in their principles and habits of thought and in their traditionary judgment and passions, even when they are really moving. Socrates, among the Athenians, was in an untenable position; but, attaching himself to the true elements in that mixed tradition which he had received, he was in the right rather than the assembly which condemned him. The leaders of that religious movement which began within the Anglican Church in A.D. 1833, and which has since been called Puseyism, were really in a false position; yet in attaching themselves to the remains of Catholic doctrine and practice which they had received in the Anglican Prayer-book, they were more in the right than the Evangelicals, the Erastians, and the Latitudinarians, who made an outcry against them. So too Nicon, in his age and country, was in an untenable position; but, attaching himself to the better elements in that mixed tradition of the Greek and of the Muscovite Church which he had received, he was in the right rather than his enemies; and he represented his own Muscovite Church more justly and accurately than did either the tsar Alexis, or his son Peter, or the bishops who acted under their supremacy, and the whole Orthodox Eastern Church more accurately than the hireling patriarchs and bishops who condemned him. In all the three cases tendencies were imputed, and with truth, of which the parties accused were themselves unconscious, and which they honestly disavowed. Socrates was said to be subverting the established religion of the Athenians and denying their gods; and he was in truth virtually denying all false gods, though he died enjoining the sacrifice of a cock to Æsculapius. The Oxford writers were accused of Popery; and their movement really tended that way, though they were honestly seeking to defend their own Anglican Church, and that against

Romanism, as they called it, no less than against Protestant Dissent. Nicon, in the same way, was accused of Roman sympathies, nay even of having appealed to the Pope; and they who '*Niconised*,' or sought with Nicon to maintain the independence of the spiritual power, were said to '*Papisticise*.' But Nicon himself was so unconscious of this that he treated the Latins as heretics, and made very gross misstatements concerning the Popes and the Roman Church, which we have carefully reproduced and noticed, as signs of his good faith and honest ignorance and prejudice. And to that Paisius Ligarides also bears testimony, when, after giving his own fable of Nicon's having appealed to the Pope because he had quoted from the Kormchay the canons of the synod of Sardica, he subjoins contemptuously: 'Not that he cared for the Pope, or had inwardly *any agreement* with him; for *how should he*, having been from his birth *ignorant of all these things*, and uninitiated?' (vol. iii. p. 70.) To break the crust of Nicon's honest ignorance and prejudice, time, and additional information, and circumstances, and personal relations, causing him to attend more closely to particular questions, were wanting. If he had remained in power, the great object of uniting the crowns of Poland and Lithuania with that of Muscovy, the presence at Moscow and the influence of Krijanich, instead of that of Paisius Ligarides, and personal communications with Latin ecclesiastics likely to have followed, might have developed Nicon, and with him the tsar Alexis, into a conscious acceptance of Catholicism as the necessary and logical complement, not as the denial, of their own orthodoxy—of their orthodoxy, that is, divested of such misconceptions, prejudices, and misstatements as had been perpetuated in Russia by documents like that of the monk Nicetas Skyphiata, destitute of any real authority.

But without wandering away in thought to Rome,

we must observe that Nicon in his own day had strong grounds for all that he maintained within the Muscovite Church of that time, much stronger than any abusive precedents or customs which could be opposed to them; much stronger, too, than any one acquainted only with the ecclesiastical formularies now printed and used in Russia might imagine. In illustration of this we will adduce certain passages of the *Oath* formerly taken by Muscovite bishops and, *mutatis mutandis*, by the primate, the metropolitan or patriarch, and of the *Forms* used at the Coronation of the Grand Princes and Tsars, which have since the condemnation of Nicon been altered or suppressed.

In a description of *the character and the duty of a Patriarch* contained in the *Basilica*, and copied thence into the *Syntagma Alphabeticum* of Matthew Blastar, and quoted repeatedly both by Nicon and by his adversaries, it is said that, 'A *Patriarch* is a living and animated image of Christ, by deeds and words portraying in himself the true original. His end is the salvation of souls. His special qualities should be these: to be apt to teach; to place himself on the level of all, high and low alike; to be gentle towards all, instructing them; at the same time to be *capable of rebuking the disobedient*, and, for the truth's sake, in defence of the doctrines of faith, and for the observance of justice and piety, to *speak before kings* without being ashamed' (vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 61; vol. iii. p. 175, p. 345; vol. iv. p. 623).

And Paisius Ligarides casts it sarcastically in the teeth of Nicon, as a sign of his rudeness and indiscretion, that he had performed this duty of the ideal patriarch only too well: 'In fact, thou *oughtest not*, O Nicon, to have been so free-spoken, nor to have represented *the truth* so plainly, so categorically, to the tsar and the boyars, without being in any degree whatever abashed. For if thou hadst behaved *more politicly, flattering and*

humouring them, thou wouldst not have come at last to such a condemnation' (vol. iii. p. 196).

The *Bishops* at their consecration wrote a solemn engagement, professing the orthodox faith as defined by the Œcumenical and local Councils, receiving the canons of those Councils, and promising before God to keep them, and to keep the peace of the Church: they promised also in all things 'to follow and to obey the œcumenical patriarchs, and after them us also (*i.e.* Nicon himself), and the most holy patriarchs who by the blessing of God (*i.e.* rightly and canonically) should be after us; "and not to do anything by compulsion, either of the tsar and grand prince, or of any number of boyars and princes, or of any multitude of the people, though they threaten me with death, or command me to celebrate or to do any episcopal act in another metropolitan province than my own, or in any other see, except only in that one see which has been given to me *by my spiritual father*. Or, if I be away from my own see, in whatever other region I may be, I will not act ecclesiastically without the bidding of my father [the local patriarch, metropolitan, or bishop]. And, farther, I pledge myself to this also, that when called *by my father, and all the sacred synod*, I will without any word of gainsaying come to a synod. Farther, I also pledge myself to this, that though princes seek to force me, or boyars, or the multitude of the people, I will not disobey the command *of my father* and all the sacred synod, or of the most holy patriarchs who may be after their time. And, farther, I promise this also, that I will not receive any other patriarch than one of the holy Eastern Church, of the Greek law, according to the divine and sacred Apostolical canons, and those of the seven holy Œcumenical Councils. But if I do any of the things above-written without the bidding and without the letter of my father, and transgress in any one point of all the

things hereinabove written, let me be degraded from my office *ipso facto*, without a word"' (vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 138, and p. 652).

But of the royal or imperial dignity of the *Tsar* Nicon writes thus: 'The Lord God Almighty, when He made heaven and earth, commanded two great lights, viz. the sun and the moon, to shine upon the earth, by the one of which, viz. by the sun, he typified to us the episcopal, and by the other, the moon, the imperial or royal authority. For the sun, the greater luminary, shines in the day, as the bishop also enlightens souls; but the lesser luminary shines in the night, by which is meant in the body. As the moon receives light from the sun, and in proportion as it removes to a greater distance from it, has its light more full, so also the tsar derives his consecration, unction, and coronation from the bishop, which as soon as he has received, he has his perfect light, that is, his *sanctified* power and authority. There is just such a parity between those two persons in all Christian society as there is between the sun and the moon in the material world. For the episcopal power is in the day, that is, over souls; but the imperial or royal is in the things of this world. And this power, which is the tsar's sword, is required to be ready to act against the enemies of the Orthodox faith. For of this the episcopate and all the spirituality have need to defend them from all injustice and from violence. This the secular power is bound to do. For the seculars need the spiritualty for the deliverance of their souls, and the spiritualty needs the seculars for the defence of their bodies. And so in this neither of them is above the other, but each has his power from God. It has been declared above that the spiritualty is a chosen people. Hence thou mayest understand this also, that in the law for spiritual (persons and things) such as

baptism, penitence, and the other sacraments of the Church, they lay hands on the *head*, that is, they anoint the head with the grace of the Holy Ghost, for ecclesiastical persons. But for secular persons it is not so: for when they institute a tsar, then they anoint him in the form of a cross on the *shoulders*. And this indicates the difference between what is proper to this world and what is spiritual. But when the bishop crowns the tsar and consecrates him, he then acts and does this by virtue of his order. And in the same act the tsar shows a voluntary submission to the bishop. For even though he were not instituted or crowned by the bishop, *he would still all the same be tsar*. He obtains and holds, in point of *fact*, the imperial or regal quality by the sword; but the *name* of tsar (that is of a sanctified and Christian or Orthodox tsar) he gets by the episcopal consecration, of which the bishop is the author and source. It is to be understood that the law for empire or royalty prejudices in no way whatever the spiritual law, because in spiritual things the tsar's will is not to be set up above the spiritual law; nor in respect of any matter which belongs properly to the Church can the tsar make constitutions, or act with controlling authority. In like manner also it is to be understood of the bishops and of the spiritual canons, which command men to keep and enforce the tsar's laws. For the two laws support one another. No man can oppose the canons of the Church, and the laws of the empire, and the teaching of the holy fathers, or have anything to object against them (when they both together enforce the same thing). Hence thou mayest understand what is to be thought of them both; and especially this, that in spiritual things, which have to do with the deliverance of souls, the supreme bishop (*i.e.* the primate) is higher than the tsar, and every Orthodox Christian is bound to be obedient to the

bishop, because he is our father in the Orthodox faith, to whom is committed the care of the Orthodox Church. It ought to be understood that their power is one and equal; and each has his own order and grant established by God; and each of them has to maintain and defend his own order for himself, on his own responsibility, as it has been delivered to him from his mother the holy Orthodox Church. Nor, if one of them transgress, is he accountable to any regular law or tribunal.

'When they elect a tsar, he must first pledge himself that he will do justice, and use his power to root out injustice; and his pledge is to be given thus, in these words: "I pledge myself to the Lord God Almighty, and to His only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, and to the most pure Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, on the four gospels, on which I now hold my hand, before the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel, that I will keep a pure conscience, and *do faithful service* towards my Lord Jesus Christ, in the order and dignity *which is now committed to me by Him;* and that, together with His benefits, I will accept all manner *of labours and service*, and if there be any burden, I will not shrink from it. Likewise I will seek to make all those who shall be appointed by me to any office to keep themselves from all abuses and injustice. Farther, I profess that I am a Christian man of Orthodox faith; yea, yea; and that I will never, by any manner or means, oppose the same, nor suffer others to do so, so far as God has given me power to prevent it. Farther, I receive this dignity through no gifts nor promises. And I will ever act handsomely and considerately by the *subjects of my Lord*, and will be content with the revenues which are assigned me. The *constitutions* and the *orders* of this empire *I will respect and uphold;* and I will not depart from the same out of favour or par-

tiality. I will strive to preserve in its integrity the good name of the realm committed and intrusted to me; to defend my subjects against evil men and injustice; in judgments and over judges to be myself a just judge, and to hold fast by justice. And if I swerve in aught from this promise, may I be judged without mercy by our Lord Jesus Christ; may I be a partaker with Judas; and *may the leprosy of Uzziah cleave to me*, and such a trembling as was sent to Cain, and the torment of them that swear to a lie: may all these things come upon me!"

'And when the tsar is being consecrated, he bends his head, and the patriarch, putting his hand upon his head, says a prayer in the hearing of all (so it is the patriarch here who "gives privileges," and to the tsar, not the tsar to the patriarch; it is not the tsar who puts his hand on the patriarch's head, but the patriarch who puts his hand on the head of the tsar). And in the prayer, among other things, the bishop says: "Sow in his heart Thy fear; make him gracious to good and obedient subjects; keep him in the pure faith; *exhibit him a scrupulous observer of the commandments of the holy Catholic Church*, that he may judge Thy people with righteousness and Thy poor with judgment, and preserve the children of the poor, and be made by Thee an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."'

And after farther quotations, Nicon, apostrophising Ligarides, exclaims: 'See, thou Answerer! Where in these prayers is there anything such as there is in those for the ordination of bishops: "Working and serving about the venerable and most pure mysteries within the holy altar"? or "holding Thy throne, and sitting as images of Thee on Thy throne of majesty, to offer up to Thee sacrifice and oblation for all Thy people:" "do Thou, O Lord, make this man, who has now been constituted

a steward of the episcopal grace, to be a likeness of Thee, the true Shepherd laying down His life for the sheep"? But in the prayers appointed for the institution of a tsar there are no such expressions: "Grant that he may be anointed with the oil of gladness; clothe him from on high with strength; set on his head a crown of precious stones; give him length of days; give also into his right hand the sceptre of empire; seat him on the throne of justice." Seest thou? Not "sitting on Thy throne of majesty." "Gird him round with the panoply of the Holy Ghost; strengthen his arm; subdue under his feet all the barbarous nations; sow in his heart Thy fear:" but not anything about sacrifice and oblation, and the episcopate and grace, nor of his being "a likeness of God," but of his being "gracious to good subjects."' And so on, commenting on the Office.

And after more to the same effect, Nicon, again addressing the Answerer of the questions of Streshneff, writes: 'See, thou man mentally blind, who it is that crowns, and whom; and who it is that gives, to use thine own expression, divine *privileges*, and to whom. And how can any one give anything to him who gives to himself? Then, after the usual prayers, and the salutation of all the people, hear the *Instruction*, and the injunctions addressed by the episcopate to the newly-crowned tsar:

"Sire, and son beloved in the Holy Ghost of the holy Church and of our humility, N.N. Tsar and Grand Prince, &c.! behold thou art *from henceforth* appointed Tsar and Grand Prince *according to the grace given to us* from the most holy and life-giving Spirit, *by the imposition* of the hands of our humility, together with the sacred synod of the clergy, &c. And thou, O sire and son, &c., have the fear of God in thy heart, and keep the Christian faith of the Greek law pure and unwavering,

and preserve thine empire (*i.e.* the royal or imperial power), which thou hast now received from God, pure and blameless. Love justice and mercy, and judge just judgment. To obedient subjects be gracious. To the holy catholic church (*i.e.* to the *catholicon* or cathedral of the patriarchate) and to all the holy churches show faith and the fear of God. And give her honour, because in her, O tsar, thou wast born again by the laver of holy baptism. And towards the holy and honourable monasteries have great faith. And towards our humility and towards all thy holy beadsmen in the Holy Ghost show thy imperial spiritual *obedience*, according to the words of Christ's gospel: *He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth Me, and he that rejecteth Me rejecteth Him that sent Me. For this word* therefore so do; and as knowing also that whatever honour any one gives to the bishop, that honour passes up to Christ Himself, from whom they shall receive a reward a hundred-fold,"' &c. (vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 581; and more at length, ib. p. 242-249, and vol. ii. p. 392). . . . "'To thy boyars and nobles be good and gracious; and be careful of them for the sake of their country. To all the kniazes and sons of kniazes and sons of boyars, and to all the Christian army, be condescending, and gracious, and affable, according to thy imperial rank and order. And all the Orthodox Christian people protect, and be bountiful to them, and labour providently for their welfare with all thy heart; and in their defence, when they are wronged, stand up firmly as becomes a king and a brave man; but never abandon any, nor suffer any to be harmed contrary to law and equity. For behold to this end, O Tsar, thou hast received from God the sceptre, to direct the standards of the great empire of Russia, and to judge and rule thy people in justice. Keep and preserve it watchfully from the fierce wolves which seek to

destroy it, that they may not tear and scatter the flock of Christ's rational sheep, which is given thee of God, and intrusted to thee, to wield the sceptre according to His holy will, and according to your hereditary imperial lot and birthright. And again I say to thee, O God-loving Tsar, keep with God, and preserve all that thine imperial authority and power possesses, continuing thyself under the protection of the right hand of the Most High, and being preserved by the grace of the Holy Ghost from all thine enemies, visible and invisible. For the Lord says by the prophet: I have raised thee up to be a king in justice, and have taken thee by the hand, and have strengthened thee. For this cause hearken, ye kings and princes, and understand that it is from God that empire is given you, and power from the Most High. For ye, O kings, are the servants of God. And why then do ye not keep the law, nor walk in the counsel of the Most High? Why do ye judge unrighteously, and for interest subvert the truth? Seeing that Christ has chosen you to be in His own stead upon earth, and has exalted you, to set you in *His* throne, and has placed mercy and life in your hands. It is your part then, having received such a commandment, to be the improvers and correctors of mankind. And every righteous prince has an angelic and priest-like office; but he that is violent and unjust to his servants makes himself into a devil: for it is the power of the devil that reigns in his flesh when he is insatiable of filthy lusts, and *when his heart swells with vain haughtiness and pride.* Wherefore upon such there shall come terrible irresistible destruction: for the wrath of the Lord shall be kindled, and the mighty ones shall be more mightily tormented. And for this cause it is proper that Orthodox kings and emperors, having received by command of the Most High the rule over the human race, should take thought,

not only for their own interests or wills, and direct not only their own life, but should also preserve from disturbance all that they have under them, and keep His flock unhurt by wolves, and fear the heavenly sickle, and not yield to the will of men who are evil-doers, who destroy both soul and body. For as when the sun shines not upon the earth all things are dark and undistinguishable, so also when the soul is without discipline all runs into confusion. For only virtues are everlasting acquisitions. Thou art exalted in power and authority; but thy power is established by (the consent and support of) men. Thou art set a king; be then a king inwardly *over thyself*. For it is not he that is *called* lord or king that *is* one, but he who has a right mind. If this be not in him, it is to no purpose that he bears outwardly the titles. Does a man receive great authority? he has need then of great understanding. But if thou sayest to thyself, Have I not the sword? Have I not power to take away men's possessions? I will reply to thee, Yes, thou hast all this; but thinkest thou that thou mayest boast thyself herein at will, as one that has to render no account? Thou art much mistaken. 'Hearken, ye kings of the earth. Thus saith the Lord: Thou shalt not justify the wicked for interest, nor commit iniquity in judgment: for the judgment of God is true. Cursed is every one that judgeth unrighteously: for the wrath of God shall be upon them: it shall not be appeased for ever: and the fire shall devour the houses of them that make gain by injustice: but they who hate corruption shall be preserved.' And again king Solomon says: 'I say unto you kings, Comfort the afflicted: deliver them that are wronged from the hands of the mighty: for these, when oppressed by the rich, have recourse to you as their protectors.' Blessed is he who shall attend to these words, and *not regard the*

persons of great men in judgment. For inasmuch as he delivers them that are wronged out of the hands of the unrighteous, he shall be delivered himself at the terrible judgment of the great day before the righteous judgment-seat of Christ.

"And again I say, O Tsar, keep thy mind humbly and reverently attached to the Orthodox doctrines. *Honour exceedingly thy mother the Church*, which has suckled thee in the Holy Ghost, that thou mayest thyself be honoured by her; and *reverence the priest as thy father and spiritual intercessor to God*. For the honour paid to the priest passes to God. So also any dishonour done to them—and much more—offends God. But the tongue that speaketh flattery and deceit, and the ear that heareth vain words, receive not, O Tsar; nor listen to the slanderer; nor give credence to bad men. Consider within thyself, O God-crowned Tsar, that wisdom is the most honourable possession for all men, and the most worthy object of exertion and diligence, by the consent of all. For all praise it as a good. And thou oughtest to be a lover of wisdom, or to be a follower of the wise, on whom of a truth, as upon a throne, God rests. There is no beauty in all the world so beautiful as virtue adorning a king. But consider spiritual virtue, and distribute honours and offices gratuitously: and sell not places of authority for gifts (or interested services), since he who has purchased a post for a consideration purchases with it the liberty to commit many wrongs, as in repayment of his corrupt purchase-money, expecting that he who has received from him a bribe will look on afterwards, and that he will have nothing to fear. And though thou be inaccessible, O tsar, for the state of thy kingdom here below, yet make thyself easy of access, out of respect to the power which is above. For thou also *hast thyself a King over thee*, who is in heaven. And if He cares for all, as God,

it is proper that in like manner thou also, O Tsar, shouldst despise nothing. Strive, O God-crowned Tsar, not only to govern this empire with good manners, but also to inherit the kingdom of heaven by virtuous beneficence. And if thou wouldest obtain for thyself the mercy of the King of heaven, be thou also thyself merciful, O Tsar, to all; that thou mayest both here live on long, well, and happily, and mayest reign for all generations by thy good name left on earth; and also reign in glory with the angels of God before the resurrection and the awful judgment, by the power of thy Creator and the wisdom of thy Redeemer and of the Holy Ghost. Be strong, O religious Tsar, in Christ; and again, I say, be strong; that thou mayest also be an heir of the heavenly kingdom with all holy Orthodox kings and emperors, and mayest be able to say with confidence at the second coming of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, Behold I, O Lord, and Thy people whom Thou hast given me of Thy great empire of Russia! And then, O religious and God-crowned Tsar, thou shalt in return hear for thyself also that delightful word of the heavenly King and God: Well done, thou good and faithful servant," &c.

'After this Instruction the patriarch blesses the Tsar with the cross; and in the liturgy, which then follows, after the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, before finishing the liturgy, the patriarch anoints the Tsar with holy oil according to the order'[12] (vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 250; and vol. ii. p. 393).

Such were the traditional and publicly recognised relations of the spiritual and the temporal power in

[12] So Nicon writes of the *Order:* but at the coronation of the tsar Alexis it is related that the tsar was anointed first, and then *communicated*, not within the sanctuary, but at the threshold of it, Morozoff holding the linen cloth and girding the tsar with it; and that after that the patriarch went in, and the doors were shut; and *then* he communicated all the concelebrating bishops and clergy, *contrary to the order of the ritual.*

Russia which the patriarch Nicon sought to maintain. But Nicon fell. He said virtually (in A.D. 1658) to the tsar Alexis and to the civil ruler, whoever he might be—to the State: 'If you think that you can do without me, that you can be Apostle as well as Cæsar, be so: do yourself, or try to do, what you please: but I will not be your vicar and instrument for that: I belong not to you but to God, and I must be faithful to Him.' The boyars thereupon cried out: 'He has resigned: take him at his word, and do without him: nay, punish him also as a criminal, and make it impossible for him to return to the chair.' The tsar did so; and he had no difficulty in finding a man ready and willing to be the vicar and instrument of his spiritual supremacy: and to this change the whole Muscovite episcopate and clergy submitted; and the Eastern patriarchs too, for the sake of the tsar's alms, confirmed afterwards what had been done.

The outward form of the hierarchy and of the Church, after it had been thus nationalised, and enslaved to the State, remained at first the same as before: but the true life and spirit was gone. It was with Muscovy as it had been of old with Jerusalem, after the chief-priests and rulers of the Jews had denied and given up Christ, their true Prophet and High-priest and King. There was still in Judea the fabric of the temple standing; the daily sacrifices were still offered in its courts as before; there was the written law given by God Himself through Moses; there was the strong feeling of nationality; a high-priest with the Sanhedrim governing under the Romans a people zealous, with a narrow-minded bigotry, for the traditions and customs of their fathers, and for ritual forms and ceremonies, discontented, and all but rising in rebellion against the idolatrous heathen emperor to whom they were subject. So too it was in Russia.

When Nicon was deposed in the Council of Dec.

A.D. 1666 by some of the bishops for his prediction of punishments, he replied confidently that 'when our Lord Himself cursed the cities of Bethsaida, Capernaum, and Chorazin above Sodom and Gomorrah, the curse did not take effect visibly at once; and when He had foretold the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, that destruction did not take place at once, but after forty years. 'Even so,' he said, 'it shall be with those who have sinned now, and with Moscow. They will not go unpunished.' And this was in truth fulfilled both upon the boyars, and upon the streltsi, and upon the reigning family or dynasty, and upon the clergy, and last of all upon the city itself of Moscow, when (in A.D. 1812) all the power of Western Europe, of twenty nations or tribes, was brought as a storm upon Russia for no other purpose, as it might seem, but this one, of burning Moscow—not St. Petersburg, the new capital, founded by a materialist apostasy, but the old capital of Moscow, which had itself sinned, and had caused the apostasy. We may even, if we think of the punishment which fell upon the Muscovite *clergy* (and it was a *bishop* who by his sneer caused Nicon to mention that interval), find a parallel to the delay of *forty* years before the destruction of Jerusalem. For from the Council of A.D. 1660, by which the assumption of spiritual supremacy made by the tsar in A.D. 1658 was first synodically upheld, and made into a law, to the death of the last patriarch Adrian in A.D. 1700, when the tsar Peter abolished the outward form of a canonical primacy, and the see itself of Moscow, and took into his own hands all the property of the Church, there were forty years. And, again, from A.D. 1681, from the death of the patriarch Nicon (up to which time pardon and healing were still possible, if only there had been repentance) to the creation by the tsar of a 'Spiritual Kollegium' in A.D. 1721 there is the same interval of forty years.

It is worthy of notice that as the heathen Romans, knowing nothing of the true Judaism represented before Christ by such persons as SS. Joseph and Simeon and Anna, nor of Christianity, saw in the Jewish nation and priesthood after the rejection and crucifixion of its King the same people in all respects as before, and identified with it the Christians or 'Galileans,' so the tsar Peter and those who held with him made no distinction between the New Jerusalem of Nicon, or Nicon himself, and that clergy which betrayed him, and upon which his curse and his prediction fell so heavily after forty years. 'My father,' Peter said, 'had to do with one long-beard' (that is, with Nicon), 'but I have to do with ten thousand.' As if the spirit of Nicon and the spirit of those who idolised the memory of the tsar-bishop Alexis Michaelovich, some of whom Peter tortured, beheaded, and put upon the wheel, was all one. But a Prussian diplomat who lived some years in Russia both before and after the death of Peter, and who wrote for his government a memoir upon the acts and changes of that reign, is nearer to the truth when he observes that Peter was seemingly under some misapprehension when he was so desirous of introducing enlightenment and education among his clergy, because, if there had been in Russia an *enlightened* clergy, he could never have made those changes which he was then making. Such enlightenment, indeed, as Peter and his tool Theophanes Procopovich desired for the clergy was not likely to stand much in the way of his changes: but neither could it be reckoned upon to provide him with useful instruments for governing the Church. For the scholars sent for him by Procopovich to Germany, *to qualify themselves for the priesthood*, returned *too enlightened* to be candidates for any such service: they all preferred to serve the tsar as civilians. But if there had been in the clergy *real enlightenment*, con-

nected with a really clerical education, then the reflection of the Prussian diplomat is perfectly just. Not only would Peter have been unable, in the face of *such* a clergy, to do what he did; but probably he would never have thought of doing many things which he did, nor of doing other things, which he might still have done, in that way in which he did them: he would not have been himself what he was.

As regards those of the clergy and laity of Western Russia who stood out against the Union made in A.D. 1596 by their bishops with Rome, and who obtained in A.D. 1625 a new hierarchy, to be under the patriarch of Constantinople, we find their Church later, in A.D. 1685, at the instance of the Muscovite government, transferring its obedience from the patriarch of Constantinople to the patriarch of Moscow, and that too after this latter had become (through the condemnation of Nicon's *principles* and '*assumptions*') a mere vicar and delegate of the tsar. And the patriarch of Constantinople, in compliance with the expressed wish of the sultan, and for the sake of the alms sent from Moscow, consented to that which had without his consent been already done. Hence it followed naturally that when the tsar Peter in A.D. 1700 suppressed the patriarchate and the see itself of Moscow, and placed all bishops on one and the same footing of equality, the Church of Western Russia also shared the lot of that of Muscovy, and lost even the outward appearance of a metropolitan province.

We have observed already of the non-united Church of Western Russia of the seventeenth century that besides showing a consciousness of the superiority of the Uniats and of the other Western Catholics, by going for instruction to their schools, imitating them, and borrowing from them, the best and most learned and orthodox ecclesiastics of that community, who differed least in

dogma from the Uniats and from Rome, were utterly unlike Nicon in this, that though they would not submit to a *Catholic* king so far as to unite with Rome, they were ready to yield the whole discipline and government of their Church to the tsar, whom they regarded, in common with the Eastern patriarchs, as '*the sole hope of Orthodoxy*.' Such men were preferred by Peter to the native Muscovites, as more civilised and less narrow-minded, and were placed by him in Muscovite sees, to break the force of any opposition which might be made by the native bishops to his changes: and they were useful to him in the way that he desired. In reward for their services, such men as Stephen Yavorsky—men who are mentioned with respect by Catholic contemporaries—were required by special oukaz to tonsure people to be monks and nuns against their will, to allow the celebration of unlawful marriages, to sing publicly in the cathedral thanksgivings for the birth of illegitimate children, to degrade bishops and priests, and to secularise monks, without form of ecclesiastical trial, in order that they might be tortured and beheaded or broken on the wheel, to consecrate or direct the consecration of men unfit to be bishops, to join the tsar in disinheriting and in murdering his own son and heir for the crime of being the hope of the clergy, and lastly to sit as joint commissioners under the tsar for the government of the Church in a new College, the episcopal members of which were to be only three out of twelve. Such a man as Theophanes Procopovich might indeed sit with self-complacency in the Spiritual College which he had himself been employed to create: he was there in his proper place: but for Stephen Yavorsky, for whom it had been bad enough to be the tsar's 'Exarch' or 'Guardian' as if of a *vacant* patriarchate, no greater humiliation nor more severe punishment could have been devised. That spirit of schism which Yavorsky

had inherited had not allowed him, when studying under Jesuit fathers or at Rome, to submit to the successor of St. Peter; still he abhorred the heresies of Protestantism. He was made therefore to receive mission and authority from the tsar Peter instead of the Apostle Peter, and to give a brotherly kiss of peace to Luther in the person of Procopovich, whom he had just before denounced as an heretic.

It remains still to notice that other part of the Church of Western Russia which adhered to the Ruthenian bishops when they made union with Rome in A.D. 1596, or afterwards, and which, from that union and from its retention of the Eastern ritual, was called the United Church of the Ruthenian rite, or the Church of the Uniats; since this too has now been all absorbed into the State Church of the Russian empire. How has that been brought about?

It has been brought about from a number of concurring causes, but chiefly from a lamentable mismanagement when the Uniats were under a Latin Catholic government. It is true indeed, as has been said above, that the Union was made in A.D. 1596, by the bishops alone, from mixed motives, political perhaps rather than religious, and in a way which was not likely to obtain the voluntary adherence of their flocks. And a union so made, under a certain pressure of circumstances to obtain the protection of a Latin Catholic king, would be only too likely to disappear whenever the Uniats became subjects of the 'Orthodox' tsar or emperor, and were subjected to a contrary pressure from the side of Orthodoxy. But all the same, those who from persuasion or from other influences adhered to this Union were at first benefited by it, and raised to a sensible superiority over their non-united brethren of the same rite; and the non-united Ruthenians, as has been said above,

showed their consciousness of this superiority in many ways. What a power the United Church might have become to influence the non-united Churches both of Little and White and Great Russia is clearly indicated by the intense hatred with which it was from the first regarded by the Muscovite government. On every occasion when there were negotiations for peace, or for a union of the two crowns, it was stipulated on the Muscovite side that while the Latin Catholic and the Greek Orthodox rites should be equally recognised in the grand principality of Lithuania, the *Unia* should be *suppressed*. This alone, one would think, ought to have taught the Polish government and clergy that it was a matter of primary importance in the interest of Catholicism to honour, favour, cultivate, and strengthen by all possible means the Church of the United rite. But, from a mixture of motives, the very contrary was done. Instead of having gained anything socially and politically, the Uniats lost by their change: in everything they found themselves at a disadvantage as compared with the Catholics of the Latin rite. In consequence the greater part of the nobles and of the higher classes gradually passed over to the Latin rite; and at length it became common to speak of the Latin Church as the Church of the nobles, and of the United Church as the Church of the peasants.

This was the state of things when Lithuania or Western Russia was at length reunited to Eastern Russia in the time of Catherine II.; and immediately it was perceived that with such influences as the Russian government had at its disposal there would be no great difficulty in obtaining from the Uniats their adherence to the State Church of the same rite with their own. The rite too, as a mere rite, had been preserved more exactly, as was natural, in the State Church than in the Church

of the Uniats, which had been subjected to Latin influences. So Catherine II., who, in her correspondence with Voltaire, called herself, as she really was, the *head* of the Greek Church (*'Chef de l'Eglise Grecque,' i.e.* of the Greek Church in Russia, or of the Russian State Church), made a beginning, and reclaimed a part of that *stray* flock from their *undue* obedience to the see of Peter to the obedience really due, as she pretended, to herself or to the State: other similar conversions followed; and at length this *good* work was completed, so far as Lithuania and Southern Russia were concerned, in A.D. 1839, under the late emperor Nicholas. After that only one episcopal see of Uniats still remained in the Russian empire, that of Kholm, which, though originally Russian, had for ages belonged to the kingdom of Poland proper; and that too has now ceased to exist.

But, after all, when we have shown the true import of the condemnation of the patriarch Nicon, and have traced in later history the actual infliction of those punishments which he predicted, the reader, especially if he be a Russian, may expect of us that we should turn this study of past history to some present purpose. Else to show a man, who before was unconscious of his own misfortune, that his birth was illegitimate, or that his life-blood has been tainted with some loathsome infection, or that his father has greatly sinned and that he himself has inherited punishments, or to impute anything of the same sort to a man's country, or to his religious community, is more likely to irritate and harden those who think themselves attacked or insulted than to do them any good. So if there be any religious-minded reader who does not wish to retain for his inheritance either the curse of Nicon or the blessing of Ligarides, and yet has honest prejudices, such as Nicon himself had, against Roman Catholicism, and who asks, What then, under

present circumstances, is to be done? we will put ourselves as far as we can at his point of view, and try to answer his question.

A private individual can *do* nothing, but he can wish in his heart that something may be done; he can pray to God; he can even perhaps petition the sovereign; or, if he be a councillor, he may venture to submit to him a recommendation; and he can, according to his station and his opportunities in society, move others to do the like.

He must not certainly seek anything visionary or impracticable; for instance, that the present Russian government should restore the clergy to the position which they occupied before A.D. 1658; or reëstablish the patriarchate, such as it was then: these things are beyond the power of the government to do. Nor, again, would it be practicable to restore to the bishops and monasteries those estates of which in past times they were plundered; still less their privilege of a separate civil jurisdiction over multitudes of lay people. What has been done in these respects cannot be undone: what has been lost from within cannot be recovered from within by those who have lost it. In the same way, if the Russian government, like the Swedish Lutheran government, had simply substituted pastors or ministers of its own, though they were called bishops and priests, but ordained by some new invalid form, or not by men who were validly ordained bishops before them, no subsequent act could make good that defect.

But in Russia, though the existing bishops and priests are of irregular and uncanonical origin, and this cannot now be remedied, still the sacrament of ordination as preserved among them, though polluted and degraded, is in itself valid: and whatever may be the canonical irregularity of its exercise, that can never

make it reasonable for the civil government to persist in enslaving to itself a free spiritual grace of the Holy Ghost. Certainly it should rather desist from such an irreligious and pernicious presumption, and restore that grace of the Holy Ghost which is in the episcopate to its natural and rightful liberty. It may be desired then and suggested:

1. That the State should no longer appoint any mere delegate or delegates of its own, whether lay or clerical, personal or collegiate, to govern the bishops and the Church, nor impose on clerks any oaths recognising in the State an ecclesiastical supremacy.

2. That it should no longer appoint any 'bold officer' or other lay commissioner to direct the bishops in their consultations, or to administer the temporalities of the clergy: but that it should allow the clergy and monks the same liberty with other people, and with other lawful associations and partnerships, to engage, pay, and dismiss their own servants, secretaries, and messengers; to buy and use their own paper, pens, and ink; and to send their own letters, communications, and acts, either by the public post, or by their own messengers; and no spiritual act or communication should be required by law to be on government stamped and taxed paper, unless the clergy of themselves, for reasons of their own, required that it should be so.

3. The State should recognise to all clerks and to monks and nuns the right of being judged in the first instance by the spiritual authority, not subjecting clerks to secular jurisdiction unless they have been first secularised by free sentence of the spiritual authority, and so have ceased to be clerks.

4. It should grant back to the bishops and monasteries, in lieu of their properties alienated and confiscated by the State in former times, all such houses and

lands and buildings, or capitalised sums, as are still affected by the State to their maintenance; and it should give to them, to be administered and apportioned at their own discretion or according to a general understanding with the State as donor, any such fixed allowances as are now annually doled out to individuals.

5. Without interfering with the internal government of the Church and the management of its property any more than it interferes with the government or with the management of the property of other useful or harmless and lawful associations, as, for instance, commercial partnerships, the State should equitably protect and assist the Church in governing itself and in managing its own property in the same way as it protects and assists both individuals and lawful associations. Thus, for instance, if a priest, after having been displaced or even degraded for some crime, attempted by force to retain possession of a house or land or of the fabric of a church held by him before in right of the Church, or to officiate in any church in defiance of the spiritual authority, the civil government should compel submission to the ecclesiastical sentence; or, again, if a clerk or monk were uncanonically to alienate or sell any real property belonging to his church or monastery, he himself would incur canonical penalties, but the civil law should also declare such gifts, exchanges, or sales and acceptances, or purchases to be null and void.

6. The State should allow to the bishops and clergy and to monks such freedom of locomotion as belongs naturally to other free men and as is allowed them by law; that is, to go to and fro for their own purposes, and to meet and transact business in any way not forbidden by their own canons or by such necessary civil laws as bind alike all classes of society.

7. The State should either repeal all such civil laws

affecting the clergy as are at variance with the canons, or exempt the clergy from their operation.

8. On the other hand, the bishops, being thus set free in spiritual matters, leaving it to the mercy of God to forgive past sins, to heal present diseases, strengthen weaknesses, and supply deficiencies, would attempt themselves to govern the Church according to the letter and spirit of the canons.

9. And first they would necessarily come to an understanding among themselves (not excluding free consultation and concert with the civil power), so as to recognise some one bishop of their number, according to canon xxxiv. of the Apostles, as the *First*, either him who is senior of them all by priority of consecration (as was once the custom in Africa), or the bishop of some local see, preferred to be the spiritual metropolis. And this Primus or Primate so chosen they would recognise as their head, and do nothing affecting the general interests of the Church without his knowledge and consent; and he, on the other hand, would confer with them synodically, and do nothing of moment without them, nor interfere in the internal affairs of particular dioceses otherwise than canonically.

10. Of course they would restore the forms and offices for the election, designation, and ordination of bishops, and for the coronation of the temporal sovereign, wherever anything has been suppressed, altered, or added since A.D. 1658, so as to recognise any spiritual supremacy or uncanonical custom of interference in spiritual matters.

11. Also, however far the bishops and clergy may be or may seem to themselves to be from agreement with all the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, or from willingness to acknowledge the Pope's spiritual supremacy, still they should propose to themselves this principle: to seek peace and agreement with all, even with

the Pope, rather than division, remembering that word of the Lord that every house or kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and the warning of the Apostle: 'If ye bite and devour one another, take heed lest ye be also consumed one of another,' and his precept to seek above all *charity*; but charity is not to love one territorial country and its inhabitants and to hate and malign others; nor to love one National Church or particular rite to the prejudice of the whole Body of Christ; nor to condemn even the lowest criminal without a patient examination and full knowledge of the case, and a desire to find him innocent if possible. They should then, in treating of ecclesiastical differences, seek to lessen and reconcile rather than to exaggerate them, and to close and heal rather than to reopen and envenom past wounds. On this principle, they might, in reëditing the Kormchay, learn something—we will not say from Nicon, who corrected the uncanonical custom of rebaptising the Latins, and was always ready to correct every abuse so soon as he discovered it to be such—but at least from the empress Catherine II. or the ecclesiastics employed under her as their head. For they, in reëditing the Kormchay in A.D. 1787, have set an excellent example and precedent, one most worthy to be praised and imitated, by omitting one document—a malicious tissue of calumnies and fables by a monk, Nicetas, surnamed Skyphiata—on these grounds: 1. that it was superfluous; 2. that it was of no authority; and 3. that it contained errors (vol. i., *Replies*, &c. p. 629; and vol. v. App. xi. p. 99, where Krijanich mentions the same document as one of a numerous class).

12. If in this same way the Russian bishops were to omit from a new edition of the Kormchay *all* documents which are of no authority (that is, of no valid synodical authority), to say nothing of any other imputations of their being superfluous, or containing falsehoods, they would

be led back by this principle to the Nomocanon of John the Scholastic and the legislation of Justinian, with no other additions than the dogmatical constitutions of the Fifth and Sixth Œcumenical Councils and the dogmatical constitution and disciplinary canons of the Seventh Council. But other documents and canons—even if useful for consultation, and as affording supplementary precedents on some points not provided for in the canons of the general Councils or in those of the local Councils recognised by the Fourth and Seventh Œcumenical Councils—could only be added separately, as an appendix to be consulted and used only so far as not inconsistent with the really œcumenical legislation. So the canons called the canons of the Apostles, others taken from the Clementine books, the canons of the Council in Trullo held at Constantinople in A.D. 591, ten years after the Sixth Œcumenical Council, the African code of canons called the Council of Carthage, and the constitutions of particular holy Fathers, would all, if admitted at all, be placed only in this second part or appendix. The Nomocanon of John the Scholastic, rather than that of Photius, was in use in Russia from the conversion of Vladimir till the year 1270, when the metropolitan Cyril III. procured from Bulgaria the copy of a Slavonic Kormchay based on that of Photius. But even in the Nomocanon of John the Scholastic (of about A.D. 541) there were documents added only for convenience, and mixed with those councils and canons which were of œcumenical authority. And as regards that of Photius, Photius himself writes expressly in his preface that he has added the canons of Carthage, *though they contain many things abhorrent from our customs*, because they also contain many things useful. Plainly, therefore, he had no idea of placing them all on a par with the canons of the Œcumenical Councils, received as such by the Eastern Church,

and containing nothing abhorrent from its customs. Still less could the canons of the Council in Trullo of A.D. 691 or those of the two Councils held by Photius himself in A.D. 859-861 and A.D. 879 be equalled in authority with those of the Œcumenical Councils received as such both by the Eastern Church and by the Roman Popes, without whose consent and confirmation no canons of general legislation have force. That rule is still hinted, though in a strange way, by such fables as this: that a certain metropolitan of Gortina in Crete, being present in the Council held in Trullo in A.D. 691, together with the four Eastern patriarchs, testified personally (ἰδίᾳ) that he was commissioned to represent the Pope of Rome and all the synod of the West, and that he subscribed in that capacity (vol. i., *Replies*, &c. p. 632). And, again, we still read in the Kormchay that the last Orthodox Popes wrote to the four Eastern patriarchs, and desired them by anticipation not to recognise nor to communicate with any of their own Roman successors, unless they held the Creed in the same way with the Eastern Church; that is, without allowing or adding the Filioque (vol. i., *Replies*, &c. p. 632, 663).

As the Croat panslavist Krijanich asked above two centuries ago (see vol. v., *Appendices*, p. 49), so we may ask still: What is to be the future of Russia? 'Russia quo spectat?' Is it to be still German materialism, and ultimately an apostasy even from the name itself of Christianity? Are the two empires of Russia and Prussia to be like to one another in their nature as in their names, like the Gog and Magog of the prophet Ezekiel? Or is there to be a Christian and Orthodox reaction? And if so, what reaction is possible? The tail cannot lead the head. But now the head and the backbone of Russia are German. The Greek religion and Church has been attached to the German principle of civil supremacy as

the tail (to borrow the illustration of Krijanich) is attached to the backbone of a dog. The head and the spine must continue to lead, and the tail must follow. Individuals indeed, though they themselves or their fathers have sinned ever so deeply, may repent; but history offers no example of a nation or community which has once voluntarily apostatised from a higher religious state to a lower recovering itself by its own inward effort of repentance. So it may be said; and with only too much reason and probability.

Nevertheless, what is impossible with men is possible with God. Let us then pray and work. Though what we wish and pray for be historically unprecedented, still God is almighty and all-merciful. And if any one will thus pray and work in good faith, with a leaning towards what is spiritual rather than what is worldly, towards reconciliation rather than exaggeration of differences, towards charity rather than malice, towards Peter the Apostle and the Rock rather than towards Peter the Great and his morass, towards Nicon and the Resurrection and the New Jerusalem rather than towards those who incurred a curse above Sodom and Gomorrah —such a one, even though he may see no visible effect of his prayers or of his work, but may rather be derided by the children of this world, will assuredly not lose his reward: at the least, he will save his own soul 'from this untoward generation.'

Once a Great Lady, now dead, said to the present writer at Rome such words as these: 'I know that you admire Nicon, and that you attach importance to the question of the hierarchy: and certainly the spirit of our government in Russia is now very liberal. If it were possible by such a concession to do good—to facilitate, for instance, the reconciliation of the raskolniks—the government might be ready to say to the bishops: Elect

again your own patriarch or primate, and let him govern the Church together with you according to the canons. The government might be willing, if it saw a prospect of any considerable advantage, to do this. But now answer me one question, and answer me *honestly;* tell me your *sincere opinion:* Do you think that after so long a continuance of the present system, having been bred up under it, and having no experience of any other, the clergy would be capable of using such liberties and powers, if they were restored to them, to any good purpose?' This question was certainly a reasonable one—quite worthy of the superior intelligence of the lady who asked it. In reply it was said that, whether the present clergy of Russia would or would not be capable of using to any good purpose such liberties and powers as were once surrendered by their predecessors, may indeed be doubtful; but if the civil government has done wrong, to cease to do wrong is in itself right and praiseworthy, and therefore also politic: and so far as the clergy are concerned, there would be more to hope than to fear from any honest act of reparation.

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[13] This letter was sent by the podiak of the Chelobitni prikaz, *Nikita Zotoff*, seemingly the father of Moses, and grandfather of Nikita Mois. Zotoff, mock patriarch and Pope to Peter the Great.

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viii. In connection with p. 380: Notices of Nicon and of the tsar Alexis, and of Morozoff, and a list of the boyars of A.D. 1661-62, from baron Meyerberg and his chaplain Glavinich, May A.D. 1662, ib. p. 14.

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PART I.

SERVICES RENDERED BY THE PATRIARCH NICON

TO THE CHURCH

AND TO THE STATE OF HIS COUNTRY.

THIS First Part is taken almost entirely from a volume entitled *The most holy Nicon, Patriarch of All Russia*, published at St. Petersburg in A.D. 1863 by the late Samuel Michaelofsky, hieromonach of the Nefsky Lavra. It reproduces from Michaelofsky's work, besides the *preface*, his account of the *election of Nicon to the patriarchate;* of the great *services* rendered by him *to the Church of his country*, and *to the State;* and of the circumstances which led to what Michaelofsky calls his '*sad fate.*' These extracts are not everywhere exact translations; for liberty has been taken to abridge, and to correct some inaccuracies of detail; but no attempt has been made, without notice to the reader, to correct or to palliate the inconsistency of the writer as to main principles. Indeed, this has been our chief reason for using his work, that, while eulogising Nicon, and taking his part warmly against the raskolniks and against the boyars, Michaelofsky is not himself, like Nicon, a believer in a divinely-ruling *universal* Church, but he is the submissive minister of that merely *national* Church which the tsar Alexis, in A.D. 1660, set up *uncanonically* in Russia. And such a servant of 'the Church and State *of his country*' is the fittest of all witnesses to acknowledge before his Russian fellow-countrymen the benefits or services done to them by Nicon; though Nicon in rendering those services acted not as the official servant either of the Church or

of the State *of his country*, but as the free messenger of Christ. How Nicon *was requited* for his '*services*' by 'the State and by the Church *of his country*,' and with what consequences to themselves, will be shown in the Second Part of this volume, from contemporary documents.

Michaelofsky's Preface.

The patriarch Nicon was one of those men whom the Lord raises up exceptionally from time to time for some special needs of the ecclesiastical and the civil society. History distinguishes such men by the name of '*great*.' Their exertions produce changes in the life of *nations*. Gifted above all their contemporaries with a clear and comprehensive intellect, with a good heart, with a firm and powerful will, they see distinctly the defects of their own age, rise up fearlessly against them by word and deed, clear away prejudices, overthrow superstitions, extirpate vices, defeat injustice, dispel the darkness of ignorance, throw down the *antiquated foundations of popular or social life*, and give it a new direction, with a better and more perfect order, based upon good and true principles:[1] and for this their contemporaries denounce them as audacious innovators, breakers of the ancestral traditions, contemners of sacred antiquity, men of insatiable ambition, disturbers of the public peace: they persecute them with envy, with calumny, with hatred, and not unfrequently they condemn them as enemies of the Church and of the State. Then the great men go off from this scene of their labours; but the movement impressed by them on the national life propagates itself as time goes on with greater force in proportion to the hindrances opposed to it at first by ignorance and superstition. The fruits of their genius and understanding do not vanish in the tempest of sufferings and calamities; but on the contrary, after having been tried in the furnace, they shine more brilliantly, and shed their light afar upon future generations. Their thoughts, their enterprises, their anticipatory designs, are remembered and developed, or returned to and better appreciated; so that they gradually ripen, gain force, and attain their perfection. Posterity quietly and peaceably perfects

[1] The writer seems here to be thinking also of Peter '*the Great*' while eulogising *Nicon*.

that for which a stormy beginning was made by some great ancestor, in conflict with the spirit of his age. Such is the general end of the life and actions of *great* men. 'Their end was regarded as misery, and their departure from us as annihilation; but they are in peace: the fruits of their understanding are sure, and their name shall live for ever' (Wisd. iii. 2, 3; Eccl. xxxvii. 26, 29).

Such precisely is the position of the patriarch Nicon in the ecclesiastical and civil history *of our country.*

In our ecclesiastical history. It was at a troubled time that Nicon took into his hand the primatial staff of the metropolitan St. Peter. Within the bosom of the Church there were then two evil tendencies, very different the one from the other, and in some respects even contrary and antagonistic, which had both of them their roots in the remote past, and were gradually advancing so as to threaten to become dominant. On the one hand there was among the people a narrow and ignorant spirit of superstition, so obstinate and wilful as to be ready to sacrifice for the most minute points of ritual detail the outward unity of the Church. This spirit it was which, when cast out, was to produce the *raskol.* But in the mean time it had deeply infected the whole body of the Church; all ranks, the clergy as well as the laity; and it was becoming day by day more dangerous. Ignorance had invented new doctrines, had disfigured the ancient magnificent ritual by the corruption of the church books, by the introduction of new and strange ceremonies, and by gross abuses in the most essential parts of the divine service—in the singing and reading. Lastly, the order itself of the government of the Church was destroyed by their rude wilfulness and rebellion against the ecclesiastical authority. Meanwhile all this was disguised under the holy names of orthodoxy and sacred antiquity. To complete this misfortune of the Church, the superstitious party, 'not understanding either orthodoxy or *krivodoxy*' [*i.e.* straight doctrine or crooked doctrine], as one of their contemporaries says, 'and going through the holy scriptures without getting beyond the ink,' and, as it were, fearing to have light thrown on their errors, obstinately refused even to hear of enlightenment; regarding all book wisdom as heresy, and as an infectious plague, dangerous for unity and purity of faith. 'What an unhappiness!' exclaimed another eye-witness of the

occurrences of that time; 'they take away the arms with which it might be possible to overcome the spirit of darkness, to refute heretics, and to correct others; they call medicine deadly poison.' At that time the whole orthodox Church of our country was threatened with the danger of finally losing those last sparks of spiritual enlightenment which, through the zeal of her pastors, had not yet ceased to shine from old times through the very darkness itself of ignorance; it was threatened with the danger of losing, not only the magnificence, due order, and purity of the ceremonies of divine worship, but even the purity of the faith itself, and of being subjected to the reproach of having departed from unity with the orthodox Eastern Church.

[On the other hand, there had been developed among the nobility such vices, and on such a scale, as already showed the outward religiousness still shared by them with the common people to be to a great extent hypocritical, and looked manifestly towards that apostasy from Christianity itself which is to be expected in the latter days. They were, as a class, self-willed, envious, proud, covetous, unjust judges, oppressors of the poor and helpless, cruel, and often licentious; and though in general they conformed to the religious customs of that age, and some of them shared or favoured the superstition of the raskolniks, instances were not wanting where intercourse with foreigners, or personal vices, had produced negligence and levity in religious matters: they would talk and jest during divine service; they would neglect the fasts so strictly observed by the mass of the people; they would show a disposition to a certain liberalism of views, to an imitation of foreigners (without, however, any serious tendency to Latinism), and, above all, to a secular legislation, to a jealousy of the property and privileges of the Church, and an assumption of lay supremacy over the clergy. Michaelofsky himself says all this, though, instead of making those '*two* dangerous tendencies of the age' against which Nicon contended to have been the *popular superstition* on the one hand, and the spirit of *secular supremacy* on the other—any leaning to scepticism or to foreign customs being as yet only premature and crude exceptions—he makes Nicon's *two* great struggles to have been against the *popular superstition* on the one hand, and a tendency to *irreligious levity* in details, with a readiness to adopt foreign customs, and especially *customs of the Latins*, on the

other; the spirit of *secular supremacy* being mentioned only as an additional evil, and in a secondary place. However, he writes also on this subject as follows:]

Among other internal disorders or dangerous tendencies in the Church, there was also this: that her outward position in society had not its proper relative order, *especially as regards her relation to the civil power*. The jurisdiction of the Church in one of its essential rights had passed at that time into the hands of lay people. From the earliest times of *our national Church* she had exercised jurisdiction over persons and things consecrated or dedicated to God. But now, besides the fact that the real property of the Church was under the control of lay commissioners, even the highest persons of the hierarchy were required to accept judgment before secular tribunals and from lay judges. And this change of the old ecclesiastical administration produced no less disorders in the Church than did those internal disturbances of popular superstition which have been mentioned above. It took away from the pastors the means of acting, in virtue of their power given them from God, against the breakers of the laws of the Church; it wasted the property of the Church, given to her by the zeal of pious ancestors; and even interfered with her rights of distributing the sacred orders and degrees of the ecclesiastical ministry. Who could arrest this stream of evil, increasing year by year in its breadth and force? There needed a high intellect, quick, penetrating, enterprising: there needed a powerful will, unbending, and not to be restrained by any sort of obstacles in its struggles towards its good ends; there needed a heart lively, bright, and entirely penetrated with zeal for God and for his holy Church. The Lord of the Church raised up for her defence and help the patriarch Nicon. Invested abundantly by nature with high gifts of intellect, of will, and of heart, and having, by the austerities of many years spent in monastic seclusion, cultivated and fixed within himself the spirit of zeal for the glory of God and for the salvation of men, Nicon on his first resettlement at Moscow saw with deep pain the evils and sufferings of the Church, and with all the force of his gifts rose up in her defence. In proportion as the sphere of his ministry became more extensive and more exalted, his labours also for the good of the Church were multiplied and perfected. He boldly and powerfully set himself against the *superstition* [*of*

the people on the one side, and against the spirit of *secular supremacy* on the other]. To these two evil tendencies, which from opposite quarters threatened and disturbed the Church, Nicon opposed, first, the principle of restoring and fixing in the *national Russian Church*[2] her perfect concord and union with the *Eastern* Church both in the doctrine of faith and in the rites and ceremonies of divine service, and in the rules of ecclesiastical government; [and secondly, the sincere and complete observance of the laws of God and the œcumenical canons of the holy Apostles, the Councils, and the holy Fathers, which give to the clergy alone the right of jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons and property.] These two principles, or rather this one principle,—for the first of the two was to Nicon's mind only a particular form and application of the second,—is the central point from which all Nicon's services for the spiritual enlightenment, the reform of the ritual, and the correction of the government of *the Church of his country* originate, and to which their ends converge. With such a principle for all his actions, Nicon went forward right against the dominant spirit of his age; and in consequence, like so many other *great men*, he had by his own personal sufferings to seal the value of his acts. Popular ignorance and [the pride of secular power] rose against the champion who assailed them, displaced him from the patriarchal chair, and imprisoned him in a distant monastery. But though in this world they seemed to have prevailed, the enemies of Nicon were so far from destroying the effects and fruits of his zeal, that they rather contributed, so far as regards *his reforms directed against superstition*, to obtain for them at once their final acceptance and establishment; while, as regards *his conflict with the partisans of State supremacy*, their outrageous malice and violence, together with that development of evil which was to follow, tended to produce in time a reaction in favour of the truth for which Nicon had contended and suffered. By the permission of an overruling Providence, Nicon was judged by a

[2] Or 'in the church of his country.' This idea of a *national church*, and another idea akin to it, of bishops being *officials* or functionaries *in the service of their country*, which occur continually in the pages of Michaelofsky, have been *popularised* in Russia only since the time of Peter the Great. So, in England, what are called '*church principles*' are an after-growth, the ideas and words belonging to which have been developed and popularised since the time of the Elizabethan reformers, to whom they were unknown.

synod *all but œcumenical;* and this synod, [though it condemned his person, and degraded him from the priesthood,] confirmed irrevocably for all succeeding times the fruits of his pastoral labours. This synod moved the tsar and the bishops to establish schools for *spiritual education*, [after having cut up, however, by the roots the *spiritual authority*], it confirmed the corrections made by Nicon in the church books and ceremonies; it established a rule that the clergy were not to be judged by civil judges, [but only by the emperor himself]; it passed a severe condemnation on *light-minded* violators of the laws of the Church. [As if those spiritual lions, while roaring around Daniel, were not themselves tramping under foot the whole law of God and the canons! only they were not '*light-minded*' violators: they were *grave* transgressors, acting for grave reasons, such as covetousness, servile fear, envy, and murderous hatred, to say nothing of the spirit of apostasy inspiring the secular legislators of that time]. Then the *raskol*, which like tares had spread itself over the holy corn-field of the Church, was finally rooted out from its soil, and showed itself as a separate thing, after being cast out, in all its deformity: in the Church there shone thenceforth only the pure ancient orthodoxy, [beaming now from the tsar and his delegates and officers, as before from apostles and patriarchs;] which, preserved in its *outward* character by the active zeal of the tsars, in its *inward* by the paternal care of the pastors, still to our days adorns the popular life *of our country*.

So 'the fruits of his wisdom are sure [*i. e.* the fruits of the wisdom of the patriarch Nicon], and his name lives for ever.'[3]

[3] The civil government of Russia has preserved Nicon's reforms, as it has preserved the laws of God and the canons of the councils, breaking some of the chief constitutions of Nicon as well as some of the chief laws of God and the councils, but enforcing the rest. But that evil spirit of the *raskol* which Nicon was exorcising, and against which, if he had remained in power, he would probably have completely prevailed, taking advantage of his retirement and afterwards of his deposition, has risen against the tsars and their boyars and clergy, as if crying out, like the demoniac of old, 'Nicon I once knew as a patriarch and vicar of Christ, till he altered the church books: *you* have followed him in this, and being in truth only his disciples, would fain set up for yourselves. But who are *ye?* Whatever becomes of Nicon, *tsars* and *boyars* and *chevonniks* have not been sent by God to teach the nations.' And the Russian *raskolniks*, like the Protestant Dissenters of England, have multiplied in the face of persecution; and in due time they too in Russia will see the government forced to liberalise. The lion has roared against God and against the Church. God

In our civil history. Nicon, by his services, belongs not only to ecclesiastical history, but also at the same time to civil: and in civil history also he has a position like that which he holds in the history of the Church. The troubled times of the pretenders had left behind them deep traces in the social state of the Russian people. The tsar Michael Theod., and his father the patriarch Philaret Nikitich, made great exertions to bring into due order the disordered parts of the imperial administration, and they accomplished much, but by no means all that was needed. To continue what they had begun fell to the lot of the tsar Alexis Mich. and the patriarch Nicon. The chief disease in the civil life of that age was the want of just judgment. This social evil was kept up and increased by the covetousness, the ambition, and the arbitrariness of the boyars, which were other unhappy characteristics of that age. So the main object and care of the gentle and pious tsar Alexis was to humble the self-will and insubordination of the great officers, and to introduce into the empire just judgment. Nicon, by that power which was conferred on him by the affection and friendship of the tsar,[1] served him as a faithful fellow-labourer and adviser, such as the tsar Michael Theod. had had in the patriarch Philaret Nikitich. In the external affairs of the empire at that time special importance attached to the question of the relations of Russia to her unfriendly neighbours, Poland and Sweden. The attempts of the tsar Michael Theod. and his father the patriarch Philaret to recover our ancestral provinces, taken from us by our neighbours in the calamitous times which had preceded them, were unsuccessful; and after the beginning of a new reign, under his son Alexis Mich., the boyars still feared to begin a war with Poland or with Sweden. But the patriarch Nicon, having overborne all the timid objections of the boyars, obtained for the tsar the glorious title of Sovereign of all '*Great and Little and White Russia.*' He extended his views of state policy still further. He wished to add to the title of his tsar '*Ingermanland and Keksholm.*' But there was one repulse of

is patient, even as if he did not exist. He hurls no thunderbolt; but time goes on, and the strength of the oppressor is turned to weakness, and his pride is brought low by lice swarming out of his own body.

[1] But comp. Nicon's *Replies*, &c. pp. 190, 195, 206, 207, 237, 285, 583.

our army.[5] And behold Nicon is accused of having ambitiously meddled with affairs foreign to the patriarchal office and authority. Nevertheless, time filled up and completed in civil as well as in ecclesiastical matters all that Nicon had designed, and as it were sketched in outline by anticipation.[6] The tsar Theodore Alex. put an end to the insubordination and contentiousness of the boyars by destroying the records of places and precedence. Peter the Great established firmly just judgment by introducing a new system of judicial administration, and completed Nicon's great idea of recovering to Russia her ancient provinces from Poland and Sweden.

In correspondence with that position which we have thus ascribed to the patriarch Nicon in the history of our country, we shall find it convenient to divide his personal history into five parts. In the *first* we shall give a sketch of the life of the great primate down to his election to the patriarchate, in order to show how the Lord prepared his champion for the conflict in which he was to engage. In the *second* we shall set forth the war waged by Nicon against the evil spirit [or rather, the two contrary evil tendencies] of his age; in other words, the pastoral labours of Nicon for the good of the Church *and his country*. In the *third* we shall trace the history of the uprising of the spirit of the age itself against Nicon and his acts, or the circumstances of the fall of Nicon. In the *fourth* we shall give an account of the judgment passed upon Nicon. Lastly, in the *fifth* we shall describe the life of Nicon in confinement, his return when dying, and after his death, to the monastery of Voskresensk, and his posthumous restoration to the title and rank of *Patriarch of all Russia*.

[5] That before Riga in A.D. 1656: but Berch's story about this will not bear criticism. The cause of Nicon's fall is to be sought deeper, in the personal character of the tsar and its development, in which the failure before Riga had its share, no doubt, but not so great a share as those *successes* which had preceded it.

[6] Yes; but in quite a contrary sense and spirit. The writer's attempt to glorify at once Nicon and Peter the Great is as if one were to join together the archangel St. Michael and Lucifer. Peter is that son 'even better than his father,' that 'still more noble eaglet of the noble eagle' which was promised to the Russian bishops by Paisius Ligarides (see vol. iii. p. 240): he is that 'future ruler with a strong will, with no law but his own will,' who was to 'enslave the Russian Church,' according to the fears even of those bishops who had sacrificed their own order and the Church out of envy; the very incarnation of that spirit which had been condemned and contended against by Nicon.

Of the Election of Nicon to be Patriarch.

On the 15th April A.D. 1652 the patriarch Joseph died. Nicon (who had then been metropolitan of Novgorod three years and five months) was at that time on his way to the Solovetsky monastery, whither he had gone for the translation to Moscow of the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip. 'Return to us, for the Lord's sake, as quickly as possible,' the tsar wrote to him, 'for the election of a patriarch; for without thee we will enter upon nothing.' At the beginning of June Nicon returned to Moscow with the relics. On the 23d July, a little after the relics of St. Philip had been placed in the cathedral of the Assumption, a synod was held in that same church, in the presence of the tsar and his nobles, for the election of a new patriarch. All knew that the new primate would now be the metropolitan of Novgorod, the friend of the tsar, and also the bishop who surpassed all his contemporaries in largeness of mind and in zeal for the Church and for his country. Nicon knew that this was the intention of the synod, and the wish of the tsar. But as a far-seeing bishop, who rightly estimated the labours and dangers to be encountered by the man who should succeed Joseph in the primacy, he wished to decline this election, and did not appear at the synod. They sent after him persons chosen on purpose from the highest clergy and from the civil officers of state. Nicon positively refused either to be present at the synod or to be made patriarch. The messengers returned to the synod and made known his refusal. Then, following the order at that time customary in the election of bishops, the synod designated as fit to be elected to the patriarchate, besides Nicon, two hieromonachs, one of whom was named Antony.[7] They made lots, and the name drawn was Antony's. But he, on the plea of his advanced age [and to content the tsar], refused to be patriarch. Then the tsar openly proposed to the synod to elect the metropolitan of Novgorod, Nicon. The synod assented. Then the tsar and the synod again sent to Nicon to ask him to accept the election and nomination thus made. But Nicon, who in the mean time had heard that the lot drawn had not been his, but that of Antony,

[7] This Antony was the father of Hilarion, who in A.D. 1681 became Bishop of Souzdal, and while yet a secular priest he had been Nicon's instructor.

persisted even more firmly than before in his refusal, and besought the electors, through their envoys, to let him remain at peace in the chair of Novgorod. But his refusal only increased more and more the wish of the tsar to see him patriarch. Again there were sent to him envoys, and again they brought back from him the same answer. Then the tsar sent a great number of his most distinguished boyars and some metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and archimandrites to call him to the cathedral, and, if he again refused, to bring him even in spite of himself. Nicon appeared in the midst of the synod before the tsar and a numerous assembly of the bishops and grandees and of the chief citizens of Moscow. The tsar, rising from his place, declared his own wish, and the common wish of all the bishops and of the people, to see him patriarch. 'I am not of sufficient capacity to be primate,' replied Nicon. The tsar long entreated him in the name of all the Church of his country to consent; but Nicon persisted unmoved in his refusal. Then the tsar, the bishops, the boyars, and all the people fell flat on the pavement of the church before Nicon, and with tears besought him to be their patriarch. ['The Lord God is my witness,' says Nicon himself, 'that so it was.'] Astonished and deeply touched at this humility of the tsar, Nicon was softened. He immediately raised the tsar from the ground, and himself burst into tears. Then all the church was filled with sobbing. Some time passed; all wept, and expected from him his definitive consent. 'Then I remembered,' Nicon says of himself, 'that the heart of the king is in the hand of God, and I feared any longer to refuse.' But before giving his full consent to the election he turned to all the synod and assembly of his electors and to the tsar, and said aloud: 'Ye know how originally the light of the faith came to us, and how we received from the œcumenical patriarchs the canons of the holy Apostles, of the holy œcumenical and local councils, and of the holy Fathers, and the constitutions of the orthodox Greek emperors. In virtue all this we *call ourselves* Christians, and keepers of the canons and constitutions of the Church. So we *call* ourselves; but *in truth and fact* we *very little justify* our appellation (for the works of our profession are very scantily done among us). But remember that *not the hearers but the doers of the law are just before God: Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?* This is what our Saviour says to us. And so, if it pleases you to choose our

humility to be patriarch of all Russia, give me your word, and make a covenant in this catholic and apostolic church [*i. e.* in this catholicon or cathedral], before the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, before his holy gospel, before the image of the most blessed Virgin the Mother of God, before the holy angels and all the saints, that you promise without fail to keep the commandments of Christ's gospel, and the canons and constitutions of the holy Church, and that you will obey us in all things as your primate and supreme father. *Then*,' concluded Nicon, 'we cannot any longer refuse this great pontificate.'

'The most religious tsar, all the sacred synod, the boyars, and the people eagerly and affectionately catching up this answer,' as Nicon says, 'then and there, in that same cathedral of the primacy at Moscow, promised and vowed without fail to keep and fulfil all that had been required of them,' in his answer by Nicon. 'They testified,' he says, 'by the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the most holy Mother of God, by all the angels and all the saints, before the sacred gospel and the sacred icons.' After such solemn promises of the tsar and all the people, Nicon, to their common joy, gave his consent to be elected; and thereupon he was on that same occasion designated to be patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, in the 48th year of his life: and on the 25th July A.M. 7160, A.D. 1652, in the same cathedral of the Assumption, he was consecrated to be patriarch '*by the imposition of the hands* of Cornelius, metropolitan of Kazan and Sviajsk, with the assistance of all the sacred synod.' The new patriarch made the customary procession round the walls of the city on a horse, the bridle of which was held by the tsar himself. A banquet in the palace, and the interchange of rich presents between the tsar and the patriarch, concluded the solemnity.

The closest friendship united the new patriarch with the tsar. It was together that they prayed, together they considered public matters, together they sat at table: so it was day by day. The patriarch was godfather to the tsar's children. No affair of state whatever was decided without the opinion of Nicon being taken upon it; and his great intellect, his enterprising and determined character have left their mark on those few prosperous years of our country during which the staff of the primacy was in his hands, from A.D. 1652 to 1658. (p. 29-33.)

Services of Nicon to the Church of his Country, and to the State. (p. 33-154.)

TO THE CHURCH.

The six years of his actual patriarchate were marked by many and great services to the Church: 1. in respect of *spiritual enlightenment;* 2. in respect of the performance of divine service: and 3. in respect of the ecclesiastical administration.[8]

1. *His services in respect of spiritual enlightenment.*

From the first enlightenment of Russia by Christianity, her rulers, under the instruction of enlightened Greek bishops, acknowledged the need of schools for the instruction of the clergy, and, through the clergy, of all the Russian people. The exertions of our first Russian grand princes for the establishment of schools in Kieff and Novgorod are known. But the disorders and calamities of the times that followed—the feuds of the princes, the servitude under the Tatars, the separation of south-western Russia, and its union with a kingdom of another faith—for a long time did not allow liberal sciences to be introduced into our country. On the other hand, the peaceful state among us of Orthodoxy, preserved by the special providence of God, set at rest the minds of our ancestors, presenting a consolatory spectacle in the piety of the Russian pastors and people, and in the glory of the saints of the Church, who shone by their lives but not by learning. Hence there arose a persuasion that, since people might be pious and holy without learning, learning was superfluous. They learned and taught—and these too were but very few—only reading and writing. Meanwhile the habit of being content with such a state of things becoming more and more established, produced a fear lest any change of it might cause hurtful movements. Berch says that Boris Theod. Godounoff wished to establish in Russia even universities; but it was represented to him that if there should come in [a knowledge of] different languages there would also be brought in different creeds, and the former consent in faith would vanish. Lastly, the unhappy fate of Greece, whence in old times there came to us the light of

[8] In considering these services, the writer shows also how they were the continuation on a larger scale of what Nicon had already begun before as metropolitan of Novgorod.

instruction, seemed to cast a shadow even upon the purity of the orthodoxy of our ancient teachers, and inspired us with another fear lest, if we were to borrow as before enlightenment from the Greeks, we too ourselves might lose our much-prized orthodoxy. Our ancestors knew the flourishing condition of learning among their brethren in faith and race in the south of Russia, and yet they remained indifferent spectators of the progress of their enlightenment. It was known that this progress was purchased at the price of efforts not always favourable to the Church; and hence there were among us many people anxious for their own salvation who strove to divert curious youths from learning, and said to them: 'Such a one read too much; such a one fell into heresy from reading books.' In vain whole synods of the clergy rose up against such a tendency in their countrymen, and strove to establish schools. The unenlightened believed not in the beneficial influence of learning on purity and solidity of faith, and remained quietly in this their persuasion. But lo, to advance enlightenment in our country the same friends rise up again from whom we received the first rays of the faith. A synod of Eastern hierarchs instituting a patriarchate in Russia imposes it as a duty on our national bishops, every one in his own flock, to inspire men with a love for learning the sacred sciences, and to give assistance, to the best of his ability, both to teachers and to those who wish to learn. Our first two patriarchs had not time to exert themselves for the foundation of schools when it was necessary to think rather how to support the first foundations of the state. When an end had been put to those times of trouble, the unsatisfactory experiments made towards correcting the books of divine service showed clearly that tranquillity of the Church not secured by true enlightenment is very little to be reckoned upon. It was under the third patriarch of all Russia that the first Græco-Latin school (A.D. 1633) appeared at Moscow. It was set up near the patriarchal residence, in the Choudoff monastery, and was called the patriarchal school. Its first headmaster was a Greek named Arsenius, seen by Olearius, who was in Russia in 1633 and 1634, and again in 1643. The tsar and the patriarch had the intention to introduce similar Greek and Latin schools in many other cities also; but ignorance hastened to stifle in the bud enlightenment thus commencing. Nothing is known of the Greek and Latin school under the patriarch

Joasaph I. But under Joseph it was already an object of hatred to people who defended the corruptions of our books of divine service. Its founder and head-master himself incurred the persecution of the patriarch Joseph because he was zealous in exposing the corruptions of the Slavonian service-books then in use, and repeatedly made representations to the patriarch that he should cause our Slavonian church books to be collated with the Greek, and correct the text of the former from that of the latter. By such representations he drew upon himself from the superstitious party a suspicion of treason against Orthodoxy, and at their instance he was banished by the patriarch to the Solovetsky monastery, as if for correction of his way of thinking and conduct. The light of learning, which had only just begun to glimmer in our country, seemed now likely to be extinguished for a long time. But the good work begun by the wise patriarch Philaret was not forgotten. There arose a zealous imitator of his pastoral labours in the patriarch Nicon.

'The patriarch Nicon,' says one of the bishops of our country, 'was a pastor by his enlightenment in advance of that age.' Loving enlightenment himself, and nourished from his early years by the reading of the word of God and of the writings of the Fathers, Nicon saw with compassion enlightenment dying out among us, and sought for means to revive a desire for solid instruction in the divine and sacred writings, and to give assistance both to teachers and to them that desired to learn. He knew that it was right to value Christian living above learning; but he knew also, and saw with his own eyes, that contempt of learning leads to consequences hurtful to the Church, while solid learning may serve for the best ornament of piety itself. So already while metropolitan of Novgorod, we find him exerting himself to extend in Moscow itself the means of spiritual enlightenment. Without meddling with what concerned the patriarchal school in the Choudoff, he found means to open in Moscow a new nursery of learning. Long before that time there had arisen in Kieff learned *confraternities*, which bred up defenders of Orthodoxy for that region, which was straitened by the Uniats. The glory of these learned monastic houses was known in Moscow; but there they feared enlightenment. Free from such prejudices, Nicon persuaded the tsar to transplant some seeds of spiritual wisdom from *the southern parts of our country* to the

north, and to give them here the means of sprouting, growing up, and ripening, to the glory and adornment of the Church and the empire. And so, in A.D. 1649, at the very time at which the Greek Arsenius was sent away to the Solovetsky monastery, the germ of enlightenment found a protector in a young favourite and contemporary of the tsar, much beloved also by Nicon, the postelnik Theodore Mich. Rtischeff. Acting upon the idea and instigation of Nicon, he established for the cultivation of learning, on the bank of the Moskva, near the Sparrow Hills, at the church of the apostle St. Andrew, a monastery under the title of the Lord's Transfiguration, as if hinting that from it was now to begin the transformation of the spiritual life of our people, as it once before of old was transformed by the preaching of the first-called apostle St. Andrew. Hither there were invited learned monks from the Pecherskay Lavra at Kieff, the Mejgorsky monastery, and other houses of Little Russia. Among these the first place was held by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, 'a man wise, very experienced, very learned, an excellent teacher of philosophy and theology, perfectly well skilled in the old Hellenic Greek and in the Slavonic languages,' who had already shown at Kieff many proofs of his theological acquirements. At the same time the tsar Alexis Mich. asked to have sent to him to Moscow, from the metropolitan of Kieff Silvester Kossoff, two other learned monks of the Lavra, viz. Arsenius Satanofsky and Damascene Ptitsky, 'men well acquainted with the divine Scripture, and well skilled in the Hellenic Greek, and capable of translating from the Greek into Slavonic, and sufficiently acquainted also with the Latin language.' The purpose for which they were called to Moscow had relation not only to learning, but also to teaching. While employed in translating books of spiritual edification from the Greek into Slavonic, they were at the same time to teach the youth of Moscow the liberal sciences.[9] Thus there was created in the strictest sense a learned confraternity, with a school. At the same time Nicon set up in the Khoutinsk monastery at Novgorod a printing-press, to facilitate the diffusion of the learned labours of this confraternity over all the provinces of our country. But soon Providence enlarged the sphere of his enlightened activity.

[9] They were sent from Kieff 'for rhetorical instruction, and for the translation of Greek books.'

Having ascended, after the death of Joseph, to the patriarchal chair, Nicon took also under his own direct protection the patriarchal school in the Choudoff. As its master he now placed there Epiphanius Slavenetsky. In order to take away from the superstitious party all means of counteracting enlightenment, Nicon transported the printing-office itself into the Choudoff monastery, and placed it under the absolute control of the learned monks of the Preobrajensky and the Choudoff monasteries. As chief superintendent and corrector in the printing-office[10] there was appointed the same Epiphanius Slavenetsky. Nicon did not either forget the Greek Arsenius, who was pining in confinement in the island of Solovetsky on account of his zeal for enlightenment. Arsenius[11] was recalled to Moscow, and appointed assistant to Epiphanius Slavenetsky. Meanwhile the sharp glance of the patriarch himself watched unremittingly the acts and successes of the learned confraternity. The activity of the schools was quickened, and it produced to the Church *and to our country* the desired fruits. Much work that was truly valuable was done here for popular enlightenment, and still more was promised, by the wisdom of Nicon, the diligence of the learned men employed, and the munificence of the tsar.

In those times, when most men looked on schools as places for the perversion of minds and the corruption of christian manners, and strove by all means to discourage them, it would have been too much to expect any very great results from the Andreyeff (*i.e.* the Preobrajensky) and the Choudoff schools. It would have been enough if they had only stirred a little the intellectual torpidity of the people. But Nicon in the short time of his superintendence of these schools did through their help much more than that. The labours of the learned confraternity under his inspection were lively, rapid, and effective. The first, and, considering the necessity of that time, the capital service rendered by these schools was this, that they edited the books of divine service in the most correct form, after having

[10] He was succeeded in this office, in A.D. 1664, by Simeon, who had been archbishop of Tobolsk. In 1667 it was intrusted to Paul, then metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk (*i.e.* of Kroutits).

[11] The raskolniks call this Arsenius 'a sorcerer, an heretic, an astrologer, full of filth and corruption, a man of the Jesuitical heresy.' It is to him that they especially impute all that Nicon did for the promotion of enlightenment in the Church.

collated them with the Greek originals. But, as if not content with this arduous labour, they also composed new translations of the works of the Fathers, and even of various civil compositions, Greek and Latin, which were useful for social life. It would be tedious to enumerate one by one all their productions of this kind: they were very numerous. We will, however, mention the most important. Then, for the first time, were translated and published the *Skrijal* (πίναξ), in which was contained an explanation of the liturgy, and the doctrine concerning the sacraments of the Church; many homilies of St. Gregory the Divine, and of Athanasius the Great; the *Hexaëmeron* of St. Basil, and the *Theology* of St. John Damascene. We must not forget to mention also a new translation of the New Testament, a new translation of the full collection of the ecclesiastical canons, and of the abridgments of Blastar and of Armenopulus,[11] a translation of the *Cosmography*, and of other books. Besides these, there were translated from the Greek a great number of *Offices* for different saints celebrated by the Church, *Lives* of holy men, and various other works relating to ecclesiastical history. Lastly, there are known certain special compositions of the learned monks themselves. Thus there then appeared a *Græco-Slavono-Latin Lexicon*, as an assistance for young hands in the art of translating Greek works into Slavonic, and a *Philosophical Lexicon*, or collection of different passages from the Greek Fathers serving to explain the sacred scriptures. At the same time there were composed a number of Offices for saints of our own country, as, for instance, for St. James of Borofsk, for St. Anna princess of Tver, and others.

While burdened with so many labours, the learned correctors, translators, and composers of church books found time also for the employment properly connected with a school. It is true that the editors of the Bible in Slavonic published at Moscow in 1663 [and erroneously ascribed by some to Nicon, who in his *Replies* &c. (p. 555-559) severely blames its frontispiece][12]

[11] This 'book of Constantine Armenopulus, an abridgment of the divine and sacred canons and of the civil laws,' with all its appendices, edited by Leunclavius in his *Jus Græco-Romanum*, Slavenetsky had the patience to translate *twice*. His first translation was lost at the time of the plague of A.D. 1654. Nicon desired him to make another, and he did so.

[12] There was also an edition of the Bible published at Moscow in 1653; but that was begun under the patriarch Joseph, and printed under Nicon without

complain that 'there were not many Greek translators to be found of those by whom the Slavonic translations of the church books were corrected;' and hence it may be inferred that the schools had not then as yet succeeded in forming a sufficient number of scholars capable of translating from Greek into Slavonic. But at the revision of the Slavonic translation of the Bible published in 1674, in the list of the members of the learned confraternity at Moscow, besides Epiphanius and the hegoumen of Poutivl Sergius, we see the names also of monks of our own countrymen, Euthymius and Moses, the priest Nicephorus, and two lay printers. All these are spoken of as knowing well the Greek and Latin languages and the Slavonic grammar, and farther as having been trained in the Moscow schools under the direction of the Kieff masters.

It was not only in Moscow that Nicon wished to see schools and men of learning. He had the intention of diffusing the light of learning over all our country. We have noticed already how that synod of the œcumenical patriarchs which confirmed the establishment of the patriarchate in Russia regarded it as the duty of every bishop to urge the people in his diocese to cultivate divine and sacred learning. No doubt the duty of urging the pastors themselves to this their essential duty lay first and principally with the primates of Moscow. Nicon, as an exact

any corrections. It is true, however, that one of the great ideas of Nicon was to collate our Slavonic Bible with the Greek version of the Lxx. It was precisely for the correction from the Greek of the Slavonic Bible that he moved the tsar to call to Moscow from Kieff Arsenius Satanofsky and Damascene Ptitsky. And after that, when the Bible was reprinted with scarcely any corrections from the Ostrog edition, Nicon agreed with Epiphanius Slavenetsky as to the necessity of a new correction of it. Reading the Slavonic Bible, Epiphanius found in it some disagreement with the Greek version of the Lxx., and said to Nicon, in the hearing of many other honourable, intelligent, and judicious persons: 'We orthodox Slavonian Christians incur a very great sin, and the utmost reproach and dishonour from foreign peoples who know perfectly well the Greek, and in some degree also the Slavonic language, and who reproach us because we have not a good translation of the Bible, but even in the holy Gospel there are very many errors.' But Nicon did not succeed in completing that work which was suggested to him by Epiphanius. Nor did his successors; though a beginning was made in the very best style in September 1674. The death of Paul, metropolitan of Kroutits, who was guardian of the patriarchal chair after Pitirim and protector of the cause of enlightenment, on the 9th September 1676, and then of Epiphanius himself on the 19th November of the same year, prevented this great and holy work from being completed.

performer of his duties, prescribed to the bishops under him that 'besides teaching all their people the saving commandments of Christ, they were more especially to teach such boys as were ready to learn reading, and singing in good tone and in harmony, according to the tradition of the holy *Eastern* Church, choosing for this teachers men certified of and fearing God: and to this end they were to establish schools in such places as might be suitable, and to give no opportunity in them to any of the ignorant and idle teachers.' It is true that we cannot point to any actual results of this missive; but at any rate Nicon discharged his duty, and desired to see schools and men of learning multiplied in all the dioceses.

Meanwhile at Moscow his interest in learning brought together a library of extraordinary richness for his time. There is still preserved a catalogue of it, which was composed by command of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich, after Nicon had withdrawn to Voskresensk. In this catalogue there are entered above 1000 volumes, Greek, Latin, and German, both written and printed, on paper and on parchment. Some of them were acquired by Nicon when as yet he was only metropolitan of Novgorod. These are chiefly Greek and Latin books. Others were acquired by him after he became patriarch. These are chiefly Greek books. Many of them have been copied from MSS. belonging to our older monasteries: a still greater part are from the Levant, whither the patriarch, as we shall see, sent expressly in order to collect them the monk Arsenius Souchanoff. There entered into Nicon's library also the learned labours of the monks of the Andreyeff and Choudoff schools. His most zealous assistant in increasing this library was Arsenius the Greek. The collection of books, by the description and catalogue of them, was very miscellaneous. Besides the books of the sacred Scriptures and the works of the Fathers of the Church, we find named in this library Homer, Sophocles, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Herodotus, Thucydides, and other old Greek writers, under the general name of philosophers: we find too various books of physics, geography, logic, cosmography, lexicons, books of rhetoric, maps, &c. The patriarch himself felt the importance of his library. With a consciousness of his own merit in this respect, he speaks of it in his letters to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius and to the metropolitan of Gaza

Paisius. Many of the books are inscribed at the beginning or end by him in his own hand.[13]

Teaching the youth of his country in schools, and collecting for the benefit of their teachers 'excellent books,' Nicon at the same time restored in the Church the custom which had long been intermitted among us of public preaching. Since the instructions of the metropolitan Photius (A.D. 1410-1432), we do not find in the north of Russia a single instance of oral preaching in the churches. Gradually a belief had even been formed that oral preaching was the preaching of heresy. Instead of living oral preaching, they considered it enough to read fixed readings from the ancient doctors of the Church.

Nicon felt the need of living oral preaching, based on the word of God and the writings of the Fathers; and both by his own example and by his directions to others he made a beginning for its restoration after there had been silence for above a century in the chairs of our churches. Having begun to be silent in the sixteenth century, they now began again to make their voice heard. Nicon, for his time, knew the word of God extremely well. He from his early years had imbibed the life-giving power of heavenly truth, and had ever striven to preserve and renew within himself its divine gifts. The reading of holy Scripture and of the Fathers of the Church was his favourite employment. And so, being gifted by nature with a forcible and attractive eloquence, and fed with the reading of the holy Scripture and the holy Fathers, Nicon never let a single divine service pass in the church without a living discourse to the people.[14] His word was as fire, scathing obstinate sinners, and kindling the feeling of compunction and the gift of tears in hearts open to the words of grace. His manner was simple, natural, intelligible for all, and hearty. His voice was sonorous and agreeable. The people flocked in crowds from all sides to hear the sweet and animated

[13] Now the books and MSS. corrected by Nicon form the best part of the patriarchal or synodal library at Moscow. A detailed account of the Greek MSS. of this library was printed by the professor Mattei, at Leipsic, in 1808, entitled *Accurata Codicum Græcorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium sanctissimæ Synodi notitia et recensio;* and quite recently another has been published in Russia by the archimandrite Sabba, now bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk.

[14] The author means that he *never* celebrated the liturgy pontifically without also preaching, which is perhaps more than is borne out by the *Travels of Macarius*, or by other notices; at any rate, he preached very frequently, and whenever he celebrated on festivals.

discourses of their primate. Often tears of compunction flowed from the eyes of his hearers. His own eyes too filled with tears as he declared to them the justice of God.

But the Church was not the only place, nor the time of public divine service the only time for Nicon to preach the word of God. On every occasion and in every circumstance of life Nicon had recourse to the holy Scripture, and sought in it for expressions suitable for this or that circumstance. Did he visit a prison? he comforted the prisoners with the word of God. Did he meet by the way a poor man? as he gave alms, he also gave instruction out of the word of God. Did he observe any fault or vice? immediately he reproved it by the word of God. Did he give any one counsel in the solitude of his chamber, or in company with other people? the word of God was sure to accompany his own word. Not unfrequently the lips of Nicon, as if by some involuntary impulse, uttered expressions or clauses from the word of God even in ordinary particular conversations. Such was the habit of his soul; so did it abound in the knowledge and the love of the word of God. And it was so much the more a matter of joy for the flock to see among them such a primate, inasmuch as the clergy under him were not possessed of much spiritual enlightenment. While he taught the people in the churches, Nicon at the same time taught also the clergy. He taught his fellow-ministers besides in particular discourses with them. His assistant in this re-introduction of oral preaching was the most learned man of his time—Epiphanius Slavenetsky —of whose sermons,[15] however, only a few specimens have been preserved. Perhaps in fact he preached only very seldom.[16] However this may be, he and his great patron have the honour of having been the first preachers in the seventeenth century, of having weakened the prejudice dominant before their time against oral preaching, and of having made a beginning towards restoring it eventually *in its full power and glory*.[17]

[15] Rhetorical effusions, very unlike those of Nicon. He preached a funeral sermon at the burial of Paul metropolitan of Kroutits, in 1676, and a sermon on the Nativity of Christ, which are preserved in MS. in the Spiritual Academy of St. Petersburg.

[16] *i. e.* when he was bidden to do so. And if for the patriarch himself to preach was a novelty, not as yet generally imitated by the bishops, a simple hieromonach could not be expected to preach frequently, nor at all without a special order for him to do so.

[17] Alas, alas, what nonsense is this! The voice of one apostle or apostolic

The sermons preached by Nicon in the church have not been preserved. Perhaps he never wrote them, but only spoke them.[18] We have, however, other compositions which show sufficiently his deep and clear intellect, his extensive reading, his solid knowledge of the word of God, of the writings of the Fathers and of the canons of the Church, his pastoral zeal for the correction of them that erred, his love for enlightenment, and especially his interest in the history of his country. Most of the writings ascribed to him are undoubtedly his; about the authenticity of some there has been more or less doubt. Of the first class, the best known are the following:

1. An *Instruction or Circular Letter* to the clergy and laity of all orders and classes *for taking precautions against the plague*. Moscow, A.D. 1656. (*Drevn. Russ. Biblioth.* p. vi. p. 162-182; *Sobr. Zak.* vol. i. No. 188.)

2. A *Missive or Circular Letter* to all orthodox Christians *about the foundation of the Onega-Krestnoy monastery*. In this the patriarch states the reasons which had disposed him to found the Krestnoy monastery, and enlarges on alms for the benefit of churches and monasteries. (Printed at Moscow in A.D. 1656.)

3. The *Spiritual Paradise* (*Raï Muislenni*). One part of this book was composed by Stephen of Mount Athos, who collected in it 'different flowers about Mount Athos, about the Iversky monastery on the same holy mountain, and about the Portaissa icon.' The second part was written by Nicon in imitation of the first. It gives an account 'of the Iversky monastery on the Holy Lake (the Valdai lake), and of the translation to it of the relics of St. James of Borofsk.' (Printed in A.D. 1659, at the printing-press of the Iversky monastery.)

4. An *Address* to the synod of A.D. 1654 *about the correction of the books of divine service*. (In the Preface to the *Slujebnik* of A.D. 1655.)

5. A *Question addressed by Nicon patriarch of Moscow to the patriarchs* Macarius *of Antioch and* Gabriel *of Servia, and to the metropolitan of Iconium, with what fingers one ought to make*

man rebuking secular rulers for injustice, and maintaining the laws of God and the Church, though it may not be from a pulpit, is worth more than tens of thousands of sermons of 'sacred orators,' who now give to Cæsar the things that belong to God. And some of these are even youths, who read as sermons in the churches essays written by them before they are ordained.

[18] No doubt this was the case.

the sign of the Cross on oneself. (*Catal. Medv.* No. 155; *Moscow Soc. of R. Hist. and Antiq.* 1846, No. 2.)

6. *Correspondence of Nicon with the tsar Alexis Michaelovich.* The letters of Nicon during his mission to the Solovetsky monastery for the relics of St. Philip are especially remarkable. (*Life of Nicon* by the Archim. Apollos; *Letters of the tsar Alexis* &c.; and *Roumantseff's Collection* &c. vol. iii. No. 149-154.)

7. *Replies* (or *Objections*) *against xxvii.* [really xxx.] *Questions addressed by the boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff to the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius Ligarides, 'concerning the ruin of the affairs of the patriarchate,' and against the Answers made to him by Paisius.* Streshneff proposed these *Questions* to Paisius with a view to the judgment of the affair of Nicon while he was living in retirement in the monastery of Voskresensk, and Paisius answered them in a manner suited to the intention of Streshneff. Every answer leads to one and the same conclusion, 'Let Nicon be cast out' (*i.e.* deposed and degraded). But Nicon refuted, or, to use his own word, *demolished* (*razoril*), both the Questions of Streshneff and the Answers made to them by Paisius. Herein in his Replies xxvi. and xxvii., Nicon rises up with special vehemence and severity against the *monastirski prikaz*, and against the *code ulojenie* of the tsar Alexis Mich., which had established that prikaz in the form in which it existed at the time of Nicon. This book is very large, and shows in Nicon extensive and profound knowledge of the holy Scripture, of church-history, of the canons of the councils and fathers, and of the civil laws of his own country and of the Greeks. But it is *to be lamented* that it is written with excessive ferocity and anger against the boyars and against the monastirski prikaz.[19] *However*, any writer of the history of Nicon ought first, *with all impartiality*, to read through his *Replies*. They supply large materials for the illustration of the circumstances of the *sad fate* of this great patriarch. Part of this MS. has been printed, but with very large omissions, in vol. ii. of the S.P.B. Archeological Society, 1862. Bakmeister, in the second appendix to his little book *De Vita Patriarchæ Niconis*, Riga, 1787, has given some short extracts from it. Full copies of it in MS. are preserved in the synodal library at Moscow, in the

[19] *i.e.* against the devil, the world, and the flesh; not in that spirit of *meekness* which has characterised Russian ecclesiastics since the time of Peter the Great.

library of St. Sophia at Novgorod, in that of the Academy of Sciences, and in that of the monastery of Voskresensk.

8. *A Letter to Paisius Ligarides metropolitan of Gaza*, written in the summer of A.D. 1662.

9. *A Letter to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius* [written at the end of A.D. 1665, and intercepted in Jan. of A.D. 1666]. The contents of these two letters are [substantially] the same. Nicon sets forth in them the history of his own elevation to the patriarchate, his withdrawal from Moscow to Voskresensk, and the condition of the Church during *that troubled time*. Hereafter we shall have occasion to notice the contents of these two letters[20] in detail.

Of the compositions of Nicon about the authenticity of which there has been some difference of opinion the most remarkable is

A Russian chronicle called '*The Chronicle of Nicon*,' or '*according to the copying* [or *compilation*] *of Nicon*' (published by the S.P.B. Academy of Sciences in viii. parts in 4to, word for word from the original MS., which is subscribed by Nicon. Part i. appeared in 1767, part ii. in 1768, the other parts between 1786 and 1792). It presents a very full collation of many Russian chronicles, the *Stepennie knigi*, and Greek chronographers, brought down to the year 1630. Schletzer in his preface to its first part does not speak with positiveness of the MS. being composed by Nicon himself. What makes him doubt is this, that in the first and second volume it agrees almost word for word with what is called '*the Patriarchal copy of the Chronicle*.' So also Bakmeister remarks that it was 'impossible for Nicon, who subscribed his own original copy in A.D. 1661, to have composed this MS. within the three years that he had then been living in retirement at Voskresensk.' These grounds for doubt are of no weight. The '*patriarchal copy*' may have been compiled by Nicon himself earlier, and the fuller compilation later. Schletzer himself, judging from the writing and the style, acknowledges both these chronicles to have been written 'about the middle of the 17th century, that is, in the time of Nicon. The difference between them consists only in this,' that the first of the two contains scarcely anything but *extracts* from the old chronicles; but in the second, antiquated words are replaced by new, and the naratives themselves are supplemented by extracts from chronographers and other sources.

[20] See vol. iii. pp. 51 and 381.

But it is very doubtful whether any one of Nicon's predecessors was competent to compose such chronicles. Besides, it is by no means necessary to suppose, as Bakmeister supposes, that Nicon had only three years for the composition of the chronicle, and then, on the ground that this time is too short, to deny the authenticity itself of the writing. Nicon might begin his chronicle while he was still at Novgorod any time after he had become metropolitan there, *i. e.* after May in A.D. 1649. At any rate, many MS. chronicles preserved in the library of St. Sophia at Novgorod, and especially that which is called '*the* MS. *of St. Sophia*,' by their agreement with the chronicle of Nicon prove that they were used as sources by the compiler of that chronicle. Lastly, in its style and in the inward complexion of its thoughts it is perfectly akin to Nicon's Replies (*Vozrajenia*), which is a strong sign that it is really from the same author. In both these works there is manifest the same perspicuity and solidity of thought, the same lively imagination, deep value for great men who have conferred true benefits on the Church and their country, and stern contempt for people who, for their own advantage, abuse their rights and duties. In giving his *Chronicle* to the monastery of Voskresensk, Nicon made with his own hand a verification on its leaves, and wrote upon them: 'In the year 7169 (A.D. 1660-1661) this book was consigned to the house of the holy life-giving Resurrection (*Voskresenia*) of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, of the New Jerusalem, by the humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch. If any man shall think to appropriate it, like Achan the son of Charmi, or to conceal it, like Ananias and Sapphira, may the Lord God take away from him his holy mercy and shut against him the doors of his holy bounties; and may there come upon him no blessing, but a curse and the punishment of God spiritually and bodily, even in this present world, and in the world to come eternal torment. And if any man, of any evil intent, efface this writing from this book, may the Lord efface his name from the book of life.' Manifestly Nicon attached great value to this book as a rich treasure, and as the labour of his own hands and the fruit of his own mind and heart.

There is also ascribed to Nicon a '*Moleben for the union of the Orthodox faith*,' and a '*Moleben for the pacification of the holy Eastern Church*,' a '*Word about the right manner of making*

the sign of the Cross,' and '*Spiritual Food, that is, psalms, prayers, kanons &c. collected from many holy books, very necessary and salutary.*'

Thus it was that Nicon laboured to promote spiritual enlightenment in our country. But his enlightened glance could not fail to see also those disorders which had then crept into the divine service, and into the government of our Church. And Nicon actively endeavoured to restore the beauty and decency of the common divine service, and the rightful order of the Church-government.

2. *Pastoral labours of the patriarch Nicon for the good order of public worship.*

In the church of our country there was then prevalent a strange custom, firmly rooted by time, of reading and singing in the common divine service, for greater despatch, with two or three voices at once. The vigil and the vesper service were divided into a number of parts, and all these parts were begun and gone through simultaneously. The ectenias and the exclamations were altogether blended with the singing of the choirs. One reader, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, would begin the nocturn at the cathism; another at the same time would read the creed, the troparia, and so on, to the end of the nocturn. One was finishing the six psalms (the ἑξάψαλμος, at the beginning of the matins); another at that same time was already finishing the cathisms; a third was singing *Glory*, &c. And these all vied with one another who could read and sing fastest; so that there was no possibility either to hear or to understand what they were reading. In the churches they allowed with indifference a manner of singing which was disorderly, wild, destitute of all decorum, and carried on besides at one and the same time in different styles, and with the same disorder as the reading. From the difference of the signs used for the musical notes, which they kept to in a servile manner, and from the greater or less capacity for singing, there arose also differences in the styles. They would draw out the words to an extreme length by a prolonged dwelling of the voice on every vowel, they would change the accents on the words, whence instead of good order there was often produced in the church scandal. The venerable Dionysius, archimandrite of

the Troitsa monastery of St. Sergius, said once to Loggin, a well-known choirmaster of his time: 'Thou art the director of all; but of what thou singest and sayest thou hast no understanding; that is, thou hast no notion of singing and reading so that what is sung and read may best be understood; whereby thou both throwest into confusion the brethren in the church of God and makest people to laugh at them. In reading and praying thou sayest *Averaámou i siúymeni*, whereas everywhere there is an acute accent on the letter *Yat* (the *iúy*) thus, *i siúymeni:* but thou, as thou thyself utterest it, so also dost thou sing, and singest out aloud: *Averaámou i sieymení yevo dò vieyka*,' &c. But in this lamentable state our church reading and singing remained only till Nicon, who in the short time of his episcopate made so many reforms and restorations, appeared in the metropolitan chair of Novgorod. He at once issued an order that in all the churches of his diocese they should sing and read with only one voice at a time, without hurry, with becoming reverence, so that the divine service should have that gravity and grandeur which is proper to its spirit. For better success in this important work he wrote to Kieff for men skilled in the Greek and Kieff styles of singing, and in singing in parts, and he employed them to instruct his own singers. By the help of these teachers he introduced about himself an agreeable and harmonious style of singing. Shusherin says that the metropolitan Nicon first introduced in the cathedral the singing in the Greek and in the Kieff styles, and paid very great attention to the singing, and for its greater glory formed choirs with admirably-trained singers and select voices, who sang with their souls, and made music better than that of any organ or instrument that has no soul. And such singing as that heard with the metropolitan Nicon was to be heard with no other bishop. But such sensible superiority of the church-singing introduced by Nicon above all other singing of that time [*i.e.* known in Muscovy], and that superior and excellent order which he had also introduced after abolishing the abuse of reading and singing with a number of voices together, was received by his contemporaries not with gratitude and respect, but with discontent and open murmurs. The patriarch Joseph himself looked on all this as unseasonable innovation, and expressed his dissatisfaction to Nicon in the hearing of those who were attached to himself. Nevertheless, in spite of the dis-

satisfaction of the patriarch, and the irrational murmurings of his contemporaries, who regarded the eradication of ecclesiastical disorders as an attack upon the due performance of divine offices, and delighted in disorderly reading and singing, Nicon did not desist from his purpose. On the contrary, he went on more and more zealously, being encouraged by the special good-will of the tsar. Every time that Nicon came from Novgorod to Moscow the tsar invited him to celebrate the liturgy in the palace. Nicon celebrated there with his new singers, and according to his reformed order of reading, in the presence of the tsar, who listened with pleasure to the harmonious well-ordered singing, and approved of the orderly performance of divine service established by Nicon. Nicon knew how to use this pleasure and approbation of the tsar for his own end. He suggested to him to establish the like order of reading and singing throughout all Russia. Accepting this advice of Nicon, the tsar in A.D. 1651 assembled a council in his palace; and by it the improvement introduced by Nicon in the church reading and singing was extended to the whole of Russia. The synod ordained that 'according to the tradition of the holy Apostles and the holy and divinely-inspired Fathers, they were to sing in the holy churches of God after an orderly manner, without disturbance, in Moscow and in all the cities, with only one voice at a time: in the vespers and compline, and nocturns and matins they were to say the psalms and the psalter with one voice at a time, quietly, and without hurrying, with all attention, without anything to disgrace the Church.' The roll of this synodal decree was ordered to be read in all the churches from the ambon, in order that it might be known to all. In Moscow soon after this, through the pious zeal of the tsar, there was formed a choir of singers. By Nicon's advice the tsar brought from Kieff proficients in singing, and commissioned them to teach the singing-clerks (the choir-*diaks*) of Moscow.

After becoming patriarch, Nicon continued with even greater zeal than before to extend and complete these useful labours, in spite of the turbulent murmurs of his contemporaries. To this end he inspired the diocesan bishops with the same care as his own, and urged them to this labour in the name of the tradition of the *Eastern* Church. And the pastors of our country, obeying their primate, became his fellow-labourers. They severely

visited disobedience and obstinacy, which attempted to retain in the churches the former disorderly singing and reading; they continually sent about their dioceses letters on the subject of reading with one voice only at a time, and singing with order and harmony. Thus Jonah, the metropolitan of Rostoff, who had been chosen to that see by the patriarch Nicon, in a circular letter exhorted all his flock that 'in the monasteries and parish churches they should sing with one voice only at a time, and without hurrying, with all reverence' (*Act. Hist.* iv. No. 62). And again, in A.D. 1657, he sent to the Cyrilloff monastery at Bielo-ozero, to the archimandrite Metrophanes and the brethren, a letter 'on the strict observance of good order in the church,' &c. (*Act. Archeogr. Exp.* iv. No. 335). Besides this, they instituted a strict watch over the execution of their injunctions: they threatened such as should disobey with heavy fines, and with severe punishment without mercy. Meanwhile Nicon himself took measures to improve the singing of divine service in the churches of Moscow. With the consent of the tsar he wrote to bring proficients in the Greek style of singing from Greece itself, and invited the best singers of the Kieff style, and the best for singing in parts, from Kieff and Novgorod. In November A.D. 1656 there arrived at Moscow with a letter of recommendation from the patriarch of C.P. the hierodiacon *Meletius*, to teach the Greek singing to the Moscow *diaks* and *pod-diaks*. In the same year there was sent a messenger to Kieff to obtain one of the best singers there for singing in parts, Joseph Zazvoisky, to be a director of singing in parts at Moscow. In October of the same year Nicon wrote to the voivode at Novgorod Galitsin, to seek out there and send to Moscow a *regent* of those from White Russia, to teach the people at Moscow the Kieff singing and singing in parts. And the care of the patriarch was not without success. Through his exertions 'singing and science' (musical science), to use the words of one of his contemporaries, 'were extended from Great Novgorod to all the cities and monasteries of the patriarchal province of Great Russia, and throughout all their territories.' The pastors of the times that followed found their delight in those sweet and appropriate styles of singing which had been improved, or introduced into the churches, by the exertions of Nicon. 'What sin is it,' said his successor the patriarch Joasaph, addressing the raskolniks, 'that they sing the

Greek, or Bulgarian, or Little-Russian style in the churches? Why—tell us, ye who are against it—are we not to like their sweet singing, when it either moves the heart to compunction, or frees the mind from tedium and melancholy in prayer, or makes one hear with delight the church service? Certainly these *effects* are good; and therefore the thing itself is good too.'

Another still more important defect of that time was the corrupt state of our books of divine service. Long before our pastors had felt this defect, and had taken measures for its correction: but notwithstanding all their cares and labours the inaccuracies in the church books, far from diminishing, had only been multiplying year by year; so that not only insignificant faults but even heresies had crept into them (*Praschitsa Douch.* fol. 77 over leaf). The patriarch Nicon found in them, besides blunders of translators, copyists, and printers, 'newly introduced directions, which had been followed and held to,' as it is said in the *Praschitsa Douchovnaia*, 'through the gross ignorance of the five patriarchs' who had preceded him. We will not attempt to enumerate in detail all[21] these errors. We will direct attention only to those grave faults which were added to the former, and left as a legacy to the patriarch Nicon by his immediate predecessor the patriarch Joseph. The books printed under him are a treasure for the raskolniks. The people who were intrusted by him with the editing and printing of the church books were altogether unworthy of so high a trust, and filled them with a multitude of blunders and barbarous additions. It was at this time that there appeared in the church books the false doctrine about the double *Alleluia*, and the addition of the word '*very*' in the eighth article of the creed. Besides this, the editors of the books, taking advantage of the blessing of the patriarch to print a book compiled from various other works, '*Of the one true and Orthodox Faith; and of the holy Church*,' put into it their false doctrine concerning the most essential point for the starobratsi, viz. the doctrine of Abbakoum about the manner of putting together the fingers, supported by a reference to Theodoret, which had already before that appeared in a collec-

[21] In the *Praschitsa Douchovnaia*, fol. 33 to 48, there is an exact enumeration of the errors which had been admitted by our first patriarchs into the books of divine service.

tion (*sbornik*) known by the name of the '*Book of Cyril*,' though in it there was inserted only one homily of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, about Antichrist. The same perverse interpretation about the manner of putting together the fingers, supported by a reference to Theodoret, was introduced into the *Sleydovannaia Psaltir* and into the *Slujebnik*. Lastly, that the newly-introduced false doctrine might be more successfully insinuated into young minds, it was inserted into the preface of the *Learner's Psalter*, and into the *Short Catechism* of Peter Mogila, notwithstanding that in the Kieff catechism, from which this last was reprinted, there is a clear direction to cross oneself with three fingers. These corrupted books were printed to the number of 6000 copies, and with the consent of the patriarch Joseph sent over all Russia. Together with these there was diffused everywhere the practice of making the sign of the cross with two fingers. Only very old people and simple people, who had never before heard of crossing with two fingers, nor knew the writing imputed to Theodoret, but kept to the old tradition of the Church, remained uninfected by it. Even Nicon himself, 'that firm observer and most zealous guardian of the doctrines, and unshaken pillar of orthodoxy,' as he is called by one of the bishops *of our country* (in the *Praschitsa Douch.* fol. 48), crossed himself at that time with two fingers. So deeply and so widely had those errors, which are the foundation of the *raskol*, shot their poisonous roots! But 'of the rest of the discrepancies and errors, of the additions and omissions,' we will say, with the writer of the *Praschitsa Douchovnaia* (*i.e.* the *Spiritual Sling*), that 'for their multitude we omit to write them: what was introduced into the books either by unskilful translators, or by unintelligent annotators, or by heretics, for want of room we do not attempt here to write.' The patriarch Joseph himself, for whom in the last days of his life it was no longer a secret how the newly-printed church books had been corrupted, was horror-struck at his own position; and he had a strong fear that they would make him resign the primacy for his want of due caution in choosing the correctors of the books. With this fear, with this painful thought in his mind, he died. 'Basil Boutourlin said to me,' the tsar wrote to Nicon, telling him of the death of the patriarch Joseph, 'that the patriarch's diak, Theodore Toropoff, said to him: There was on the mind of him the hossoudar (*i.e.* of the patriarch

Joseph) a strong apprehension, and he said himself: They want to change me; they want to get rid of me; and if so be they do not depose me, I will myself, without any dispute, petition to retire; and I have prepared money upon which to retire, when they depose me: thus he was continually thinking and saying' (*Act. &c.* iv. no. 57).

But where Joseph was only horror-struck, and felt himself powerless, the great mind of Nicon saw means to eradicate the evil. It is, however, to be remarked to his honour, that he did not begin hastily to correct the errors which had crept into our service-books; nor, when he had begun, did he execute this great work hurriedly. For this caution there were good reasons. The judicious Nicon, to whose intelligence the Eastern patriarchs paid a due tribute of respect,[22] while it was admired by foreigners, could not but see that an adequate correction of the church books could be obtained only by collating them with the Greek text. But at that time among us they did not trust the later Greek books, reckoning as faithful only the old MSS. This mistrust caused them to use Greek books only with great reserve and caution; only so far as they agreed with the old Slavonic MSS. The multitude of the people who were blinded by this prejudice, of obstinate ignorant people altogether unprepared, or but little prepared, to admit the correction of the church books, of people who had already begun to excite discontent against Nicon for his zeal for good order in the services of the Church, was a special clog upon the patriarch. On the other hand, the bad success of former attempts to correct the church books, which had only introduced fresh errors and discrepancies, made the task all the heavier for any future corrector. Hence, for the first year and a half after his accession to the patriarchate, Nicon allowed the books to be reprinted, sometimes with only a request to the reader to excuse inaccuracies;[23] sometimes he gave permission to make some trifling corrections from the old printed Greek books and the old Slavonic translations[24] which were accounted trustworthy by his contemporaries; sometimes he

[22] 'We have thee written on our soul, for thy worth and for the understanding which God has given thee,' wrote to Nicon, in 1654, the œcumenical patriarch Paisius. See vol. ii. *Travels*, &c. App. ii. p. 411.

[23] So in 1652 were printed the *Kanonik*, the *Tsvetnaia Triod*, and the *Apostol*; in 1653 the *Gospel*, the *Apostol*, and the *Obshchaia Menæia*.

[24] So in 1653 was printed the *Chasoslov* (*Horologium*).

suppressed manifest and ill-intentioned additions. And to these slight changes, condescending to the suspicious attitude in which men's minds then were, he adds an admonition not to be scandalised at them. Such caution was all the more necessary, because in those times men received even grammatical corrections with mistrust, regarding them as a damage done to the purity of the faith; and so it was necessary, even with regard to them, to tranquillise the suspicious minds of unintelligent zealots for antiquity. Meanwhile Nicon had before him the task not only of correcting expressions, but also of restoring the sense itself: and this powerful athlete, coming forth to open desperate conflict with popular prejudice, gradually prepared himself, and prepared all that was necessary, for the great work which formed the problem of that time.

In July A.D. 1653 there returned from the Levant Arsenius Souchanoff, who had been sent thither in A.D. 1649 by the tsar Alexis Mich. and the patriarch Joseph, to make a description of the holy places and of the Greek church ceremonies; and he returned just at that time when those disturbers of the peace, who had shown their wilfulness under the patriarch Joseph, and were discontented with Nicon, had gained strength, and were introducing open schisms. At that time they had among us a very strong prejudice against the Greeks. The sovereignty of the infidel Turks over them, as our fellow-countrymen then thought, had impaired the orthodoxy itself of the Greek Church. Hence the most essential question which occupied in that troubled time the minds of our ancestors was the following: Does the Greek Eastern Church, which the patriarch Nicon sets up as a touchstone for the Russian, itself retain its ancient orthodoxy? They were expecting the decision of this question from the *προσκυνητάριον* (*i. e.* written account of the pilgrimage or travels) of Arsenius Souchanoff. But unhappily he decided the question in a very superficial way. Arsenius, while describing in his journal the order of divine service followed at Jerusalem, forgot that the rule and the observance of the rule are not one and the same thing. Having been used to see a strict and exact, though not sufficiently orderly, performance of the church ceremonies in the flourishing empire of Moscovy (where the bishops and clergy had nothing to hinder their care for regularity in the Church), and not attending to the suffering condition of the Eastern

Christians, he made unfavourable remarks on every trifling neglect to observe the *rule* in the Greek Church; so that by his censures and inconsiderate criticisms, even while he was still staying at Jerusalem, he caused the patriarch of Jerusalem Paisius to complain of him to the tsar. These same remarks of Arsenius, being favourable to the feeling then prevalent in men's minds about the church books, became a stumbling-block for such people as were devoted to the newly-introduced errors contained in the books printed under the patriarch Joseph, and produced great scandal. The zealots for supposed antiquity, not distinguishing the Eastern Greek Church itself from individuals who might act irregularly in it, agreed together that though the Greek Church differs from ours in some ceremonies, and though the Greeks do not make the sign of the cross on themselves in the same way, there is no need to look off to them. They are no more worthy of our imitation, because they have fallen away from the ancient orthodoxy.[25] Notwithstanding the agitation which had arisen, notwithstanding the unreasonable objections against Greek orthodoxy, the patriarch Nicon did not lose sight of his main purpose, that of bringing the service-books of the Russian Church into conformity with the Greek. Nicon saw that the time was come for this holy work, and he heard from many persons convincing statements of the errors which had crept into our books. At one time it was the accomplished boyar Rtischeff who revealed to him the damage done to our *Oustav* (τυπικὸν); at another the illustrious Epiphanius showed him that our *Slujebnik* in many things did not agree with the Greek Slujebnik. However, the cautious patriarch did not, without more particular examination, receive the remarks of Epiphanius and other enlightened contemporaries. He made an examination of the patriarchal library. Here in the first place he came upon the acts of the Moscow and Constantinople synods about the institution of the patriarchate in our country.

[25] Observe here how the sin of schism works itself out: First the Greek or Eastern Church, being only a minority, stands out, not only in a moment of passion or misunderstanding, but permanently, against the unity of the Church: then these poor ignorant people have not even an idea of there being for them any law of unity at all; but they are ready to separate, not only from the Greek patriarchs, but from all the Russian bishops too: and the rest that remain after the condemnation of Nicon are kept together only by the *national* civil government.

With confusion of spirit he read in them that passage which enjoins perfect agreement between the Greek and the Russian Churches. This injunction struck Nicon. He felt more deeply than before that it was his duty to correct all errors, and that he could not decline the task, whatever might be its difficulty. Moreover, in this same act the Creed was contained, written not [exactly] in the same form in which it appeared in the recently-printed Moscow books. The new reading of the Creed disagreed in the same way with another copy of it in Greek, which was worked in pearls on a sakkos brought to Moscow from Greece in the time of the Russian metropolitan Photius. The patriarch began to examine the Slujebnik, and found in it 'one thing added, another omitted, another altered and corrupted.' He turned to the other books of divine service, and was equally struck at their variations from the old Greek and Slavonic books. In order to cut off this evil, Nicon in A.D. 1654 proposed to the tsar—grounding himself on the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy œcumenical and local councils, by which it is ordained that synods should be held annually for the needs of the Church (Can. Apost. xxxvii., I. Œcum. Coun. can. v., Antioch xx., Chalc. xx., VI. Œcum. viii., and VII. Œcum. vi.)—to convoke a synod, and to deliberate about the discrepancies existing between the books of divine service recently printed at Moscow and the Greek and the old Slavonic. The tsar approved the proposal, and appointed his own palace to be the place for the meeting of the synod. The tsar was himself present at this synod; which was attended, besides the patriarch, by five metropolitans, four archbishops, one bishop, eleven archimandrites or hegoumens, and thirteen protopopes. 'The most holy Nicon,' says the chronicle, 'like Elias, who saw the vision of God, being zealous for the Lord God Almighty,' proposed to the synod this question: 'Are we to follow the new Moscow-printed books, in which we have found many discrepancies from the old books, both Greek and Slavonic, that is, errors caused by the inaccuracy either of translators or of copyists? or are we to follow the old Greek and Slavonic books, which conjointly indicate the same *order* which the *Ustav* (the τυπικὸν) indicates; in which the holy men of God and the makers of these books, the Eastern divines and teachers, such as Athanasius the Great, Basil the Great, Gregory the Divine, John Chrysostom, John Damascene,

and Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and Philip, the Moscow wonderworkers, and other saints learned how to officiate and please God?' The *tsar* and *all the synod* unanimously replied: 'It is meet and right to correct the new books by the old parchment books and by the Greek. And we decree that all shall so be done,' added the synod, 'as the Greek books and our old books and *Oustaves* direct.' But already before this synodal decree the patriarch, by an oukaz of the 11th January A.D. 1653 (A.M. 7161), had called for a return of the books of the chief monasteries, 'in order that it might be known what books there were and where which might be serviceable for the correction and printing of the church books.' Now also he made an order that there should be sent to Moscow from all the old Russian convents the old church books translated 500 years ago or more, and written on parchment. The books thus called for were sent from all quarters from the old Russian libraries; from the cathedral of St. Sophia at Novgorod, from the Yourieff monastery, from the Khoutinsk, from the Troitsa of St. Sergius, from the monastery of Volokolamsk, and from the rest of the monasteries and cities. But the tsar and the patriarch were not content with this rich collection of old books from Russian libraries; nor would they decide on entering upon the execution of the work undertaken by them without first communicating about it with the Eastern patriarchs. 'The divinely-elected pair, the orthodox tsar and the Christ-loving patriarch, thought with sound judgment' to strengthen the decision of the Russian synod by the voice of the Eastern patriarchs. If ever, at that time certainly it was necessary for the patriarch Nicon to show that he was not seeking to establish anything new, but striving in every way to follow the tradition of the Eastern Church. And in such a spirit it was that he acted. He with the consent of the tsar sent to the Eastern patriarchs a trustworthy and well-intentioned man, a Greek named Manuel, giving him letters with *Questions* about the inaccuracies introduced into our books of divine service, and with a notice of the intention of correcting them. The matter went on rapidly. In the same year 7162 the patriarch Paisius, after receiving the letters, convoked a synod, in which there were present twenty-four metropolitans, one archbishop, and three bishops, with the rest of the clergy; and by the unanimous voice of the synod they confirmed the determination of the synod which

had been held at Moscow. Paisius without loss of time sent to the patriarch Nicon the synodal decision, 'to follow in all things the writings of the ancient great orthodox doctors of the Eastern Church, contained in the old Greek and Slavonic books.' To this he appended synodal answers to XXV. *Questions* proposed by Nicon, a true Greek copy of the Creed, and the πίναξ (in Slavonic *Skrijal*), revised and approved, as he wrote, by the synod. The patriarch desired Nicon not to depart in anything from the rules of the Eastern Church, 'that we may have no difference, as true children of one and the same Church, and that the foul lips of the heretics may find no occasion whatever to reproach us for any difference.'

The decision of the synod of the Greek pastors disposed Nicon to new exertions. In former times, in the correction of our books of divine service, they had either paid no attention at all to the Greek originals, making corrections only from the Slavonic translations, which themselves were not free from inaccuracies, or if they did sometimes refer to the Greek books, it was to books which were not of sufficient authority, and which did not decide difficult questions, either from their being few, or from their being of modern printed editions, which among us were not regarded as trustworthy. Nicon determined to make a collection in the Levant of old Greek books, and to collate with them, as well as with the old Slavonic translations, our books of divine service. Knowing that 'the Greek sacred scriptures are for us Slavonians the prototype, from which we derive all our books, neither adding anything nor taking away, let us conform ourselves,' he said, 'altogether to them.' Knowing that the holy Eastern Church, as it is said in the *Praschitsa Douchovnaia*, 'for all trustworthy confirmation has the abundant treasure of the old MS. books; and that in Constantinople, in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Alexandria, on Mount Athos, and Mount Sinai, and in the other places in those regions, there exists a very great multitude of books, in the dioceses, and in the holy convents,' he sent to Mount Athos and to other Eastern monasteries Arsenius Souchanoff, who was already known to them. Arsenius had instructions to spare no expense for the acquisition of old Greek MSS. and printed books; and in Jan. of A.D. 1655 he returned with so rich and abundant a treasure as astonished even the worshippers of antiquity

falsely so called (*Praschitsa*, fol. 151 and 159). On Mount Athos alone he obtained as many as five hundred books of divine service and of instruction; among which there was one gospel reckoned to be then one thousand and fifty years old, another six hundred years old, one slujebnik six hundred years old, and another four hundred and fifty years old. About two hundred more MSS. were obtained in other places. Of the books of divine service there were brought to Moscow: of the Bible two copies, of the psalter four, of the gospel six, of the apostol two, of the slujebnik four, of the euchologion or trebnik (office book) three, of the oustav (τυπικὸν) eight, of the kanonik two, of the molitvoslov one, of the chasoslov one, of the Triadic hymns one, of the kontakarion one, of the menæa for the services for Sept. three, for Oct. one, for Nov. one, for Dec. two, for Jan. two, for Aug. one; of the ordinal one, of the order for giving the monastic tonsure one. Besides this, the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Servia, and other orthodox bishops, out of respect for the requests of the Russian patriarch, sent to Moscow as many as two hundred of the oldest books. By the letters from Mount Athos it appears that, from the single monastery of Iviron on Athos, there were obtained by Arsenius one hundred and fifty-six books. As an archæological rarity, we may mention a copy of the *Chronicle of Manasses*, brought by him from the Khiliandari monastery.

When thus all had been prepared for a thorough correction of the books of divine service, there came to Moscow the patriarchs Macarius of Antioch and Gabriel of Servia, and the metropolitans Gregory of Nicæa and Gideon of Moldavia.[26] The patriarch Nicon made their presence useful for his purpose. He convoked in A.D. 1655 a fresh synod of the Russian pastors, and invited to it the Eastern hierarchs. The synod was opened by the reading of the gospel, the apostolical epistles, the canons of the seven œcumenical councils, the determinations of the synod held the year before in the tsar's palace, and the synodal act sent to Nicon by the patriarch Paisius. After that, Nicon, 'that unshaken pillar of orthodoxy, and most intelligent and expert student of the divine and sacred canons, that indescrib-

[26] This latter really came only in A.D. 1656: the patriarch of Antioch and the patriarch or primate of Servia had already come into Russia in the summer of A.D. 1654.

able zealot and most worthy champion of the doctrines, ordinances, and traditions of the fathers,' as he is called in the *Praschitsa Douchovnaia* (fol. 134 overleaf), addressed himself to the synod for consultation respecting the books of divine service. First he submitted to the inspection of the synod the old Greek and Slavonic books, together with the recently-printed Moscow books, in order to expose and condemn by the voice of the synod the inaccuracy of these latter, and to establish and affirm the correctness of the former; and the fathers of the synod, having examined the old MS. Greek and Slavonic books, found the old Greek to agree in all respects with the old Slavonic; but in the recently-printed Moscow books they discovered many discrepancies from the old Greek and Slavonic: and they unanimously decided to follow the determinations of the synods previously held at Moscow and Constantinople. Then Nicon exposed for synodal condemnation that way of putting together the fingers to make the sign of the cross which was set up by the recently-printed books. The patriarchs of Antioch and Servia, with the two[27] foreign metropolitans, unanimously rejected this newly-introduced custom, and struck with excommunication from the Church those who insisted on people crossing themselves with two fingers. Lastly, Nicon submitted to the examination of the synod the *Slujebnik* already corrected by him, and the *Skrijal*, which he had caused to be translated. The fathers of the synod, having examined these two books, approved them, and ordered them to be printed. At the same time with this approval the synod decreed that the other church books also, as being full of inaccuracies, were to be corrected, and made to agree in all points both with the old Greek and the old Slavonic sacred books, in which there was found no inaccuracy; and that so they should be printed. So now there was accomplished exactly, that which had long been spoken of as a matter to be desired in the last words appended to the church books: it was accomplished, that is to say, precisely in the way which had been indicated by the *Stoglav* council, though that council did not itself follow it: the correction was in the full sense *synodical* and *legal*.

Grounding himself on the decree of the synod, the patriarch Nicon now with boldness and determination proceeded to the

[27] Not the *two* in A.D. 1655.

correction of the service-books. Those trustworthy persons to whom he committed this great work—the learned monks of the Andreyeff and Choudoff schools—notwithstanding that the worshippers of the corrupted books called them traitors to orthodoxy, with all caution and with zeal, without sparing labour or pains, justified the confidence reposed in them by the patriarch. They partly translated anew the books necessary for divine service; partly corrected, as is remarked in the *Praschitsa*, the inaccuracies in the gospels by other old gospels, those in the apostols by other old apostols, in the octoichs by octoichs, in the menæa by menæa, in the triodia by triodia, in the trebniks by trebniks, in the slujebniks by slujebniks, in the oustaves by oustaves, in the psalters by psalters, in the chasoslovs by chasoslovs, in the irmologia by irmologia; and they collated the book that they were correcting not with one only or with two others, but with many editions or MS. copies of one and the same book.

Of the books thus corrected anew the first to appear in print was the *Slujebnik*. They entered upon the correction of it before any other books on account of its primary importance. After it there was published in a Russian translation the *Skrijal* (πίναξ), for which the patriarch Nicon, according to the declaration of one of the most enlightened of his contemporaries, 'deserves the everlasting gratitude of the Church.' (See the *Jesl Pravlenia*, P. i. p. 129). 'As of old the patriarch Jacob to water the natural sheep rolled away the natural stone from the natural well'—thus it is written in the preface to the *Skrijal*—'so he (the patriarch Nicon) now rolls away the intellectual stone of ignorance which lies on the mind of many, in order that the rational sheep of Christ may be watered with the pure water of the intelligent sight of the signs or types of the sacerdotal service—he rolls it away zealously from the intellectual well of the sacred sacramental services.' And it was not without reason that they so extolled Nicon for publishing the Skrijal. This book was especially important for Russian readers at that time for this reason, that in it all was directed in the most apposite way against the errors then prevalent. How powerfully it exposed and confuted the errors of the zealots for so-called antiquity, how hard it struck their newly-introduced doctrine, may be seen from this, that immediately after its appearance, they rose up and raved, like men possessed, with divers soul-destroying calumnies against

the Church. One may see the same from those bitter attacks which they made upon it, reviling every word, every rule, every explanation contained in it. In every sentence in it they discovered a heresy; in one the Apollinarian, in another the Nestorian, in another Judaism (see P. i. of the *Jesl Pravlenia*, which may be called an apology for the *Skrijal*), in another innovating sophistry. They affirmed that 'no one of the theologians had ever dared to write like Nicon.' But Nicon did not for all that desist from his pastoral labours. From the time of the publication of the *Skrijal*, no year passed [*i.e.* till he withdrew to Voskresensk] without the correction and publication of some one or more of the church books under the immediate superintendence of the patriarch himself. Before July in A.D. 1658 under his personal inspection there were edited—the Lent *Triod*, the *Apostol*, the *Sleduvannaia Psaltir* (from which were expunged the ill-intentioned additions about the manner of putting together the fingers in crossing oneself), the *Chasoslov*, the *Irmologion*, translated anew, the *Trebnik*, and a *Collection* (*sbornik*) of prayers. Also even the names of saints, which had lost their correct orthography, and at the same time their etymological significance, from the inexperience of copyists and the ignorance of printers, the patriarch Nicon 'altered,' to use the words of one of the Russian patriarchs (in the *Jesl Pravlenia*, P. ii. p. 150), 'with a laudable alteration: that is, from imperfection to perfection: that every name might possess its proper significance, those have been brought to perfection which were before written incorrectly.' Striving thus to root out former errors which had crept into the books, Nicon at the same time did his best to provide that there should be no opening for the admission of any errors into his own new books. To this end, taught by the bitter experience of his predecessor, he kept the printing-press under his own personal inspection, his own direct orders, and forbade them to proceed to the printing of any of the newly-corrected books without a special permission from himself.

Reforming the order of divine service, endowing the churches of God with a correct and devotional style of singing, an intelligible and decorous manner of reading, and purifying the service-books from the corruptions which had crept into them, Nicon at the same time turned his attention also to the outward adornment of the churches, in order to make them places worthy

of the special presence of God, and of the celebration of the saving mystery of the Body and Blood of the Lord. The piety of our ancestors from old time had loved to adorn magnificently the churches of God. But during the horrors of the pretenders, when Moscow and many other towns were repeatedly in flames, when the holy monasteries and churches in them were burned, the Church lost the greater part of her outward ornaments. The Poles, as two centuries later the French, distinguished themselves by such fanaticism that they not only plundered the Russian churches of their gold, silver, and precious stones, but they even purposely broke in pieces and burned the icons themselves. From the time of the accession of the religious tsar Michael Theod. and in the days of the very zealous patriarch Philaret Nikitich, the churches and convents of our country began again to shine with magnificence. But they were never so richly and so magnificently adorned in our country as in the time of the tsar Alexis Mich. and the patriarch Nicon. Nicon loved in the highest degree the beauty of outward magnificence in the church. When metropolitan of Novgorod, he magnificently furnished and adorned there the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the church of St. Nicetas bishop of Novgorod at Moscow in the podvorie of St. Sophia. Gold, silver, and jewels shone on the holy icons, the sacred vessels, and the pontifical vestments with which Nicon adorned himself, 'like Aaron,' according to his own words. The same zeal for a worthy decoration of the holy churches was translated with him also to the patriarchal chair. Then in Moscow the cathedral of the primacy was magnificently adorned: the tsar caused a new iconostase to be made for it, on which the *deisousi* (δεήσεις), the festivals, the prophets, the patriarchs, and the local icons, were sheathed with carved silver, in parts gilt. Nicon himself solemnly consecrated it.

However, Nicon perceived, and with great regret, that the art of icon-painting in our country was far from answering for the worthy representation of sacred persons and subjects. Our icon-painting, which at a former period had been valued even in foreign countries (*Assemanni, Kalend. Eccl. Univ.* i. p. 9, 75 &c.), was in the seventeenth century, according to the testimony of an eyewitness, a miserable and ugly imitation of the Greek. Nicon was not of a character to endure with indifference this defect in the sanctuary. There was need to excite in his fellow-

countrymen a taste, zeal, and love for icon-painting, and to give them all the means for a correct and successful cultivation of all their artistic talents. To this end, in the happy years of Nicon's primacy the best icon-painters from all the cities were called together to Moscow, to restore and decorate the churches there. The emulation that was thus excited produced its fruits in a decided improvement of style and art. Many of these icon-painters were retained in the service of the tsar and the patriarch in their courts, and received good maintenances. At length Nicon asked the tsar to raise the icon-painters to the rank of the first artisans in Russia. Patronising in this way the artists, Nicon himself watched personally over the productions of their pencils, praised what was good in them, and corrected their defects. In this respect he paid attention not only to the suitableness and beauty of the representation, but also to the correctness of the drawing itself. So, for instance, he ordered them to paint the Evangelist St. John with the symbol of the eagle and without the cross on his throat, and St. Mark with the symbol of the lion, whereas before it was the contrary way. But when skilful icon-painters had magnificently painted with sacred representations the churches, the tsar for the patriarch his friend did not spare gold, silver, precious stones, and brocades to clothe the sacred icons. Nicon at the same time himself increased the wealth and number of magnificent ornaments from his own personal revenues. The best of the old patriarchal vestments which are now preserved in the vestry at Moscow, the richest panagias, sakkoses, and mitres, belonged to the patriarch Nicon. 'Nicon,' says one of the bishops of our country, 'was sumptuous in externals even to such a degree as to provoke envy.'

A special magnificence of external ornaments distinguished the Iversky monastery, the special object of Nicon's interest and care during the first years of his patriarchate. Nicon built it so that it should be 'a wonder to all beholders.' Lastly, Nicon did not forget either the skeet of Anzer, the first school of his monastic exercises, where he lived his best years of a quiet life. Besides interceding with the tsar for alms for the improvement and maintenance of Anzer, Nicon himself also, at the same time that he sent to his former superior the elder Eleazar 'a fish, a sturgeon,' made a present to the monastery of rich

frames and sheathings for the holy icons. But the crowning work of Nicon's pastoral wisdom in adorning the churches of God is the church of Christ's Resurrection in his New Jerusalem, which has at all times excited the admiration not only of his countrymen, but also of foreigners.

There exists an opinion, based on Nicon's love for magnificence in the church, that he was the first to introduce into the Church of our country icons of Italian style; but this opinion is incorrect. Nicon was a most zealous honourer and defender of the Byzantine icon-painting, like all the Russian primates his predecessors. The inclination for everything new which had then shown itself [in some individuals of the highest class] in our country had an unfavourable influence on the art itself of our national icon-painting. From the beginning of the 17th century there had been in especial repute among us for icon-painting two schools, viz. the Moscow school, and that called *Stroganofskaia*. Many churches were magnificently decorated with the productions of their pencils. Differing from one another only in some particular traits in the representation of sacred faces, they both preserved at first in common the Byzantine style. The Moscow style, according to connoisseurs, was distinguished by a lightness of colouring and by a devotional expression in the countenances; but the Stroganofsky by correctness of drawing, careful finishing of details and of the drapery, deep colours, and rich gilding. But one of these two schools soon changed our old orthodox type of sacred images. In the middle of the 17th century the Stroganofskaia school leaned towards the Western, *i. e.* the Frankish, style of icon-painting; and many of our boyars began to buy images of this style of painting, and to adorn with them their domestic churches. At the same time others of the boyars brought back with them from the Polish campaign (of 1654) icons of Latin painting. This introduction and spreading among his flock of icons not orthodox did not escape the watchful eye of Nicon. As a strenuous defender of sacred antiquity, delivered to us from the East together with the faith, Nicon ordered the icons of the new style of painting to be taken away, disfigured them, and made the streltsi carry them about the streets of the city, making at the same time a proclamation to this effect, that 'whoever henceforth shall paint icons not after the old fashion, shall be severely punished.' Afterwards these

icons were collected and brought into the cathedral, and two patriarchs, Nicon of Russia and Macarius of Antioch, who was then at Moscow, solemnly excommunicated those who in future should paint icons in the spirit of the new school, 'in the style of the Franks and Poles.' Nicon wished afterwards to burn these icons; but the tsar proposed rather to bury them in the earth. This again was done by two patriarchs. Lastly, by a circular letter he required all the icon-painters *of his country* to follow in their representations of sacred persons and subjects the old Byzantine style of painting, and threatened with severe punishment such of them as should dare thenceforth to paint icons not according to the old tradition of the Eastern Church.

There was a custom among our ancestors at that time of bringing to the church their own domestic icons, placing them there in some separate place, lighting lights before them, and only before them, while the local icons of the church were left comparatively unregarded, of praying only before them during divine service, and even of calling them '*their own gods*.' On Easter Sunday, as well as on the other great festivals, the parishioners who had brought their icons to the church used to carry them away again from the church to their own houses; and after having kept them there during the time of the festival, they would take them again to the churches. Nicon forbade this unseemly custom, and enjoined that they should either not bring at all their domestic icons to the church for such honour, or if any one brought his icon to the church, that he should no longer regard it as his own, but give it up altogether to the priest, to be an object of Christian reverence for all in common.

Such were the labours and services by which the patriarch Nicon showed his pastoral care for the purity and good order of the public divine service. But the same indefatigably active and zealous primate did also render invaluable services in that part of the pastoral ministry which forms, according to the declaration of the holy fathers themselves, the *science of sciences*. Let us pass on to a review of the labours of Nicon for the right ordering of the church government.

3. *Pastoral labours of Nicon for the church government and administration.*

Nicon, respecting the memory of the patriarch Philaret Nikitich, did not wish to see any changes in the prikazes established by him for the spiritual jurisdiction. He regarded with special pain an unhappy novelty which had arisen under his weak predecessor Joseph. This related to the extent and limits of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The old Catholic right of the Church to have her own jurisdiction over persons and things dedicated to God, had been established in our country by laws of our first grand princes, and afterwards repeatedly confirmed by their successors. But in the 14th century there began to appear among our clergy what were called '*letters of exemption*,' which freed the churches and monasteries obtaining them from the episcopal jurisdiction, and made them to depend upon the sovereign alone. Many of the rich monasteries and churches eagerly sought for this honour. The cause which made the clergy thus wish to be exempted from the episcopal jurisdiction was this, that the jurisdiction of the lower diocesan officials was too often oppressive and burdensome. Hence it occurred sometimes that those churches also which did not wish or were not able to free themselves from the episcopal jurisdiction, would ask of their own bishop a *letter of exemption*, so that they might depend immediately on the bishop himself, and not upon his *desiatilniks* and other like officials. But even at that same time many bishops and princes were conscious that such a way of proceeding was irreconcilable with the canons of the Church: and the *Stoglav* council subjected all the clergy to the jurisdiction of their bishops. The dvoretskoys and secretaries of the sovereign were allowed only to overlook the expenditure of the monasteries and their revenue, and to exercise jurisdiction over the peasants of the monasteries. In this form precisely it was that there was instituted later under Michael Theodorovich the *monastirski prikaz*. Its power did not extend farther than 'to the judgment of secular causes of violence or wrong, and giving judgment against the lay agents and peasants of the monasteries:' and it collected from the estates of the monasteries the tsar's dues.

By the code (*oulojenie*) of Alexis Mich. there were subjected

to the jurisdiction of the monastirski prikaz *also* all *spiritual persons*, with all the people belonging to them, '*in all causes of suitor and plaintiff*.' There sat in this prikaz an okolnik and two secretaries. In this way the management of the properties of the monasteries, and even the jurisdiction over spiritual persons, was transferred to the cognisance of civil officers. Nor was this all: the officers who sat in the monastirski prikaz, availing themselves of the indefinite wording of those rules of the code which fixed the rights and duties of this prikaz, and grounding themselves on its general constitutions about judgment as belonging to the tsar, and extending over all things and persons (ch. x. esp. p. 153; and comp. ch. xii. 1), began gradually to pass from the examination of secular suits of plaintiff and defendant on the estates of the Church to the cognisance of spiritual matters upon the same: they took to themselves the right of *choosing and appointing ecclesiastical ministers and clerks* to the villages belonging to monasteries, and began to make dispositions according to their own will for the appointment and displacement *even of the superiors themselves of the monasteries*. The weak patriarch Joseph put no obstacles in the way of this extension of the power of the monastirski prikaz.

The farsighted and penetrating mind of Nicon could not fail to see all the importance of this ecclesiastical irregularity, though it was sheltered under the name of the imperial code. With the greatest respect for the tsar, Nicon nevertheless boldly stood up against the monastirski prikaz as soon as he had been consecrated to the metropolitan see of Novgorod. Before going to his flock he represented to the tsar that in the word of God and in the canons of the Church there was no ground for the spiritual jurisdiction of the monastirski prikaz, though the code based [that is, professed to base] its enactments among other things on 'the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers, and on the civil laws of the religious Greek emperors.' The religious tsar, whose heart was open to all the inspirations of the law of the gospel, acknowledged as just this representation of Nicon, and gave him a *letter of exemption* [exempting him from all jurisdiction of the tsar's governors and the tsar's prikazes] for the metropolitan diocese of Novgorod. (*Act. Exped.* P. iv. no. 50.) However, notwithstanding this letter of exemption from the tsar, the voivode of Novgorod was bold enough to interfere in some

ecclesiastical affairs. Nicon, when he was at Moscow, again applied to the tsar with a bitter complaint of the interference of the secular authorities in matters belonging to the ecclesiastical administration. The tsar enjoined the voivode not to meddle with the affairs of the ecclesiastical administration (*Vremennik*, vol. xiii. mater. p. 20; MS. of the Roumantseff Mus. no. xlvi.). From that time Nicon freely governed the flock committed to him (Platon, *Eccl. Hist.* P. ii. p. 237). But presently Nicon is chosen to be patriarch of all Russia. And what does he consider to be the chief and indispensable condition of his consent? In the cathedral at Moscow, in the presence of the joint council or assembly of the spiritual and the civil dignitaries, the tsar entreats Nicon to take into his hands the staff of the metropolitan St. Peter. Nicon, without swerving from his purpose, makes, as it were, a solemn covenant between himself and his future flock, that they are to obey the commandments of Christ and the canons of the Church. *Without expressly naming* the monastirski prikaz (see above at p. 11 Nicon's speech, which shows clearly at what he was *pointing*: and comp. the *Travels of Macarius* in our vol. ii. p. 511), Nicon by his demand of conformity to the canons of the Church bound the tsar and the boyars, if not to close that prikaz altogether, at least to limit its rights, or to deprive it of the power of making a bad use of them. The tsar, being heartily desirous of seeing Nicon in the patriarchal chair, and finding his requirement to be altogether just, bound himself by a solemn vow to obey the canons of the Church. The boyars and the people followed the example of the tsar. Not till then did Nicon take into his hands the staff of the metropolitan St. Peter; and he held it firmly during all [that time of his active primacy in which he rendered such glorious services both to the Church and to his country]. It is true that the monastirski prikaz during this time was not *closed*; but it was reduced within such bounds as had originally been assigned to it by the wisdom of the patriarch Philaret Nikitich and the tsar Michael his son. The patriarch himself began now to exercise the [supreme] government over the estates of the Church and the people belonging to them (*Suppl. to Act. Hist.* vol. iv. no. 36, 86). To the monastirski prikaz there was given the right to examine and decide only civil matters *between peasants* on the estates of the monasteries. And such a system of government Nicon observed, preserved,

and maintained during all the prosperous years of his patriarchate.[28]

In connection with Nicon's exertions to defend the rights and privileges of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was his care for the conservation and increase of the ecclesiastical property. Already in the fifteenth century the immovable property of the Church had not unfrequently been the occasion of misunderstandings between the bishops on the one hand, and the boyars and princes on the other.[29] But the question of the right of the Church to acquire immovable properties, and to hold them, began specially to occupy the spiritual [and] civil government from the time of John Bas. III. Concentrating all the forces of the empire into one compact whole, and for the sake of this end suppressing the appanages, John III. turned his attention also to the church lands (*pomiestia*[30]), with the intention of annexing them to the property of the state. His first act in that direction was this, that after the reduction of Novgorod in A.D. 1478, he distributed the church estates which were there among the *dieti boyarskie* (*Soph. Vrem.* ii. 193). After that, he proposed his idea respecting the properties of the Church to the synod of A.D. 1500, which was presided over by the metropolitan Simon. But the synod, defending the rights of the clergy, replied to the tsar: 'We dare not give up the church property; for it is God's, and inviolable' (*O Soborach &c. do Ioanna*, iv. p. 151; *Karamz.* P. vi. p. 340). After this reply John III. did not renew his demands. But John IV. continued the idea of his grandfather respecting the immovable property of the Church. By a letter of A.D. 1531, he forbade the owners of landed estates to part with hereditary estates to strangers; and did not allow them either to sell such estates or mortgage them, or give them for prayers for their souls to monasteries (*Act. Exped.* i. 153). In order to give the greater force to this his constitution, he covertly expressed his idea about the church estates (*pomiestiach*) in the council of 1551. This council, without taking away from the clergy their right to hold landed properties, nevertheless limited

[28] *Sobr. Zak.* vol. i. No. 200, 201; *Hist. Act.* vol. iv. No. 73; *Roumantseff's Coll.* &c. P. iii. No. 38, 124, 200, 201, 205; P. iv. No. 34, 35; comp. *Suppl. to Hist. Act.* vol. iv. No. 1, 14, 23; *Eccl. Hist.* of Platon, P. ii. p. 257.

[29] *Act. Exped.* i. No. 50; *Act. Hist.* i. No. 82; *Biblioth.* 177.

[30] Such, that is, as had originally been granted by the sovereign, and were held of him.

their right to acquire them. It was enacted that neither monasteries nor bishops for the future should purchase derevnias (villages or hamlets) without permission of the tsar, and that such properties as had been made over and secured by title-deeds to churches during the minority of the tsar should be restored to him (*Act. Exped.* i. 2, 7; *Stogl.* 53-65). Lastly, in A.D. 1571 and A.D. 1581, it was laid down that for the future [the clergy] should not receive estates for the monasteries, but in lieu thereof should take money according to the price or value of the lands, but that they should not give up the estates already belonging to them (*Act. Exped.* i. 308; *Roumantseff's Coll.* i. no. 200). From that time the idea of limiting the rights of the clergy to acquire landed estates became a fixed principle of the civil government. Like his father, Theodore Iv. forbade owners of family estates to give them to monasteries for the good of their souls (*Roumantseff's Coll.* i. no. 262). It is true that the tsar Michael Theod., under the advice of his father the patriarch Philaret Nikitich, *only* established a *better method of managing* the estates of the monasteries, but did not deprive the monasteries of the estates themselves (*Code*, ch. xvii. § 42), any more than he did of the right of acquiring fresh estates (ib.). Nevertheless the tsar Alexis Mich. in A.D. 1648 ordered that extracts should be made from the registers, so as to exhibit a schedule of all the landed estates acquired by spiritual persons, churches, and monasteries from A.D. 1580 to A.D. 1648; and after considering that schedule of extracts, he confirmed the former constitutions of the sovereigns his predecessors for limiting the right of the churches and monasteries to acquire immovable property: and a law to this effect was inserted afterwards into the book itself of the code (*Act. Exped.* iv. no. 33; *Code*, ch. xvii. § 42). Lastly, in A.D. 1651, this law of the code was confirmed afresh: by a circular letter of the tsar it was forbidden to the churches and monasteries to acquire, through mortgage or as property, lands and usufructs subject to crown dues (*Supp. to Act. Hist.* iii. no. 88). It might have seemed that after all these constitutions the immovable property of the Church could no longer be increased. [But these laws and constitutions were never understood to bind the sovereign himself not to give lands, nor to forbid churches and monasteries to receive and hold what the sovereign himself gave, or by his let-

ters allowed to be given. Alexis Michaelovich himself founded and endowed monasteries; and] the patriarch Nicon, through the tsar's friendship for him, was able also to found and endow monasteries, and to add to the landed property of monasteries and churches in spite of the above-mentioned limitations. No one of the primates of our country was ever master of such extensive estates as Nicon. The episcopal house of the see of Novgorod had before many lands and villages of its own: but under Nicon its wealth was still farther increased. Many estates had belonged also to the patriarchal house of Moscow: but under Nicon they became considerably more numerous. [The writer of the *Travels of Macarius*, with his usual oriental exaggeration, says that the houses of the peasants on the patriarchal estates were formerly 10,000, but that Nicon has now increased their number (in 1655) to 25,000. Nicon himself asserts that the patriarchal see could well afford to give him something for his maintenance in the event of his voluntary retirement, as he had caused an increase to its yearly revenues of 20,000 roubles. But the boyars or their synod, writing against his proposals, deny that he had increased its revenues by anything like so much. Indeed they wished to make out, if they could, that he had rather misapplied and damaged the property of the Church, while in the same breath they accuse him also of plundering like a robber, and acquiring illegally vast estates, so that, if he had only had time and impunity, he would have got into his hands the third part of the empire.] Lastly, Nicon founded three monasteries. The tsar granted them very valuable estates. Nicon added to these many of his own, which he had purchased with money of his own personal property, and with money from the treasuries of the monasteries themselves. We may say more: the interest taken by Nicon in the immovable property of the Church was not confined to his own diocese. He preserved, defended, and maintained the right of the other bishops also, and of the monasteries under their jurisdiction, both to hold church estates and to acquire more [*i.e.* with license for such fresh acquisition from the tsar] by purchase or by gift from the zeal of benefactors. It deserves to be particularly observed that, during all the years of his prosperous and glorious service of the Church (A.D. 1652 to 1658), there is no instance of any letter being issued by the tsar

to limit[31] the right of the churches to acquire estates. It may be said that the prohibition in the code was enough: but the existence of this prohibition in the code did not prevent the tsar Theodore Alex. from confirming by a special oukaz the enactment that owners of estates should not give them to monasteries without an oukaz to permit it from the tsar (*Roumantseff's Coll.* iv. no. 110). It did not prevent the tsar Alexis Mich. himself, in 1651, from confirming by a circular letter the enactment of the code about church estates. Nicon had so much wisdom that, while he ruled the Church, under his inspiration, they regarded the property of the Church as the property of God, and therefore not only accounted the church lands to be inviolable, but also set no limits to their multiplication. It is true that a foreigner who was then in Russia (the physician Collins) writes: 'The tsar is a great protector of the Church; nevertheless he sets bounds to the excessive liberality of the dying who bequeath their properties to the clergy. No one can found a monastery without his license: in time of war he avails himself of the treasures of the Church, taking them in the form of a *loan*,[32] and repays what he has borrowed *ad Græcas Kalendas*.' But the first part of this statement relates to the time before the patriarchate of Nicon, and the latter part to the time when Nicon was at variance with the tsar. Nevertheless Nicon zealously and liberally expended the wealth of the monasteries for the benefit of the state. In the time of the war with Poland and Lithuania Nicon sent letters to the richest monasteries enjoining them to send off to the tsar to the theatre of war men, horses, corn or flour, and military stores and supplies, in which some of the monasteries of that time were rich (*Suppl. to Hist. Act.* iv. no. 1, 14, 23, 26; *Act. Exped.* iv. no. 71, 86, 87, 91; *Travels of Macarius*, p. 84, 158). The patriarch of Antioch Macarius, who in 1655 was at Moscow, asked on one occasion Nicon: how many armed men had marched with the tsar to the campaign against the Poles? to which question Nicon replied: 'As many as three hundred thousand;' and he added: 'I myself have equipped 10,000; and the like number has been obtained from the mon-

[31] This was not to be expected, the law being clear enough against their freedom to make such acquisitions. What ought rather to have been noticed here and specified is the number of special licenses given by the tsar in these six years for the acquisition of fresh landed property.

[32] See our vol. ii. *Travels of Macarius*, p. 295, and 551.

asteries, according to the wealth and revenues of each.'[33] About one thing only Nicon was anxious, viz. 'that the secular power should not, under any pretext, creep into them' [*i.e.* into the properties of the Church; but that whatever contributions were made by the clergy to the necessities of the state should be made by their consent and concurrence, after consultation. See *Replies, &c.* xxvi.].

But the spirit of the existing age opposed powerful obstacles to the pastoral zeal of Nicon to defend the ancient rights and privileges of the Church *of his country*. When Nicon was as yet only metropolitan, there were already heard in the tsar's court voices of loud complaint, like the following: 'Never before has there been such dishonour done to the nobility as now, that the tsar has given us up to the metropolitan of Novgorod.' The far-sighted pastor already perceived that in his time there was need to fight over again the good fight of those valiant champions of the Church and of their country, the metropolitan St. Philip and the patriarchs Job and Hermogenes. An inheritor of that pastoral zeal which had inspired them, Nicon wished that their blessed remains should rest within sight of the enemies of the Church, at once reproving them and exciting to deeds of self-sacrifice those whom *the Holy Ghost has set to feed the Church of the Lord and God, which he purchased with his own blood*. Nicon came in this way to think of uniting in the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow the tombs of those three primates who had suffered like martyrs for the Church *and for their country*.

On the 19th of Jan. 1652 there were found or exhumed the relics of the ven. Sabba of Zvenigorod, who died in A.D. 1407. Deep reverence for the newly-manifested relics and for the judgments of divine Providence penetrated the hearts of all who were present at the tomb of the new wonder-worker. There was present the tsar himself, with a numerous suite of the grandees. The metropolitan Nicon, who concelebrated with the patriarch Joseph at the exhumation of the holy relics, availed himself of the religious impressions made upon the tsar to propose to him his idea of translating into the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow the patriarchs Job and Hermogenes

[33] But no statement about *numbers* occurring in these *Travels* is worth much without some other confirmation.

and the metropolitan St. Philip. More especially he asked him to bring back to the capital the relics of the sainted metropolitan. Nicon represented to the tsar, that by rendering this honour to that holy pontiff he would atone for the sin of his ancestor; and he set before him the example of Theodosius the Younger, who by translating from Comana the relics of St. John Chrysostom made his own name to be for ever memorable in the Church, and obtained forgiveness for his mother Eudoxia, who had caused the banishment of the saint. With hearty sympathy the religious tsar heard this request of Nicon, which touched his soul, and at once expressed his consent.

On the 20th of March of that same year there met at Moscow a synod of the Russian bishops and of the most distinguished members of the clergy of the capital, under the presidency of the patriarch Joseph, and in presence of the tsar. The tsar proposed to their consideration his pious intention and wish respecting the noble-hearted primates of Russia, who were resting, by the judgments of God, apart from the primatial cathedral of their flock. . . . And of the metropolitan Philip the tsar said that he had appeared to him more than once in dreams, and had said: 'It is long that I lie far from the tombs of the metropolitans my brethren: send for me, and transport me into the midst of them. And so,' concluded the tsar, 'I have long had the wish to bring the relics of St. Philip, and to translate them to the cathedral of the Assumption.' The synod not only consented to the proposal of the tsar, but with tears of joy thanked him for his holy affection and faith towards the memory of the holy and blessed hierarchs of all Russia.

And so that same day there were solemnly translated the relics of the generous patriarch Hermogenes from the Choudoff monastery to the cathedral, and placed there above ground near the brazen tabernacle of the Lord's tunic. A vast concourse of the people preceded and accompanied the coffin, honouring the memory of him who had been the zealous defender of the faith and of his country at a time of great public calamities.

At the same time there was sent to Staritsa for the body of the blessed patriarch Job the aged metropolitan of Rostoff Barlaam, with a numerous suite of spiritual and secular persons. On the 8th of April the body of the patriarch Job was brought in solemn procession to Moscow, whither in time past he had

been called from the see of Rostoff to the chair of St. Peter by the boyar Boris Theod. Godounoff. The throng of the people was so great, that the clergy and the grandees who accompanied the coffin of the patriarch could scarcely make their way through it.

To the Solovetsky monastery there was sent, for the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip, Nicon, who had received the monastic tonsure in a dependency of the Solovetsky, where St. Philip also himself had become a monk, and had been hegoumen. To accompany Nicon there was appointed the boyar prince Nikita Iv. Khovianskoy with a numerous suite. With joy Nicon set forth, after having sung in the cathedral of the Assumption, in presence of the tsar, a moleben for the good success of his journey. The patriarch Joseph blessed him for it. The tsar intrusted him with a letter to the relics of St. Philip, written in imitation of that precatory letter which the Greek emperor Theodosius the Younger once wrote to the relics of St. John Chrysostom, when he translated them from Comana to Constantinople. Nicon was charged to read it in the church over the coffin of the holy metropolitan, in the hearing of all the people. Nearly from every place where they halted for any time to rest, Nicon informed the tsar of his health and of the success of his journey; and the tsar, on his side, did not forget Nicon. Easter was passed by Nicon at Vologda. After that he descended to the open sea. But the providence of God, *as if to portend that spiritual tempest which Nicon was eventually to encounter, like the pontiff for whose relics he was going*, excited a violent storm on the White Sea. The vessels were dispersed in different directions, and many were wrecked on the rocks. The vessel on board which was the secretary (the *diak*, representing the council of the boyars) foundered with all on board. But Nicon was saved *by the power of the Cross of the Lord*. Providence caused him again to find his deliverance from the waves of the sea on the shore of the isle of Kia, where he found the cross set up by him years before still perfect, and renewed his vow to found there a monastery. Meanwhile people were sent in different directions to search for those companions of the metropolitan who had parted company in the storm. And when they were collected together to the isle of Kia, Nicon again trusted himself to the deep. At length, on the 3d of June,

they reached in safety the place of their destination, that is, the Solovetsky monastery. It was a comfort and a pleasure to Nicon to see again that retreat where in his quiet cell, amid the roar of the waves of the sea, but far from the storms of the living world, he with the force of an eagle had soared by the ardour of his mind and heart to God, who knows the secrets of the hearts. After his arrival at the monastery of SS. Zosimus and Sabbatius, Nicon delivered to the community the oukaz of the tsar and the patriarch, commanding them with honour to give up to Nicon the holy relics of the metropolitan St. Philip.

The brethren were very sad to part with the relics of the holy martyr, who had once too been hegoumen of that same convent; but they submitted to the tsar's oukaz. On the 7th June Nicon performed in the catholicon of the convent, where the relics lay, a vigil service with all the solemnity usual on great festivals. On the following day after the liturgy, which he celebrated himself, they began to read the precatory letter of the tsar to the relics of St. Philip. It was read by Nicon himself, amid the groans and sobs of the brethren. Once before St. Philip had been taken away from them, when the tyrant John the Terrible, whom he was a little later to rebuke at the cost of his life, had summoned him to Moscow to make him metropolitan. And now they were to lose him again by the translation of his relics. After the reading of the tsar's letter they began a *moleben*; and after it the officiating clergy approached the coffin, to take it on their shoulders and transport it to the vessel which was lying ready for it. Then the brethren, as a leave-taking, sang over the tomb of the saint a hymn composed for the occasion, and all kissed the right hand of the relics for the last time.[31] At length the relics were taken up and borne in procession from the church to the sea-side, amid renewed lamentations which mixed with the incense. The sun shone brightly on the sacred objects which were carried in procession and on the ecclesiastical vestments. Once more the brethren of the convent and the people did their devout reverence to the holy relics, and the coffin was embarked on board the vessel, and disappeared from view.

By the tsar's letter of instructions Nicon had been directed

[31] A portion of the relics, however, as is usual in the case of such translations, was left in the monastery.

to go with the relics from the Solovetsky monastery by sea to the mouth of the Onega, and so by the Onega to Kargopol, and thence by the rivers and lakes to Volok on the Korotka, then down the Shexna, then by the Volga, the Doubna, and the Yakroma to Dmitroff, and from Dmitroff by land to Moscow. But circumstances caused Nicon to go with the relics of the pontiff-martyr to Moscow by that same route by which he was himself, twenty-nine years later, to return from exile and imprisonment to the monastery of his own foundation at Voskresensk. When he had arrived from Bielozersk at Ribinsk, Nicon, in consequence of the water being too shallow in the Volga above, directed his course to Yaroslaff, and thence went by land to the Troitsa monastery of St. Sergius, where he arrived on the 4th of July.

On the 9th of July the relics of St. Philip were solemnly translated to Moscow. For three days and three nights they stood in the cathedral to be reverenced and kissed by the devout people; and at length, on the 13th, they were removed into a new and rich shrine, and placed on the right side of the cathedral in the chapel (*pridiel*, παρεκκλήσιον) of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica. The tsar was bountiful in his gifts to Nicon. He gave him a great number of costly church vestments, and besides that some villages for the episcopal house of the see of Novgorod.

The tsar, in writing afterwards to the voivode Odoefsky an account of the translation of the relics of St. Philip, called them that suffer for righteousness' sake *blessed*, and blamed their persecutors; and, amongst other things, he wrote: 'But we, the great hossoudar, daily beg of almighty God our Creator, and of his immaculate Mother, and of all the Saints, that the Lord God may give to us the great hossoudar, and to you boyars together with us, with one mind to judge his people with justice impartially' (*Act. Exped.* iv. no. 328).

By such means Nicon, while as yet only metropolitan of Novgorod, counteracted those limitations which the spirit of the age would have set to his pastoral zeal for the welfare of the Church. After his elevation to the patriarchal chair his services in respect of ecclesiastical legislation showed the same zeal, and the same opposition to the spirit of the age.

[And then Michaelofsky proceeds to relate how the Slavonic

Kormchay (Πηδάλιον) was printed for the first time under the patriarch Joseph, but with many errors; and how Nicon, on becoming patriarch, though some 400 copies had already been issued, suspended the issue of the rest, and altered them in the way described in the appendices to our vol. i. p. 653-665. In particular he mentions how Nicon, cancelling the former preface, prefixed an account of the *Institution of the Patriarchate in Russia*, and a chapter *On the falling-away of Rome*, and the *Letter* or *Donation of the Emperor Constantine to Pope Silvester*, besides an Appendix giving an account of the Kormchay and of this printed edition of it.] 'Nicon considered,' he says, 'the *Constitution of the Eastern patriarchs respecting the patriarchate in Russia* as the *corner-stone* which lay at the foundation of the independent[35] hierarchical government of the Church *of his country*. (See *Replies, &c.* xxiv.) Consequently it was very natural for him to think of inserting that Constitution into the Kormchay. On the other hand the preface prefixed to the Kormchay, as it was being edited under the patriarch Joseph, was borrowed from a Lithuanian copy of the Kormchay made in A.D. 1601 at Liublin; and it contained nothing to make it suitable for adoption in an edition of the Kormchay to be printed at Moscow. We ought not either to forget that Nicon at that time was already introducing the Greek church-singing, and had the intention of bringing the Slavonic service-books to exact agreement with the Greek. The superstitious party were displeased at him for making the Greek Church his standard. But Nicon found for himself a powerful justification in the Constitution respecting the patriarchate in Russia, in which it is laid down as a rule for our patriarchs to preserve unity with the Greek Church not only in doctrines, but also in ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. All these reasons together moved the patriarch to eject from the Kormchay its inappropriate preface, and to substitute the *Constitution of the Eastern Patriarchs respecting the Patriarchate in Russia*; to substitute, that is, a document which was to be throughout all future times to the Church *of his country* the foundation and first principle of ecclesiastical legislation. (See *Roumantseff's Coll. &c.* ii. no. 52.) In consideration of a like need existing in his own time (*i.e.* to counteract the spirit of the age, threatening the rights and

[35] Independent not only of the patriarchs of C.P., but also of Russian secular authority.

privileges as well as the property of the Church), Nicon also introduced into the Kormchay the *Letter* or *Donation given by Constantine the Great to the Roman Pope Silvester*. [It had already been accepted as genuine, translated into Greek, and put forward as a document of authority, no doubt for similar reasons, by more than one Greek canonist; so that Nicon was doing nothing new nor peculiar in the use that he made of it.] It was very convenient and serviceable towards Nicon's constant aim, viz. that of exalting the Orthodox Church. He saw clearly that the consideration of the clergy in the society of his own time was yearly sinking lower and lower. The exercise of jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons, as we have already said above, had passed into the hands of laymen: the property of the Church, and even ecclesiastical offices and dignities, were disposed of by the boyars. But there was nothing that could more strikingly demonstrate against the secular grandees of that age the injustice of their pretensions to lord it over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the church property than this letter of Constantine the Great to Pope Silvester. It needed no great penetration to be able to understand its purport, and to see how strikingly at variance with it was the then-existing condition of the Church *of our country*. It is true that it is now justly admitted to be spurious. But Nicon, in the spirit of his age, which knew little of learned criticism, believed it to be genuine. It was believed to be genuine by the boyars also, and by the tsar himself. And it was on the foundation[36] of this same letter that Nicon received from the tsar those great rights and privileges which he possessed during the prosperous years of his patriarchate. Certainly the first cause of all these privileges was the loving friendship of the tsar for Nicon; but their juridical foundation was that letter of

[36] So said the boyars, and in particular the boyar Streshneff; and Michaelofsky incautiously follows them, and writes as if the tsar Alexis had given to Nicon a letter (which if given ought, as a matter of course, to have been also published) *in imitation of the Donation of Constantine to Pope Silvester*. But there is more semblance of truth in another story of a foreign writer, that when Nicon was no longer in full favour, some one or more of those who were nearest to the person of the tsar drew his attention to the fact that Nicon had inserted into the Kormchay the Donation of Constantine, and suggested the inference that it was hopeless to think of any conciliatory arrangement; for if Nicon's demands and assumptions were to be admitted, there would be nothing for it but to abandon to him Moscow, as Constantine abandoned old Rome to Pope Silvester.

Constantine. The religious tsar Alexis Mich. emulated Constantine the Great in his zeal for the Church of God. It is not only a supposition of our own[37] that we here express, but a fact which is attested by the enemies of Nicon, and confirmed by himself.[38] The enemies of Nicon say expressly that 'the hossoudar the tsar *in a letter*[39] granted many privileges to Nicon, in like manner as Constantine the Great, greatly honouring the Roman Pope Silvester, conceded to that pope many privileges.' (See vol. i. *Question of Streshneff* xxiv.) Nicon, replying to these words of his enemies, not only does not deny the existence of the letter itself on which his enemies insist,[40] but he even proves that the tsar gave to him *less* in the way of rights and privileges than had been given by Constantine the Great to the Pope Silvester. So Nicon himself admits that the letter of Constantine the Great served as the foundation of that extensive ecclesiastico-civil power which he exercised to the glory of the Church and her ministers. Lastly, Nicon introduced also into the Kormchay a chapter about the *Roman falling-away*. It cannot be otherwise than a probable supposition that this chapter also was directed by Nicon *against* the spirit of his age.[41] In Nicon's time there

[37] It is, indeed, a supposition only of his own, and quite a false one.

[38] On the contrary, it is indignantly and emphatically denied by himself. See *Replies, &c.*, xxiv. p. 207, 209, 222.

[39] The tsar may indeed have granted him, at most, a *letter of exemption* for all the patriarchate, as he had before granted him a letter of exemption for the metropolitan see of Novgorod: but no such letter is actually known, nor extant. Such might have been accepted by Nicon as a temporary expedient, to enable him to check any encroachments of the monastirski prikaz or of other prikazes, or of voivodes and governors, but it would be no permanent security; and Nicon himself writes that he *repeatedly urged the tsar, both by word of mouth and in writing, to abrogate the code itself, as fraudulently and traitorously compiled, contrary to the express instructions given to its compilers:* and this the tsar was unwilling to do; or he thought himself, perhaps, *unable* to do it in the teeth of all the boyars.

[40] *Some written promise* or act of the tsar there seems to have been; though by no means an *imitation of Constantine's Donation;* because some such writing would be a natural source for the misrepresentation made of it by the boyars; and, besides, it seems to be alluded to in connection with the promise stipulated for by Nicon at his election to the patriarchate in the *XVI. Questions* sent to Constantinople in 1663-1664. See vol. iii. p. 323.

[41] Far from it! It was only too much *in* the spirit of his age: and it was rather his own apology to himself from himself for his own inconsistency; an apology made in the rude good faith of that crass ignorance and prejudice in which he had been bred up,—that honest prejudice and hostility which, however shocking to a Catholic in the words and acts of its expression, was the indispensable condition of all Nicon's virtue and merit, though the ex-propagandist Paisius

was manifested among our ancestors a certain *movement of approximation* towards the Latins. And so it was necessary to show to the sons of the Orthodox Church the badness of the cause of the Roman Church, and the goodness of the cause in relation to it of the *Catholic Eastern* Church, and so to guard them against the errors of a *foreign* Church.

Having edited in this way the Kormchay, and having it in view that the Church *of his country* should be governed on the principle of unity with the Greek Church, Nicon was not willing to accept for the Church of his country any other legislation besides the canons contained in the Kormchay. But in this particular his zeal for the preservation of unity between our Church and the Greek carried him to an excess.[42] He set on one and the same level with reference to each other the civil laws or constitutions of the Greek emperors in ecclesiastical matters and the canons of the holy apostles, the œcumenical and local councils, and the holy fathers, and considered the former of these no less than the latter to be inviolable. Nicon was ignorant of the truth, that *every particular church* has power, according to the exigency of its local circumstances, to substitute for the constitutions of the Greek emperors its own local constitutions, *so long as these last are in accord with the œcumenical canons.*[43]

Ligarides casts it scornfully in his teeth. The only thing remarkable is, that Nicon, though he had already in the Kormchay as printed under the patriarch Joseph, and in the documents about the institution of the Russian patriarchate prefixed to it by himself, enough and more than enough of coarse condemnations of Rome, should have felt the need of some more historical and more detailed account of so momentous a dislocation of his own system of ecclesiastical independence and unity from its original root, base, and centre: and so he accepted and inserted that grotesque historical fable, which Michaelofsky thinks was directed against the Romanising *spirit of Nicon's age!*

[42] Rather here, as elsewhere, Michaelofsky's conformity to the established system of his own day carries *him* to an excess: he would defend or dissemble and palliate that secular legislation which had already begun in the code of Alexis Mich. to set aside the laws of God and the canons of the Church, and which now has reduced the Church itself to a mere department of the civil government. But Nicon neither found in the Kormchay a purely Greek legislation, nor denied the right of every orthodox state to make and repeal what laws it pleases, so long as there be *no infringement upon the laws of God and the canons of the Church*, nor upon *those laws of the Greek emperors* or Russian princes and tsars which enforced the canons of the Church, and in consequence of this, and so far only as this was the case, had been associated by the Church with the canons themselves.

[43] This is enough for Nicon; but not enough for the tsar Alexis Mich. and his boyars, to say nothing of their successors.

Nicon, on the contrary, exalted even the constitutions of the Greek emperors, so as to make them immutable; and for that reason among others he rose up against the code.[44] He urged the tsar himself to send, and the tsar did send in consequence, to all the voivodes, as if by way of supplement and correction to the code, extracts from the Greek laws of the Nomocanon, and ordered them to judge criminal cases according to these laws (*Karamz. Hist.* vol. iii. note 222). But Nicon in this matter paid unconsciously a tribute to the want of enlightenment of his age.[45] All the same, his zeal in the general for the maintenance of the canons of the Church in complete inviolability does him the greatest honour.

Defending in this way the rights and privileges of the Church *of his country* from being interfered with or encroached upon by the laity, Nicon wished to see in the clergy subject to him worthy ministers of the Lord's altar. To this end, while he raised the outward position of the clergy and their consideration in society, Nicon at the same time enforced discipline with strictness, in order to raise also the standard of their morals.

Understanding that the respect of the people for the faith and the Church is very closely joined with their respect for the ministers of the faith and the Church, Nicon was specially anxious to exhibit in the clergy a pattern of piety for the people, and thereby to excite in the flock a sincere respect for their pastors. Great care in choosing persons for ecclesiastical orders, and a strict watch over them when chosen and ordained, were his means towards this end.

In those little-enlightened times of our country, when learning and schools were still matters of fear, there were not unfrequently appointed to the ministry of the Church rough people of no regularity of life, ignorant of the duties of the sacred office, uninstructed too often even in the principal truths of the faith and Christian piety. And of such men the outward conduct would be in keeping more or less with their moral and intellectual

[44] But see his *Replies, &c.*, xxvi., and his letter to the patriarch Dionysius (vol. iii. p. 390), in which he says that he besought the tsar to abrogate the code, and to substitute for it the canons and constitutions of the Kormchay.

[45] But has he not told us before that it was the *spirit of the age*—that spirit precisely which it was Nicon's mission to contend against and to counteract—which inspired the *enlightened* legislation of the *code*, to be improved upon afterwards by the *still more enlightened* legislation of later sovereigns?

character. But Nicon, who had himself from the lowest steps of the ecclesiastical ministry risen to the patriarchal chair, and at every stage had shown himself a model of exactitude, could not behold with indifference any irregularity in the ministers of the Church of God. He strove to cut up by the roots the defects of the pastors of his time. Already, before his time, they had felt the need of a reformation of the spiritual order: but all the means which had been used for this end touched not the original source of the evil, but only its consequences: and so, while they checked for a longer or shorter time such or such disorders, they did not completely destroy them in the bud. Nicon filled up what was wanting in the dispositions of his predecessors. He enjoined on the diocesan bishops to ordain only people capable of teaching, and strictly forbade them to receive any one whatever into the clergy without first examining him as to his way of thinking, and his knowledge of the faith and the canons of the Church, or without a certificate from his confessor as to the religiousness of his life. And in order always to have a supply of capable subjects, he regarded it as the absolute duty of the diocesan bishops, as we have already seen, to introduce schools. He himself meantime set in this respect, as in all others, an example to all the other bishops. He ordained no one without personally examining him first, and requiring testimonials from other competent witnesses as to the piety of his life. The same practice he enjoined also on his vicars to follow when they appointed people to ecclesiastical offices. He also looked carefully to the exact performance of their ministry afterwards by those that were ordained. To this end he drew up spiritual regulations. As for such as showed themselves incorrigible, and even caused scandal to their flock, Nicon directed the bishops and his vicars to remove them from the service of the Church, and to set in their room others more worthy. In the case that any one of the clergy would not obey the ecclesiastical authority set over him, Nicon allowed his vicars and the bishops to apply for assistance to the civil power, and to act upon the refractory by the fear of streltsi and artillerymen. Meanwhile he himself was extremely strict towards such ministers of the Church as transgressed the canons. They were summoned before his personal tribunal, and subjected to severe punishment according to the laws; sometimes to imprisonment, to stripes, and exile to Siberia, or to confinement in

some distant monastery. 'Nicon, immediately after his elevation to the patriarchal chair,' writes an eye-witness (see the *Travels of Macarius*, p. 110), 'entered upon the exercise of unbounded authority, which he had obtained from the tsar. All dreaded him, all feared him; the bishops, the archimandrites, the priests, and even the grandees who held offices of authority in the tsar's service. No intercession whatever has any influence over him. Whoever is guilty of incontinence, drunkenness, or insubordination, he forthwith sends him into exile. He has his own guards, who take up priests and monks discovered to be guilty of such offences. We saw his prisons filled with these unhappy wretches, burdened with heavy chains and clogs of wood about their necks and feet.' However, though he was strict towards obstinate and audacious breakers of the laws, Nicon received with the gentleness of a loving father those who turned from their bad life to repentance. He forgot in such cases also the coarse calumnies and affronts which the criminals had sometimes put upon himself, when in time past he had dealt severely with them. 'For my sins I am impatient; forgive me, for the Lord's sake,' Nicon answered to all revilings (Philaret, *Hist. of the R. Church*, P. iv. p. 246, ed. of 1850). In reconciling to the Church on his repentance Ivan Neronoff, Nicon *shed tears*.

But it was not only over the clergy that the pastoral care of Nicon was exercised. 'A patriarch,' he said [quoting from Matthew Blastar], 'is a living and breathing image of Christ, by deeds and words portraying in himself the truth. And first of all it is his duty to keep those of whom he has received charge from God in piety and purity of life.' (See the *Replies*, &c. xi.) As Nicon understood the office of the primate, so he also in deed executed it. He looked closely after the spiritual condition of all his flock, and according to their capacity indefatigably inspired them, both by word and by the example of his own life, with an idea of that Christian life which is well-pleasing to God. But the greater part of the people of that time needed, to suit their spiritual condition, milk rather than strong meat. Therefore, condescending to the childlike weakness of his flock, and wishing to lead them up from that which is seen to that which is unseen, Nicon, in teaching them faith and Christian virtues, required of them at the least an exact observance of the ceremonies of the Church, and of all her ordinances which fashion

the outward good conduct of a Christian. A pattern of the devout observance of the rules of a Christian life was always before the eyes of Nicon's flock in his own household. Observing strictly himself all the rules of the Church, Nicon also surrounded himself with people like to himself through their zeal for piety, and used them as his instruments to look after the good conduct of his flock. But unhappily in many places of our country there was not then a proper obedience to the rules of the Church. The lawless habits engendered during the calamitous time of the pretenders not very long before, which had infected all the departments and forms of life, private and public, then a close and superficial acquaintance with nations of other creeds, especially during the war with Poland, and lastly the constant residence in Russia of a multitude of foreigners, had introduced into the Church *of our country*, formerly firm in orthodoxy, and careful to enforce good order, a variety of disorders and abuses in ecclesiastical matters. In many of our countrymen of that time there was no longer the same zeal towards the churches and the divine service as had always in old time distinguished our ancestors. The fasts, formerly so strictly observed, were now freely broken. The most sacred duty of a Christian, confession and the receiving of the holy mysteries, was in many places neglected; people even died without confession of their sins. We say nothing of that indifference with which people looked on while the priest was carrying the holy mysteries to the sick. Secular work might now be seen openly going on on Sundays and festivals, whereas before this was accounted to be a heinous sin. There was not due decency and order in the churches themselves during divine service: instead of praying, people joked, went about from one place to another, looked about them, and chatted about frivolous matters. The pastoral letters of that time are full of complaints of such disorders. There was no strictness of life even in the convents, so great was the moral disease of that age. Nicon set himself with all the force of his authority to correct such offenders, and with very sharp words, without respecting rank or office, rebuked them in the church before all the people. (See *Replies*, &c. xxiii.) His zeal carried him so far, that, as he writes himself, he would have thought himself justified in imitating Christ himself, who with a *whip* of small cords drove out from the temple them that

trafficked there. Some of the boyars who had been in the Polish war took a great liking to the organs found in the Roman-Catholic kostels. They carried them off, and set them up in their houses. Nicon immediately ordered them *to be taken away* from them. Then, when there was a meeting of the tsar's council, and they were present from whose houses organs had been taken away, Nicon before the tsar and all the council rebuked them aloud, calling them each by his name (*Moscow Soc. of R. Hist. and Antiq.* 1846; no. 1. mater. p. 3). We need not say how strictly he looked after the observance of the fasts and the other rites of the Church. Letters from him on this subject repeatedly called upon all Christians to observe the ordinances of the Orthodox Church, and required the spiritual pastors to look with greater attention to the lives of their flocks. As for the people who were near to his own person, Nicon, without any regard to their civil rank, kept a strict watch over them himself. Some who were refractory said to him: 'Thou canst not by force make men to perform their devotions.' But even the refractory too, in spite of themselves, did perform their devotions so long as Nicon was in power (*Act. Exped.* iv. no. 57).

He applied himself with energy to the extirpation of thieves and robbers, who had greatly multiplied. In A.D. 1655, when the tsar was absent for the war, and the plague was raging in the interior of Russia, Nicon put out against them first a merciful edict. He ordered the voivodes to collect all the criminals in the towns to the public place under a pledge of their complete security, and when they should be assembled to advise them to repent of their offences against God and the tsar, with the promise of their obtaining upon such repentance a complete amnesty. But this edict of Nicon had no success. So he then forbade the priests to confess and communicate such criminals, when they should have been taken, convicted, and sentenced to death. Nicon hoped that the fear of going into the other world without the viaticum of the Body and Blood of Christ, and even without confession to a priest, would reclaim at least some of them. But we shall see how severely he was himself condemned afterwards by the Eastern patriarchs for this his constitution against robbers. (See vol. iii. pp. 94, 491.)

At the same time he zealously endeavoured to promote in the Church *of his country* a spirit of Christian charity and bene-

ficence. In this respect, as in others, he stands preëminent among the primates of our Church. Works of beneficence among us were in old times under the management of the ecclesiastical authorities. But no one ever did so many and so great works of beneficence, public and private, to the poor and to orphans and widows, as did the patriarch Nicon. While he was as yet only metropolitan of Novgorod, he was a true father to his flock. He never went out without taking with him a sufficient quantity of money to distribute to the poor and needy whom he might meet by the way. His purse was open to all who were in want. So he did every time that he showed himself to the people, wherever it might be, and especially on Sundays and festivals when he was going to the church. Not unfrequently, on leaving the church, he went to visit poor people in their houses, or to the prisons, and everywhere he had a word of consolation as well as alms for the sufferers whom he visited. Nor were the doors of his house shut to his poorer brethren in Christ. At a time of extraordinary dearth at Novgorod, owing to bad seasons, when the people, pressed by famine, were constantly coming to him in crowds to ask for relief, he set up in his own house a permanent distribution of alms, on the Sundays in money, and every day in bread. 'Every Sunday,' says the writer of his life, 'there came together to Nicon poor old men and women, orphan boys and children, and all who were homeless and helpless. Nicon delighted to see their suffering and distress relieved, and at the same time was touched with compassion at the thought of the poverty and suffering of the greater part of mankind. To old people he was used to give two *dengi*, to the middle-aged one, to young people and children half a *denga*.' On the morning of every day in his house there was a distribution of bread: every poor person received for the day from the metropolitan a piece of bread sufficient for his support that day. Meanwhile the famine extended also over many other places of his diocese besides Novgorod: and the fame of the metropolitan's beneficence drew to him crowds from all quarters. He ordered a spacious room to be set apart in his house, and fed in it all who came to him from a distance. Above 100 persons, and at times above 300, were fed here every day by his bounty. In 1651 Nicon, at the desire of the tsar, went from Novgorod to Moscow. His way was marked by acts of charity. While he was staying at Moscow

he was very bountiful to the poor: besides what he distributed in alms separately to individuals, he not unfrequently on festivals bought up from the shops where such things were sold large quantities of loaves, of bread-cakes, and of clothing, and sent it to the almshouses and to the prisons.

And as patriarch, while zealously fulfilling all the other manifold duties of his high office, he found time to continue to interest himself in works of charity for the relief of the poor and of helpless old people and orphans. 'He did not,' to use the words of Shusherin, 'change from his former good habit.' The account-books of the outgoings of the patriarchal prikaz of expenditure show plainly that no one of the patriarchs of Moscow expended so much in alms for the poor, or gave so much relief and assistance to the needy as Nicon. Every time he went out to pontificate, he distributed to the poor money with his own hands. On leaving the church he often, as he had been used to do at Novgorod, went in plain dress to visit the prisoners in the prisons at the Varvarski krestetz, and in the Rasboini prikaz, and other prikazes. On festivals he admitted also the singers of Lazarus into his dining-hall after dinner, and personally distributed to them food.

Nor would he suffer any oppression or wrong to be done by others to the poor and helpless. The most sincere and hearty love for the poor breathes in those letters of Nicon, in which he admonishes the authorities subject to him about the way in which they are to behave towards the peasants. 'I have heard,' he writes, for instance, to the archimandrite of the Iversky monastery James, 'that the peasants and carpenters complain that thou givest scant wages. But thou must on no account be hard upon any workmen about their hire, nor make [peasants] to do much without pay. For God's sake be good to the brethren, and to the peasants, and to all who live in the monastery.' More than once, besides this, Nicon gave to his peasants various exemptions and immunities (*lgoti*), on the occurrence of bad seasons, of inundations, and other calamities.

Nor was he content with the exercise only of casual and particular beneficence: he wished to provide also for the aged and helpless poor permanent shelter and care. When metropolitan of Novgorod, he obtained from the tsar permission to establish almshouses there for this purpose: and he established

four, to be under his own special inspection, one in each of the four quarters of the city, which were provided with a sufficient allowance of money and bread from the tsar. These he visited frequently, giving them alms bountifully from his own revenues, and conversing personally with the poor inmates, with whom he would pass whole hours consoling and instructing them.

At Moscow too he not only kept up the charitable institutions of his predecessors, but founded new ones, which he kept under his own eye. From old time it had been customary at the patriarchal palace, on the greater festivals and commemoration-days of sovereigns and primates, for the patriarchs to distribute alms to a considerable amount to the poor, and on the day of the festival of the cathedral church of the Assumption they fed at their residence as many as 2500 poor people of all sorts. In connection with the patriarchal cathedral church there were maintained twelve poor persons, who were called 'pensioners of the Mother of God,' and who each received daily 25 kopecks. At the cost of the *kazenni prikaz* (office or court of the treasury) of the patriarchate there were maintained almshouses situated in different parts of the city, which were called almshouses of the *house* or *cells* of the patriarchate (*domovie* or *keleynie, i.e.* maintained from the patriarch's *personal* revenues). Nicon in the first year of his patriarchate increased their number by founding two new almshouses, to be maintained from his own personal resources; and as time went on, and he saw need for them, he founded many more.

Besides such good works, and institutions of particular and general charity or beneficence, Nicon also founded convents: and convents, when well-ordered, have always served in the Church as schools of piety for the people. Nicon founded three great convents, the Iversky, the Krestnoy, and that of Voskresensk.

The remembrance of the happy days of his life on the isle of Anzer was always in Nicon's heart. Once, when he was on his way from Novgorod to Moscow, in 1651, he saw near Valdai, then a poor village but now the chief town of a district (*ouyezd*, riding), a magnificent lake dotted over with a number of picturesquely-scattered islands. The sight suggested to him the idea of founding there a monastery on one of the islands; and when he reached Moscow with this idea in his head, he communicated it to the tsar, who approved of it. But Nicon

was soon called away to another holy work, viz. that of the translation of the relics of St. Philip from the Solovetsky to Moscow. While on this mission, still occupied with the thought of his intended convent, and thinking of the struggles and conflicts of those who have suffered for the faith and for the Church, he had a dream or vision in which the metropolitan St. Philip appeared to him, and approved of his intention respecting the new convent. At the sight of the Solovetsky islands, all Nicon's recollections of his own hermit life were revived with fresh force, and he was still more confirmed in his thought of founding a monastery on an island of the Valdai lake. With this determination he returned to Moscow, and mounted to the chair of the patriarchate. Meantime, while he was metropolitan of Novgorod [or rather, before, while he was archimandrite of the Novospass], he had heard much of the miracles of the Iversky icon of the Mother of God on Mount Athos [*i.e.* an icon belonging to a convent there called the Convent of the Georgians (τῶν Ἰβήρων), in Russian *Iversky*]: often too he heard of the fame of the ascetics of Athos. Nicon now wished to blend his own recollections of the *skeet* of Anzer with the pious associations of Mount Athos, and he asked the tsar for his license to found the monastery which he wished to found. This being obtained, he immediately sent to the spot chosen by himself for the site the most promising of the monks about his person, put under them a great number of workpeople, and bade them carry on the works with all possible activity. The tsar's letter of the 6th of May A.D. 1654 gave to the lake of Valdai the new name of *Sviato-Ozero* (Holy Lake), and to the village itself of Valdai the new name of *Bogoroditsky* (*i.e.* village of the Mother of God). In his plan for the arrangement of the buildings of the monastery, Nicon imitated that of the Iversky monastery on Mount Athos. The works once begun were carried on with great rapidity. Within the space of four years (1653-1657), on a wild island covered with thick wood there had arisen a magnificent monastery, with a number of stone churches handsomely built, with cells for the monks, and various monastic offices, all surrounded by a massive stone wall. Nicon took himself a direct part in all that related to this work, and repeatedly visited the spot to see how it was going on. Meanwhile persons were sent to the Iversky monastery on Mount

Athos with instructions to bring thence a copy[41] of the icon venerated there. When this copy was brought to Moscow (17th October 1653), Nicon went out in procession to meet it outside the city, and accompanied it afterwards himself to the convent which he had founded. At the same time he took thither particles of the relics of the holy national primates, Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and Philip. Before that, by his directions, the metropolitan of Novgorod, Macarius, had translated to the new convent the relics of St. James of Borofsk. While Nicon thus enriched his convent with objects of Christian devotion, the tsar also enriched it at different times by grants of extensive estates and various usufructs, and gave it a letter of exemption [*i.e.* from all crown dues. *Hist. Russ. Hier.* vol. iv. and *Act. Exped.* iv. no. 70]. Having thus founded his convent, Nicon introduced into it the strictest order of cœnobitic life (*i.e.* of life in community), and the greatest magnificence in divine service; so that it was distinguished in those times as something extraordinary. In 1657 Nicon begged the tsar himself to visit the Iversky monastery, which had then been completed, and the tsar promised to go; and there is a letter from Nicon to the archimandrite and the brethren directing them how to make preparations for the tsar's coming and for his own. But it does not seem that this visit was ever actually made.

As regards the Krestnoy monastery, Nicon has himself explained the motives which led him to found it in a circular letter addressed generally to the faithful. 'In the year 1639,' he says, 'we, being then an hieromonach, were passing by sea from the *skeet* of Anzer, and there was a great storm, so that we narrowly escaped going to the bottom: but trusting in the power of the divine and life-giving cross, we escaped over against the mouth of the Onega to a haven in the isle of Kia, and gave glory to our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us on the cross, for that our deliverance. And when we were then on that isle, as a memorial of that our deliverance we set up there a holy and life-giving cross. After that,' he continues, 'our heart began to be more inflamed with love to the cross of Christ, and disposed us to found on the isle of Kia a monastic house. But before this thought took effect so as to be executed,

[41] A second copy it was: Nicon had obtained one before, which the tsaritsa had taken from him. See the *Travels of Macarius*, &c. p. 233.

it pleased the Lord, as I was on my way to the Solovetsky monastery for the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip, that I should see again, after seventeen years, that cross which I had set up on that isle of Kia in perfect preservation, and hear at the same time that the power of God through it saves many from the danger of being wrecked. Then,' so Nicon concludes his letter, 'I was confirmed in my intention of founding there a monastery.' And so in A.D. 1656, when the building of the Iversky monastery was nearly completed, Nicon asked of the tsar a letter for the foundation of another monastery, the Krestnoy, on the isle of Kia, in an inlet of the White Sea. At that time Nicon published (24th June 1656) a circular letter from himself about the foundation of this monastery, and invited all the sons of the Church *of our country* to assist by their contributions. Meanwhile at Moscow he gave orders to make for this convent a magnificent cross of cypress wood, in height and breadth, as Nicon says, like to the cross of Christ. He adorned this with silver, gold, and precious stones, enclosed in it as many as three hundred particles of holy relics, also blood of many holy martyrs, and particles of holy stones from Palestine. On the sides of this cross there were imaged above the apostle-like Constantine and Helena, but at the foot the tsar Alexis Mich., the tsaritsa Maria Ilichna, and the patriarch Nicon, in the attitude of prayer, with their knees and heads bent. Nicon sent this cross solemnly escorted from Moscow to the place of its destination. After singing a moleben in the cathedral, he himself, accompanied by a multitude of the clergy and people of Moscow, escorted it in procession beyond the Sretensky gates to the spot where stood the Cross of St. Philip. Here, having again sung a moleben, he sent it off, and having blessed them that were to go with it for their journey, returned to Moscow. From that time his pastoral eye constantly followed from a distance the progress and growth of the new convent. The tsar granted to it some valuable estates (*Sobr. Zak.* i. no. 211). In 1661 [really from late in 1659 to late in 1660] Nicon had the consolation of *seeing* his new convent, which was by that time built, and of consecrating its churches.

In A.D. 1657 Nicon undertook the foundation of a third monastery near the village of Voskresensk, forty-seven versts from Moscow. This village had been purchased by him before

for his Iversky convent. In his journeys to that convent, while it was founding, Nicon more than once halted at the village of Voskresensk, and every time he was struck and pleased with the beauty of its site. His hearty love for the monastic life suggested to him the idea of founding here also a convent. The tsar granted his license—indeed he urged Nicon to do it, and told him to reckon on his assistance—and Nicon, who was not ever inclined to lose time, that same year himself fixed on a spot for it, and began the works. The site chosen was on a hill surrounded by the little river Istra. Nicon levelled its upper surface by filling up the inequalities with earth, dug ditches on three sides of it, surrounded it with a wooden precinct with eight towers, and within, for the first beginning, built a wooden church (capable of being warmed in winter), in the name of the Lord's Resurrection, with a refectory and the other necessary monastic offices. The tsar himself was present at its consecration, which was performed by the patriarch. As he was setting out to return to Moscow, and the patriarch was conducting him on his way, the tsar halted at the distance of a verst from the monastery, in order to look back from thence and admire the beauty of the site. After looking at it for some time, he was himself so taken with it, that he turned to the patriarch and said: 'God certainly created this place to be the site of a monastery; it is as beautiful as Jerusalem.' Nicon joyfully caught up these words of the tsar, and called his foundation *New Jerusalem*. From Moscow the tsar sent a friendly letter to Nicon, and again called the convent in it 'your New Jerusalem.' The patriarch placed this letter of the tsar his friend in a silver casket under the altar, and fixed the name of the convent to be New Jerusalem. In correspondence with this name for the convent itself, all the localities belonging to it or surrounding it were likewise re-named from the holy places in Palestine. The eminence from which the tsar had surveyed the site of the monastery was called by the patriarch *Olivet;* the little river Istra flowing round the monastery received the name of the *Jordan*. Of the other localities one was named *Nazareth*, another the *Potter's Field*, others *Tabor* and *Hermon*, *Ramah*, &c. To complete the resemblance of our New Jerusalem in Russia to the old Jerusalem of Palestine, Nicon conceived the grand design of building in the midst of his con-

vent a large stone church of Christ's holy Resurrection (*Voskresenia*), which should be in all respects a facsimile of the church of the same title (the *Anastasis*) at Jerusalem. For this end he sent to Jerusalem the kellar of the Troitsky lavra, Arsenius Soukhanoff, who had been twice before sent on missions to the Levant, with the charge to obtain and to bring back to Moscow accurate plans and models of the churches of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Arsenius returned to Moscow in the following year, 1658, in January. In April of that same year Nicon laid the first stone of the noble church of his New Jerusalem, which has become the glory of its founder, not only in our own country, but also in foreign and far distant lands.

But, while striving to keep in piety and in purity of life 'those whom he had received from God,' Nicon laboured zealously also 'to bring the unbelievers into conformity with the faith.' According to his own words [quoted from Matthew Blastar, see above p. 65, and *Replies*, &c. xi.] this is the second essential duty of a patriarch or primate.

Siberia was the chief and most extensive and fruitful field in which our pastors from the end of the 16th century had begun to plant the orthodox faith. Its conquest by John the Terrible first opened the way. John himself ordered the bishop of Vologda to send into Siberia priests to diffuse Christianity. In the reign of Godounoff, and especially in that of the tsar Michael Theodorovich, Christianity was already pretty well established in Siberia, even in its remote extremities. Here were settled Russian colonists; new towns had been built, and churches and monasteries had been founded. The patriarch Philaret Nikitich established a separate episcopal see for Siberia. The patriarch Nicon confirmed the faith of Christ in the capital of the Ostiak princes, and founded there a nursery from which the holy faith was to be propagated amongst all the other Siberian tribes, and at the same time an asylum for such as should be converted to Christianity. In the small town of Konda, the capital of the Ostiak princes, the first ray of the faith had already shone at the end of the sixteenth century. Their prince Alacheff was a Christian. At the same time there were built there churches, and many of the Ostiaks were baptised. But time ruined the churches, and put a stop to the farther extension of the faith. During the patriarchate of Nicon the light of grace again shone

on the hearts of the Ostiaks. The archbishop Simeon forwarded to the tsar petitions from fourteen Ostiak districts (*volosts*) praying that priests and monks might be sent to them to baptise them. Nicon did more than this. At his instance the tsar ordered the archbishop to establish at Konda a monastery and a complete staff of clergy, in order that the light of Christianity might be diffused from thence among the other Siberian tribes. The monastery at Konda from that time served as a seed-bed of the holy faith for Siberia, the chief base of operations for the preachers, and an asylum for them that were converted to Christ.

While thus extending his care to the more distant regions of the Russian empire, he did not leave uncared for those of his countrymen who professed other creeds nearer home. In the countries on the Volga held by the Tatars, the Cheremiss, and the Mordvins, the light of Christianity began to glimmer while Russia was still in bondage under the Mongols. In A.D. 1261 there was already founded the see of Sarai and Podonsk. In course of time, through the labours of some Russian ascetics and pastors, the Church gained in those regions many members. Under our first patriarchs the work of converting the Tatars and Mordvins was actively carried on. But Nicon exerted himself to do more. He, when as yet only metropolitan of Novgorod (A.D. 1651), asked the patriarch Joseph to consecrate Misael to the archiepiscopal see of Riazan. Afterwards, when he himself had become patriarch, Misael was his most zealous fellow-labourer in the work of converting to Christ the Mordvins and the Tatars. Nicon sent him to convert the Mordvins and Tatars in the ridings of Tatsk and Tamboff. Misael by the help of God succeeded in baptising 4200 men. Giving an account of this to Nicon, he asked for his blessing for the undertaking of a fresh progress to Kasimoff, Shatsk, and Tamboff, in order to preach the faith. Nicon blessed the holy zeal of the archbishop. Misael, going about from one place to another in his episcopal dress, exhorted the unbelievers to embrace the holy faith of Christ. In one village he converted at once 315 men of the Mordvins, with their wives and children. But at the same time the more obstinate adherents of the old superstition assembled in a crowd, and shot their arrows at the bishop, who fell pierced by them, and died a martyr to the faith. But even in the midst of his

sufferings, before he expired, he ceased not to admonish those ignorant people to turn from their errors to faith in the Saviour Christ. Then Nicon opened, as we shall see, another way for the extension of the holy faith among the unbelievers of his countrymen.

The province of Viatka belonged at that time to the patriarchal diocese. Nicon knew that it was very extensive, and that among the people inhabiting it there were many heathens, and that among the Christians themselves of those parts there were many remains of heathenish superstitions. At the same time its remoteness from the capital, and so from the patriarchal residence, made it impossible for the primates in person to make themselves accurately acquainted with the state of religion in those regions. Nicon discovered a way of remedying this inconvenience. Near to Moscow itself there was the separate bishopric of Kolomna. Nicon, with the consent of the tsar and by the decision of a synod, suppressed this, and in its stead erected a new see of Viatka and Veliko-Perm. The bishop Alexander was the first holder of this new see. Nicon assigned to it, from his own patriarchal revenues in those parts, the same endowment for its maintenance which had been possessed before by the bishop of Kolomna in his diocese. At the same time the tsar granted to it from the nearest settlements the same number of souls of peasants as had before belonged to the see of Kolomna. 'And this work,' says Nicon, 'was done to the glory of God, and to the salvation of God's people.' The estates of the see of Kolomna were in the first instance taken to the tsar, but afterwards they were given by him to the monastery of Voskresensk. (See *Replies*, &c. xv.)

In Moscow itself, Nicon, as a careful pastor, laboured actively for the conversion of aliens in faith to the bosom of the Orthodox Church; and his pastoral diligence was not without fruit. In his Chronicle he says of the patriarch Philaret Nikitich: 'Many tribes he brought to the orthodox faith; many pagans he brought to the faith.' The same is to be said of Nicon. He baptised many of the Jews, Mahometans, and other misbelievers, who were living in Moscow. For a closer watch over the religious conduct of them that were newly baptised, he used to keep some of them in his own patriarchal house; others he placed in well-regulated monasteries. To some of them he himself stood god-

father, and these he retained with him as his own spiritual children.

Lastly, when the Lord restored[45] to Russia her old Orthodox provinces, which had been taken from her by Lithuania and Poland, and turned to the Unia,[46] Nicon began to reëstablish in them the holy Orthodox faith.[47] He prescribed to his vicar Callistus, to whom he gave spiritual jurisdiction in the provinces of Polotsk and Vitepsk, and whom he afterwards ordained to be bishop there, to do his best to enrich with the light of our pure faith its adversaries, and to receive the Uniat popes to Orthodoxy, examining them first carefully, and making them to anathematise the Roman and Latin *malady* (*Dreen. Russ. Bibl.* P. iii. p. 305).

With such pastoral labours Nicon distinguished his *service of the Church of his country*. But he was not only a wise and zealous primate, he was also a wise counsellor and fellow-labourer with the tsar his friend in the administration of the *State*.

Let us now go on to consider the services rendered by him to the State.

With the name of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich history commonly associates the idea of a wise sovereign, energetic in the internal administration of his empire, and *fortunate* in his external affairs. But his great qualities as a ruler did not show themselves at once on his accession to the throne. The first years of his reign promised rather a renewal of the time of the weak Theodore Ivanovich. Ascending the throne at the age of sixteen years (he was born on the 10th of March 1629), the young tsar did not occupy himself with business of state, but

[45] Nicon had all along exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the 'Orthodox' of White Russia while that province was subject to the king of Poland; and this *was made a matter of complaint by the Poles*.

[46] *i. e.* united in communion with Rome; but this was true only of a *portion* of the population in those provinces following the Greek rite.

[47] See the *Travels of Macarius*, p. 175. It does not seem that Nicon set on foot any scheme of proselytism in these provinces. He and the Orthodox Church merely occupied such ground as the tsar's sword recovered for them: the Orthodox of Lithuania naturally belonged to him; and if any Uniats of the same rite, from fear of the tsar or to get better terms, availed themselves of their identity in rite and called themselves Orthodox, these, when sent to him by the tsar, he received and reconciled, or sent them to the patriarch Macarius of Antioch to reconcile for him, without rebaptising or reordaining them.

passed all his time in pilgrimages to the surrounding monasteries, or in hawking, a sport of which he was passionately fond. The helm of the state was directed by the boyars. They did not much respect the young tsar, and arbitrary license ruled in the court. 'We heard,' writes a contemporary (see the *Travels of Macarius*, pp. 137-166), 'that the grandees did not at all respect the tsar Alexis, because he was young, tender, open, of a weak constitution, and no lover of blood and war.' And the tsar himself wrote in A.D. 1652 to Nicon, 'and my word is now in the palace pretty formidable, and is executed without delay.' A plain indication this of the former arbitrary license of the boyars. Covetousness, and its offspring injustice in judgment, were the distinguishing traits of their government of the empire. Causes were determined not according to the laws, but according to the value of the bribes given to the judges from the plaintiff and defendant (or from the suitor and respondent). In consequence, the rich oppressed the poor, the strong the weak. To complete the unhappiness of the people, there were introduced new and burdensome imposts, and even many articles of necessary use in common life were farmed out. Foreigners got all the trade into their hands; the native traders, straitened in all the branches of commerce by heavy customs, suffered the greatest losses on the sale of their goods. The people murmured against the corruption of the judges, suspected them of having an understanding with the foreigners to the prejudice of Russia, and regarded with displeasure the stone houses of the people of the prikazes. Lastly, in the midst of such civil disorders, natural calamities, such as failure of the crops, murrain among the cattle, and frequent conflagrations, excited the people to fury. At Moscow there broke out a riot; the people were so enraged against the officers of state, that, after killing a number of them, they demanded of the tsar that he should give up to them his favourite Morozoff (his former preceptor, who had since become his brother-in-law). The tsar himself went out to the rioters, and scarcely by soft words succeeded in pacifying them. This unhappy occurrence turned the attention of the tsar to the state of the public administration. With his clear intelligence and his good heart, he at once perceived the true cause of the sufferings of the people, and from that time his chief care in internal affairs was to

establish a system of just judgment. Immediately after the popular rising above-mentioned, he gave orders to compile a new code, which was promulgated on the 3d Oct. A.D. 1649. But the putting forth of these laws did not put an end to the inveterate habits of the secretaries (*diaks*), boyars, and voivodes; and the tsar took upon himself the labour of directly superintending the administration of justice. Every man who thought himself wronged had free access to him, and could make his complaint against any unjust judgment. For the more solid establishment of just judgment the tsar felt the need of a zealous fellow-labourer, and he found one in his friend Nicon.

We have seen already how, when archimandrite of the Novospass, Nicon served the tsar as a faithful herald of justice and a sincere friend of the poor and helpless. On his way to the tsar he used to receive petitions from the people; and the tsar, before he went out from the church, signified his decisions upon them. When he sent Nicon to Novgorod, the tsar committed to him there a superior inspection over all the civil administration of justice. He had authority given him to inspect the prisons, and at his own discretion to set free any of the prisoners. He had the right to watch over the proceedings in causes in all the courts of judicature, and to confirm, or to modify or reverse, upon his own revision, the decisions of the civil judges, without excepting even those of the governor (the voivode) himself. Nicon in this way was to become in the intention of the tsar his viceroy, with plenary powers to act for him in Novgorod. And the zealous metropolitan justified the high trust reposed in him by the tsar his friend to his own honour, and to that of all the clergy of his country. First, and above all, he sought to act by way of persuasion and admonition on the judges themselves, moving them to judge justly, without partiality and without corruption; to inflict on no man any wrong, extortion, or oppression. Then, as having full powers from the tsar, he visited the prisons with alms, and brought thither at the same time in his own person a standard of justice. The prisoners rejoiced at his visits. He would pass there whole hours conversing with them. His penetration enabled him speedily and surely to distinguish real criminals from innocent persons who had been wrongly condemned, and to fix the degrees of crime where crimes had really been committed.

Every visit made by him to a prison was followed by the release of no small number of prisoners unjustly condemned, and by alleviation of the lot of others who were guilty. The fame of the just judgment of the metropolitan spread over all his flock. Hence it occurred that people who had differences, before they began to take legal proceedings one against another, would go to the house of the metropolitan and verbally make known to him their respective cases. Nicon with the sympathy of a father examined their matters, blamed them that were to blame, justified and comforted them that were wronged, and, without prejudice to the rights of either party, put an end to disputes by amicable composition. But in cases where the power given him by the tsar and his own sound judgment had no success, Nicon referred the matter to the personal decision of the tsar. At the time of his mission to the Solovetsky monastery for the relics of St. Philip, he observed in the riding of Kargopol certain disorders in the district police administration, and amongst others the abandonment of one important source of imperial revenue, and immediately, while on his way, he wrote to the tsar his observations. When he came to be patriarch, the exertions of Nicon to introduce a true administration of justice in the civil tribunals are, in a manner, one with those of the tsar himself. With that power which the love and friendship of the tsar gave him, he, like the patriarch Philaret Nikitich, humbled the licentious and vicious boyars by severity, and distinguished with special honour those who were worthy servants of the throne. But it was in the suppression of a popular rising at Novgorod, while he was metropolitan there, that Nicon showed in a special and magnificent manner his devotion to the tsar and to his country.

That popular disturbance which took place at Moscow on the 26th of May 1648 was reëchoed, as it were, in full force, two years later (in 1650), at Novgorod. The cause of this disturbance among the Novgorodians was one of the townspeople named Volk. From motives of covetousness he went to the Germans [the Swedes] who traded at Novgorod, and promised, if they would pay him for it, to reveal to them a secret plot which he pretended the people of Novgorod had made against them. The Swedes, being aware of the ill-will borne them at that time by the common people of the Russians, consented to

buy from Volk his secret. Then he told them that the people regarded them as accomplices in the treason of Boris Morozoff, and on that account the Novgorodians were seeking to take them all and kill them. 'Therefore,' said Volk to the Swedes, 'if you wish to save your lives, make all haste to get away from hence to your own country.' The Swedes knew how general was the unpopularity attaching in Russia to Morozoff; they saw that he was hated also by the Novgorodians, especially after the rising at Moscow; they knew, lastly, that Morozoff was accused, amongst other things, of an excessive partiality for foreigners, originating in his avarice. The words of Volk in consequence were received by them as simple truth; and that very same day, having got together, as well as they could, their property, they set out from Novgorod on their way to the frontier.

Volk, thirsting for gain, was well pleased at this departure of the foreigners. Having deceived them for money, he determined, in order to get still more, to deceive also his fellow-citizens. He went to the police court (*zemskaia izba*) and publicly proclaimed that the Swedes—those friends of Boris Morozoff and accomplices in his treason against the tsar—are even now, at the request of Morozoff, going off with his treasure across the frontier. 'Let us stand up,' he cried, 'for the Great Hossoudar: let us pursue and catch the runaways, and let us judge them as traitors.' So he concluded his speech.

The people did not give themselves the trouble to think twice about the words of Volk, but acted as if they feared to lose the opportunity of detecting and punishing the treason. With rage in their hearts, and stones and clubs in their hands, they rushed after the Swedes. Mad cries drowned every attempt to get them to hear reason. They came up with the Swedes, and fell mercilessly upon those poor men with a shower of blows. Their property was plundered. Still there were among the mob some people of common sense, who withheld the rioters from murder and bloodshed, and simply and plainly showed them the inconsiderateness of their acts. 'Who,' they asked, 'will be witness of the treason of Morozoff if we kill here all the Swedes?' The Novgorodians began to reflect. Those of the Swedes who were still alive were brought back

into the city, and shut up under strict guard till there should be made a judicial inquiry concerning their complicity in the supposed treason of Morozoff. Meanwhile, having shut up the Swedes in the prisons, the rioters went off to sack their shops and houses. Horrible scenes of devastation marked everywhere their progress: they did not then spare either those of their own fellow-citizens who were rich and distinguished: they began to accuse all of having plotted with the Swedes against their country.

At that time there was as voivode at Novgorod the boyar prince Theodore Andr. Khilkoff. On being informed of the rising of the people, he sent his secretaries and the captains of the streltsi with detachments of soldiers to bring the people to their senses, and to put an end to the insurrection. But the greater part of the streltsi, seduced by the hope of gain, went over to the side of the insurgents. The secretaries and captains were threatened with death if they did not desist from expostulating with the people. Then it was repeated by voices among the crowd that all the civil authorities, and at their head the voivode himself, were friends of Boris Morozoff, were living in secret understanding with the Swedes, and were sending away across the frontier corn, salt, meal, and fish for sale, to the extreme impoverishment of our country: and hence it is, they said, that there are such high prices for all the provisions of life. A flaming desire of vengeance broke out in the breasts of all the irrational zealots for the interest of their country. The populace and the streltsi, boiling with murderous passion, rushed to the castle, to the house of the voivode. Deserted by all, and marked out as a victim for death, Khilkoff fled along the city wall to the house of the metropolitan. 'Let us too go thither and kill the traitor!' was cried out by mad voices; and the infuriated crowd, with clubs and stones, poured to the house of the metropolitan. Nicon, after concealing the voivode in his inner chambers, ordered his people to bar strongly the doors of his house. The rioters began with clubs to break open the doors, and to shout for the metropolitan to give up to them the voivode—the friend of the Swedes and of Morozoff. Some of the people of the household of the metropolitan went out by his order to the insurgents, and attempted to reason with them. But the exasperated crowd, incapable of

receiving any advice, caught hold of them, showered upon them abuse and blows, and began to question them where the voivode was hiding. The faithful servants of Nicon, notwithstanding all the exasperation of the rioters against them, did not discover to them the hiding-place of the voivode, and patiently endured blows. Many of them even fell sacrifices to their immovable fidelity to their metropolitan and to their duty.

Meanwhile over all the city there were sounding two tocsins, one in the city-tower, the other in the belfry of the sobor of St. Nicholas at the Yaroslaff dvor, near the police court-house and the custom-house, where was also the chief rendezvous of the rioters. All the city was panic-struck.

The fearless pastor, always ready to lay down his life for his people, recommending himself to God, went out to the rioters. At the sight of their distinguished bishop the people calmed down, and in silence waited for him to speak. With fatherly gentleness Nicon began thus: 'My dear children, why have ye come to me with arms? I was always with you, and now I do not hide myself from you. I am your pastor, and I am ready to lay down my life for you.' 'So he wishes under the respect due to his office to defend and screen the traitors!' suddenly was shouted among the crowd; and—Nicon was struck to the ground. Blows were showered upon him from all sides: some struck him with their hands; others threw stones at him; others beat him with clubs . . . there was neither any respect for his sacred office nor mercy for him as a man. Nicon prayed for his murderers in the words of our Saviour, *who* said of them that crucified Him: *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.* At length his bodily powers of endurance failed him, and he lay senseless, stretched on the ground. The insane and violent crowd continued to drag him along the ground and to strike him. But the Lord, whom it pleased not then to give him over to death, put it into the hearts of some of the bystanders to take compassion on him. These forced their way through the crowd, and surrounded him as he lay half dead. Then the rioters also began to open their eyes to what they had done; an involuntary fear and shame came upon them, and one by one they began to disperse from the court of the metropolitan's residence: before long it was emptied of the whole mob.

The half-dead metropolitan was lifted up by his servants and carried into his cell. After some space he came to his senses. But, as a zealous pastor, he would not think of himself while his flock was still suffering from the insurrection. Disregarding his own extreme weakness, he determined to do for his own part all that he possibly could for the putting down of the insurrection, and the reëstablishment of law and order. He sent messengers to all the archimandrites of the city, to the hegoumens and the priests, to bid them all assemble immediately at the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the mean time they began to ring the bells there for a procession. Nicon, preparing himself as for death, confessed his sins to his confessor; and when the clergy were assembled at the cathedral, he made his appearance there himself. Then they all went in procession with the banners, crosses, and icons to the Znamensky sobor, near to which was the place of assembly of the rioters. It was with the greatest difficulty that Nicon went through with the procession; blood trickled from his ears and throat. It was still early. Though fainting from the injuries he had received, he celebrated in the Znamensky church the divine liturgy; and having fortified himself with the holy mysteries, he ordered himself to be drawn in an open *sledge* straight to the police court-house and the custom-house, where the rioters were holding their consultations for fresh disturbances. With a firm carriage the metropolitan entered and stood in the midst of them. Fear and awe seized the rioters, who were astounded and shamed to see appear among them the bishop upon whom they had just before laid their murderous hands. Giving orders to his attendants to support him, and collecting all his strength, Nicon with a firm voice said: 'My children, I always preached truth and justice without fear, and now with still more boldness I shall speak to you the truth. Nothing of the earth can terrify me; my sinful soul is already prepared for death. I have received the Body and Blood of the source of immortality, Christ my God. I, as your pastor, have come to rescue you from the wolves which disturb you, from the spirit of hatred and discord. Calm yourselves; and if ye know of any crime in me, or infidelity against our tsar, then let me know what it is, and kill me; I am ready to die with joy. Only do ye return to faith and obedience.'

Overwhelmed with shame and fear the rioters did not dare

even to look their pastor in the face; but, without answering him a word, they began one after another to hasten away to their homes. Nicon ordered himself to be driven to the cathedral of St. Sophia, where, in the midst of a numerous congregation of the clergy and the people, he anathematised the chief leaders of the disturbance. Then bitter repentance succeeded among the people to their previous exasperation.

But the chief conspirators, anticipating the anger of the tsar, in fear and desperation began to seek for means of justifying themselves. And hence there began to be new horrors among the people. In front of the windows of the police court-house there were set a block and an axe; and under the threat of death they compelled all the citizens of most weight to subscribe their names on a roll of blank paper, on which it was intended to write a memorial to the tsar, as if in the name of all the citizens of Novgorod, setting forth that they had shown their loyal care 'for the tsar' by destroying traitors. Of such subscriptions there were already collected more than a thousand. Special constraint was put upon the ecclesiastics, as being more trustworthy witnesses than others. In the mean time, in order that the true state of things at Novgorod might not be known at Moscow, the rioters set round the city at all the gates a strong guard, with strict orders to let no one pass out to go to Moscow. For greater success in these dispositions there were elected leaders, of whom the chief was called their 'voivode,' and the rest were his 'assistants.' To the shame of the rioters, the man whom they made their voivode was a certain Ivan Jegloff, formerly dvoretskoy to the metropolitan, who had for a grave crime been thrown by him into prison, and now, in that time of general disturbance and riot among the people, had escaped and got out. And now he gave out his orders to his subordinates with the prison chain still hanging about his own neck.

However, the rioters had but little confidence that reports of their insurrection would not in one way or other reach the tsar. One evil produces another. So it was also with them. Blinded by fear of just punishment, they wished to shelter themselves from the anger of their own native tsar under the sceptre of another sovereign, who was a foreigner and an alien in his creed, and they determined to give up the city either to Sweden or to Poland. Their design was already ripe for execution;

but the forethought of the metropolitan disappointed them and gave the affair another turn.

Notwithstanding all the measures taken by the rioters to cut off communication with Moscow, Nicon found means to inform the tsar of the rising of the Novgorodians, and of their intending to give themselves up to be under the protection of the Polish or the Swedish king. While he had the voivode still concealed in his cells, he sent a trusty messenger to the tsar by bye ways with a letter, in which he accurately described all the course of the riot of the Novgorodians, the fear of the tsar's wrath which had come upon them afterwards, and lastly their intention of giving themselves up to be subjects of Sweden or Poland. The tsar was deeply struck by the news of this insurrection among his subjects, and of the sufferings of his friend the metropolitan. In order to comfort him in his sufferings the tsar immediately wrote to him an autograph letter, and sent it by the same messenger. The feelings of gratitude, affection, and devotion of the tsar towards Nicon were in this letter expressed with effusion: he called Nicon 'a new athlete and martyr.' At the same time, and by the same messenger, the tsar sent a letter also to the Novgorodians, threatening them with death unless they repented, and giving them hopes of mercy if they should show themselves repentant before their metropolitan, and ask of him pardon and absolution, giving up only the ringleaders.

While all this was going on in Moscow, the more reasonable of the Novgorodians, who had been carried away by the popular torrent of the insurrection, but who now felt that they had done wrong, began to go to Nicon with tears of repentance. Begging pardon of him, they at the same time begged him to intercede for them with the tsar. They knew well what weight a word from Nicon had with the tsar his friend. Nicon received them affectionately, as children who had returned from rebellion to obedience, wept together with them over their past fault, forgave and absolved them for his own part, as their bishop; but as for any further prospect of pardon, he deferred saying anything till he should have received letters from the tsar. Presently there was spread the news about Novgorod that a letter from the tsar had been received. Crowds assembled before the zemskaia izba, expecting the decision of their fate. The letter was read. The terror of the threat of death struck all; but there

remained yet a ray of hope in this, that the tsar referred the whole matter to the discretion of Nicon, whom they knew to be merciful, and who was to punish the guilty, and to show grace to the innocent. All poured to the house of the metropolitan. Thousands of voices now reached the ears of Nicon: 'Forgive us, forgive us!' Nicon promised them forgiveness; only, as a duty of equity, he bade the people to give up to the civil authority all the chief ringleaders of the riot. The people readily promised to do this. Meanwhile he seized the occasion, when they now had every disposition to listen to him, to give them a pastoral instruction. During three hours he taught them from the holy scripture and the fathers of the Church *the duty of obeying authorities*, and leading a good life. The people wept tears of penitence and devotion. It was with tears too in his own eyes that Nicon preached—tears of sympathy for his flock. He then solemnly gave them pardon and absolution from himself, and promised them grace from the tsar. With transports of joy and gratitude to their pastor they all returned to their homes, and quiet was again established in all Novgorod.

The good sense of the tsar fully appreciated the services of Nicon, who, with the self-devotion of a true pastor, had exerted himself to put down this alarming insurrection at Novgorod. 'To the elect and firm-standing pastor,' the tsar afterwards wrote to Nicon, 'the gracious, the gentle, the good-hearted, the unresenting, the beloved and loving disciple of Christ, and the defender of the rational sheep. O valiant warrior and sufferer of the heavenly Tsar, O my beloved friend and fellow-helper, holy lord! I write to thee, thou luminary among bishops, who, as the sun shines in all the world, so shinest in all our empire by good qualities and good deeds, our bosom friend both spiritually and bodily!'

A faithful and noble-hearted assistant of the tsar in matters concerning the internal administration of the state, Nicon was also one of the most zealous promoters of the glory of the tsar and of his country in the relations of Russia with foreign powers. So the most brilliant of the external imperial acts of the reign of Alexis Michaelovich, viz. the union of Little Russia to Great Russia, and the recovery of some other ancient provinces of our country, which had been wrested from us in time past by Poland and Lithuania, were the fruit of the grand designs of Nicon.

In the church of St. Nicholas at Brest, on the 9th of Oct. 1596, there had been proclaimed the Unia (or the union of a portion of the followers of the Slavonic Greek rite with Rome). Immediately after this there began to be horrible persecutions of the Orthodox in Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine for their perseverance in the faith of their fathers.

In A.D. 1597 the Polish forces were sent into Little Russia. The soldiers with their swords drawn forced in the churches the people to kneel on their knees and strike themselves on their breast after the Roman fashion, and to read the Creed with the addition of the words, '*and from the Son*.' The Orthodox churches were forcibly taken away by the Catholics, or declared to belong to the Unia. The Latin clergy drove about from church to church in carriages, to which they harnessed as many as twenty or more Orthodox Christians. Those churches, the parishioners of which could not by any violence be forced to the Unia, were farmed out to the Jews. Every time that there was occasion for the Orthodox priest to perform any church office, it was necessary for him first to go for the keys of the church to the Jews. There rose up brave defenders of the faith of their forefathers; but, together with their hetman Nalivaiko, they were burnt alive at Warsaw in a brazen bull by a slow fire, and the Ukraine was declared by the diet to be deprived of all civil rights.

Sagaidachny, by his victories over the Polish forces, restored to Little Russia her civil and ecclesiastical rights. The Unia there was for some time quieted. But in A.D. 1622 Sagaidachny died. The persecution against the Orthodox in Little Russia broke out afresh. Again they were subjected to the Jews and the Polish lords. To complete their oppressions, there was invented a new and shameful sort of impost. The Uniat freely received the paschal bread where and as he pleased; but the Orthodox Christian could not bake it himself, nor buy it except from a Jew and at the Jew's price. In the case of any contravention of this law, he paid thrice the value. Under such circumstances, the Orthodox clergy of Little Russia betook themselves with a petition for protection to the neighbouring empire of Muscovy, the people of which were of the same race and of the same faith with themselves. They sent to Moscow Isaac bishop of Loutsk, with a commission from his metropo-

litan Job Boretsky to endeavour to obtain from the tsar Michael Theod. and the patriarch Philaret Nikitich that Little Russia should be received under their imperial protection. But the day of the deliverance of Little Russia was not then yet come. They answered the bishop Isaac that 'the tsar's majesty and the most holy patriarch will consider how they may see the Orthodox faith and the churches of God and you all delivered from the heretics.' Meanwhile in Little Russia there began again to be disturbances. To succour his afflicted country there rose up the valiant hetman Pavliuk (in A.D. 1637), and by his sword forced the Poles to grant peace to Little Russia. But he was treacherously seized by the Poles, and subjected to the most horrible punishment: they scalped him alive. Little Russia was again declared to be deprived of all civil rights. In her defence there rose up the hetman Ostranitsa; but, like Pavliuk, he was taken, together with some of his comrades, and sent to Warsaw. Some of them were there broken on the wheel; others had their arms and legs broken; others, again, were run through the body and then impaled on stakes. On the public place of their punishment there were present the wives of the prisoners, with their children at the breast, filling the place with their cries. The women they killed every one, cutting their throats; and the children, as they were crawling about their mothers in their blood, they burned before the eyes of their fathers on iron gratings. Meanwhile throughout the towns and villages of the Ukraine there commenced a series of like bestial cruelties, with the most revolting profanations of everything holy. Before the eyes of fathers and mothers they burned children on fires of coals and boiled them in caldrons, and then killed the mothers. After plundering the Orthodox churches, the Poles farmed them out to the Jews. Chalices, patens, vestments, and sticharia were sold by them for victuals. The Jews converted the church vessels and vestments to domestic furniture and habiliments. Their wives made for themselves out of phenolia and sticharia stomachers, leaving still upon them, in sign of triumph over the faith, their crosses. The Polish grandees and the Roman clergy placed Russian Christianity on the same level with heathenism.

Then the Lord raised up to help the suffering Orthodox faith a man of piety and valour, Bogdan Khmielnitsky. At his potent word there collected to him all the zealous champions

of Orthodoxy. A great force was organised, and marched out bravely against the oppressors of the Orthodox Church. 'The cause which forced the Kozaks to rise in arms against the Poles,' wrote Khmielnitsky, 'was not this, that the Poles had unjustly taken from them villages and houses; not this, that they deprived them of their earthly country; not this, that they oppressed them with burdensome services, like the cruel Pharaoh (all this the Kozaks would not have refused still to endure); but this, that the Poles, attempting to force them to give up the doctrines of piety and to unite with error, with an evil madness sacked the intellectual dwellings and houses of immortal souls.' The Orthodox clergy of Little Russia blessed the sword of Khmielnitsky to defend the faith and his country.

From the year 1647 there raged a fierce war between the Kozaks and Poland. At the very beginning of the war Khmielnitsky already openly expressed his wish to give himself up to be under the sovereignty of Russia. 'Let the Poles straiten us, if it must be so,' he said on one occasion; 'but there still lives the mother of the Kozaks, Russia.' In vain the Polish grandees attempted to conciliate the Kozaks by a variety of presents, and by deceitful promises of freedom. 'We have no need either of gifts or of promises: rule over Poland; but the Ukraine must be free,' was the reply made to them by the Kozaks. After having repeatedly discomfited the Poles, Khmielnitsky, by a glorious victory near Zborovi (now Zbarajie), in A.D. 1649, forced the Polish king John Casimir to accept, among other articles of the convention then made, the following: 1. To suppress among the Russians in Poland and Lithuania the Unia, as disturbing the people and bathing itself in Christian blood. 2. The Orthodox churches to be left in possession of their ancient liberties and properties, as it was in old time. 3. The metropolitan of Kieff was to have a seat in the senate. 4. There were to be no longer any Jesuit schools either in Kieff or on the other lands of the Kozaks. But the Poles never so much as thought of executing this convention. On the contrary, their cruelties began again both in Little Russia and in Lithuania and Volhynia.

In such difficult circumstances Khmielnitsky sent envoys to the tsar Alexis Michaelovich to ask his protection and defence for the people of Little Russia, and proposed to place himself with all the Ukraine under the sovereignty of Muscovy. This

was in Feb. of A.D. 1651, in the time of the patriarch Joseph. The tsar laid the application of Khmielnitsky before a council of ecclesiastical and civil persons. This council, after making an estimate of the means and forces of the empire, which had been gradually recovering itself after the very greatest public calamities, though it did propose to consent to the request of Khmielnitsky, yet proposed this timidly, and so *did* nothing. 'I send to ask them with all my heart,' said Khmielnitsky, displeased at their procrastination, 'but they only play with me.' The truth was that at Moscow they feared a war with Poland. There began to be negotiations and missions to and fro between Moscow and the Ukraine. The patriarch Joseph, however much he may have desired the peace of the Orthodox Church, had not influence enough in the council to bring the tsar and the boyars to his opinion. The envoys of Khmielnitsky returned to him with an indecisive answer. But Khmielnitsky did not give up his hope.

In A.D. 1652 he renewed his application to have Little Russia received under the sovereignty of the tsar; and among other things he then gave them to understand that, if the Orthodox tsar refused this petition of Little Russia, she would place herself under the sovereignty of the sultan, rather than remain any longer under the power of the Polish diet. The state of Little Russia had now become more dangerous than ever, owing to the circumstance that the khan of the Crimea was intending to help the king of Poland to subdue the Ukraine. In the mean time Khmielnitsky had learned how great an influence over the tsar was exercised by the patriarch Nicon. In consequence, when he sent to ask to be received as the tsar's subject, Khmielnitsky sent also a separate letter to Nicon, begging him to be a mediator for them with the tsar for the union of Christians of the same faith with their own. 'We know,' he wrote, 'of the zeal which thy great pontificate has for Almighty God, for the Orthodox faith, for the Church of God, and for all the people of *Eastern* piety: and we entreat thy great pontificate to vouchsafe to be our mediator with the tsar's majesty, that he may extend to us his helping hand. But we,' he continued, 'do not wish to serve an unbelieving sovereign, but only a believing one. And we ask thee to intercede for us with God and with the tsar's majesty, that there may be one faith and one union. For though others, who are

aliens in faith, invite us to them, we pray God to turn away our eyes that they behold not vanity, and to make us to walk in the straight path of his commandments' (*Moscow Soc. of R. Hist. and Ant.* 1848, no. 8 at the end, §§ 1, 2, 3, and 17). The state of affairs was very difficult for Russia. To receive Little Russia was the same thing as to declare war with Poland. But if Little Russia were to give itself up to the sultan, they would have the Tatars and the sultan together advancing upon Moscow. But Nicon was not one who had any disposition to draw back at the sight of danger. Many of the boyars still thought of the matter as they had thought in 1651; but Nicon persuaded the tsar to take Little Russia under his protection, observing to him that the Kozaks would defend both themselves and Moscow from the Poles, if only he would receive and assist them. Nicon knew the gratitude and valour of the generous sons of the Ukraine. And so, at the instance of Nicon, in April A.D. 1653 there were sent to Poland Russian envoys to demand equitable treatment for Little Russia, otherwise Muscovy would take up arms for its defence. In September our envoys returned, and reported to the tsar that the Polish government would not admit the mediation of Muscovy in the affairs of Little Russia.

On the 1st of Oct. A.D. 1653 the tsar assembled in the *granovitaia palata* a great council of spiritual and secular persons, and proposed to them to consider the existing state of the relations of Russia with the Kozaks and with Poland. The answer returned to the tsar was unanimous: that, 'for the sake of the Orthodox Christian faith and the holy churches of God, the hetman with all the Kozak force should be received under the sovereignty of Russia.' Then there were appointed to be sent to Little Russia the tsar's deputy at Tver Basil Bas. Boutourlin, the deputy of Mourom Ivan Bas. Alpherieff, and the secretary of the council Hilarion Dmitr. Lopouchin, to administer the oath of allegiance to all the inhabitants of Little Russia. On the 5th of Oct., after a moleben in the cathedral of the Assumption, they received the patriarch's blessing, and kissed the tsar's hand, and set forth on their mission.

On the 8th of Jan. A.D. 1654, 'thanks to the patriarch Nicon,' Little Russia was solemnly united to the Muscovite empire at Chigirin.

With what affection the people of Little Russia then re-

garded Nicon is shown by the letter written to him by the secretary of the Kozaks Ivan Vigovskoy, and by the example of the hegoumen Joel Tourtsevich. This hegoumen, having been invited in 1651 to the Iversky monastery, fell sick on the road; but he desired that his body at any rate might be carried to the place which his affection longed for, that is, to the Iversky monastery founded by Nicon. 'I,' he said, 'will keep my fidelity to my pastor even after death.'

But the Poles were not ready without resistance to give up Little Russia; and war was now inevitable. On the 23d of Oct. in 1653, after a moleben in the cathedral, the tsar solemnly declared to all his people that, 'imploring the favour of God and the intercession of all the saints, he was about to march against his enemy the king of Poland, to take vengeance for the many wrongs committed by him.' Nicon blessed the tsar for the defence of the Orthodox Church, then suffering in the Ukraine from the tyranny of the Poles. From that day preparations began to be made in our army for war, and were continued till the following spring. On the 26th of April 1654 one division of the army, under the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, left Moscow. The troops marched past the palace 'under the gallery,'[48] on which stood the tsar and the tsaritsa and the patriarch. Nicon sprinkled them with holy water. The general rendezvous for all the army destined for the Polish campaign was fixed to be at the city of Viazma. Hither on the 15th of May (which that year was the Sunday of the Holy Trinity) the tsar sent off the icon of the Iversky Mother of God sent to Nicon by the patriarch Parthenius of Constantinople. From the cathedral of the Assumption to the Donskoy monastery it was escorted by the tsar himself and the patriarch, who were preceded by the crosses, banners, and icons, with a great concourse of all the people of Moscow. On the same day there was despatched for Viazma the prince Odoefsky, with the advanced guard of the army. Nicon again, standing with the tsar in the gallery, sprinkled the troops with holy water. On the 16th of May another division was sent, under the prince Yakoff Cherkassky. Nicon sang a moleben in the cathedral in the presence of the tsar, and sprinkled the troops with holy water. Lastly, on

[48] Seemingly that gallery which like a bridge connects the palace with the church of the Annunciation.

the 18th May the tsar himself left for the campaign. The troops were assembled on the *krasni ploschad* before the palace. The patriarch Nicon from the window of the tsar's banqueting-hall (the *stolovaia*) blessed the soldiers and sprinkled them with holy water. After that the tsar went forth from his palace to the troops, and made his public departure with them out of Moscow. At all the gates through which the army had to pass there were erected on both sides of the gates high steps (platforms with steps), covered with red cloth. On these eminences stood the clergy, with the holy crosses in their hands, and sprinkled with holy water the soldiers, who were preceded by the tsar himself.

At Moscow there remained as governors the boyars princes Michael Theod. Pronsky and Ivan Bas. Khilkoff, the okolniks princes Theodore Alex. Khilkoff, Ivan Andr. Khilkoff, and Basil Greg. Romodanofsky, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff. To be at the palace of the tsaritsa there were appointed the okolniks Ivan Andr. Miloslafsky and Procopius Theod. Sokovnik. But the chief oversight for the regulation of the empire and for the care of the tsar's family was intrusted by the love and friendship of the tsar to the patriarch Nicon. Without consulting Nicon nothing could be done or undertaken by the boyars.

Trusting completely to Nicon for the internal affairs of the government of the empire, the tsar Alexis could now freely and boldly hasten off to the country of the enemy, in order to strike a decisive blow against Poland. Messenger after messenger came from him to Nicon with the announcement of the capture of cities. Meanwhile Nicon, exerting himself not only for the internal welfare of the empire, but also for the supply of the army that was with the tsar, himself made arrangements for the due and regular forwarding of corn and flour and ammunition. Receiving thus all the means necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, the tsar on the 16th of August, in the night, made an assault on Smolensk, which was as it were the door by which to invade all the dominions of Poland. On the 23d of Sept. 1654 the prince Youry Ivan. Romodanofsky was sent to Moscow with news of the surrender of Smolensk. Nicon returned thanks to God with the people in the cathedral for the tsar's victories, and letters were sent to all the churches throughout Russia to do the same.

But at that same time that the tsar was carrying on so successfully his war with Poland, a dark cloud of calamity gathered over Moscow. The plague broke out there. Nicon sent information of this to the tsar. The tsar wrote back desiring the patriarch to take upon himself the care of the tsar's family. Thereupon, committing the oversight of ecclesiastical affairs to the metropolitan of Kroutits, Nicon himself went away with the tsar's family from the capital to the Troitsky lavra of St. Sergius. Thence he sent a letter to the Koliazin monastery, with orders to prepare there with every possible precaution cells, offices, and all that was necessary for the reception of the tsaritsa. Meanwhile there were sent to Moscow from the lavra of St. Sergius two miraculous icons, as the most hopeful assistance for deliverance from the plague. By a special letter written on this occasion the patriarch desired the inhabitants of Moscow to receive the icons sent to them with all devotion, and to seek through prayer to God deliverance from the calamities which had come upon them. With a view to the preservation of the tsar's palace from the plague, an order was sent to the boyars that 'in the imperial warehouses of goods and in the *kazenni dvor*, where the tsar's stores of cloths and dresses were kept, they were to paste over the doors and windows, so that no air should pass into them; and at the palace they were to close up the entrance-gates, so that no person whatever should pass through the palace. And in whatever houses at Moscow the plague should break out, the people remaining in them were to be forbidden to go out of them, and those houses were to be separated off, and a strict guard was to be set at their doors to prevent any person whatever from going out of them; and they were not to be allowed to go away from Moscow into the villages and other towns. And in Moscow and its suburbs, in whatever houses up to the present date there had been no case of plague, the people were to be informed that, if they wished to go away from Moscow to villages in the country around or at a distance, or to other towns, they might do so.' But the plague day by day extended its ravages. In a report to the tsar dated on the 3d Sept., Michael Petr. Pronsky wrote that 'after the day of St. Simeon (1st Sept.) the infection spread with such violence that all the six prikazes of streltsi were exterminated; all the churches, except the cathedral, had lost their priests, so that there was no

longer any one to bury the dead; they put them under ground in the houses where they died. All the prikazes,' he wrote, 'are closed. The secretaries and clerks are dead; and all fly from Moscow for fear of the infection: but I, without thy majesty's order, dare not leave the city.' To avoid the danger of vicinity, the patriarch with the tsar's family removed from the lavra of St. Sergius to the Koliazin monastery, taking measures first personally for the security of the road. On the road he learned that in Moscow, to the increase of the public calamity, there had been spread by superstitious people mischievous reports as to the causes of the plague. The superstitious party wished to put an end to the printing of the church books, as then correcting by Nicon; and with that view they began to spread reports of visions, in which it was pretended that the Lord God required that the printing of the books should be stopped. 'Then,' they said, 'the plague will cease, which now is sent upon the people in punishment for having altered the books of divine service.' But Nicon was not easily to be deceived in such matters. From their halting-place in the Selo Troitskoe, on the Nerla, in the name of the tsaritsa and the tsarevich Alexis Alex., he wrote to the boyar Michael Petr. Pronsky, who had been left in Moscow: 'Ye have written to us, and have sent the depositions taken on examination, about a vision of the woman Stephanidka Koloujenka and her brother Terejka. But that woman and her brother Terejka in their accounts differ from one another. The woman Stephanidka mentioned in her vision an icon of the martyr Praskovia, commonly called Piatnitsa; but her brother Terejka mentioned an icon of the Mother of God. Also the woman said that that brother of hers had been dumb from his birth; but Terejka himself said of himself, that he spoke *like one dumb*, but was *not absolutely dumb*. And so it is clear that they have lied. And ye, for the future, are not to give credence to such idle stories. And as for what they in their depositions said, that the books should be sealed up, the printing-house has been sealed up long ago; and orders have been given to discontinue the printing of the books there, on account of the plague, but not out of any regard for their idle stories.' But this letter did not find the prince Pronsky still living. On the 11th Sept. he also fell a victim to the plague. Khilkoff sent information of this to the tsaritsa and the tsarevich. Then Nicon took upon himself at once all the

care both of the tsar's family and of his country. The infection was spreading in the mean time to many other towns besides Moscow; and everywhere it produced frightful desolation. Nicon, halting in the monastery of Koliazin, as in a place that was safe for the time, sent thence, in the name of the tsaritsa and the tsarevich Alexis (born only on the 5th of February in that same year), letters to all the towns, directing strict measures of precaution to be taken. Infected places were to be separated off by barriers strongly guarded; piles of wood were to be burned to purify the air. Written reports coming from or through infected places were to be copied out verbatim, being held meanwhile over the fumigating pile; and the originals, after being thus copied, were to be burned. 'Those villages and hamlets in which the plague shows itself' (so it was written) 'are to be cut off from clean places by a circle' (a cordon sanitaire), 'so that the peasants and people of all sorts living in them may have no communications whatever with the peasants and people of other clean places, nor vice versâ. And at the cuttings of the ways of communication there are to be men set from the clean places to keep guard, in such number as may be necessary. And on the main roads there are to be strong barricades made: but the smaller roads and tracks, as between villages, are to be cut up and fenced off, and rendered impassable.' But in spite of all the strictness of the measures taken to prevent the spread of the plague, it began to threaten also the Koliazin monastery. Nicon determined to go away with the family of the tsar in the direction of Novgorod; and he had already taken measures to make sure that the road should be safe. An order was given to the dvorianin Doubrofsky, 'in the village (*selo*) Poriechie and in its hamlets (*derevnias*) to examine strictly the people of all sorts, at what place exactly the body of the wife of Ivan Gavreneff was carried across the main road: and having made this out for certain, at that point of the road, and on both sides of the road for ten sagenes or more, to lay down wood, and to burn that place abundantly; and to order the cinders and ashes, with the earth, to be carried away from that road, and fresh earth to be brought and laid down upon that place; and to burn up that road in breadth [as well as length] for ten sagenes or more; and to cause the fresh earth to be laid down to be brought not from the roadside, or from anywhere near, but from a distance.' But at the

time that these dispositions were being made, the plague at Moscow and in the neighbouring towns had begun gradually to abate its ravages.

The tsar, having received information of the abatement of the plague, was impatient to see again his family. On the 5th of Oct. he left Smolensk for Viazma, which he reached on the 21st. Hither there came also his family, under the conduct of the patriarch. Nicon delivered them to the tsar all safe. The tsar heartily thanked the patriarch, his friend, for the zealous care that he had taken both of the state and of his family. It was no new thing for the tsar Alexis Mich. and the patriarch Nicon to govern the empire, as it were, together, in like manner as the tsar Michael Theod. and his father the patriarch Philaret Nikitich had done. The tsar had long entertained for Nicon feelings of filial affection as for a father. Now, in the overflow of his gratitude, wishing to fix and perpetuate his hearty disposition towards Nicon, he honoured him with the same title of *great hossoudar* as had belonged to his own grandfather, the patriarch Philaret Nikitich. Nicon on his side was far from desiring such an honour, as if foreseeing the danger with which it threatened him. But, as the tsar persisted, the title of great hossoudar was given to Nicon in all public papers. Incomparably more valuable, higher, and more acceptable to his mind was another *reward*.[49] The tsar, 'for his affectionate and anxious care' in providing for the safety of the tsar's family, gave a letter of grant to the Iversky monastery for some valuable estates, freeing also those estates from the jurisdiction of the secular government. But Nicon hastened to share the affliction of the capital city of his flock. Having given up to the tsar his family, and having left them in Viazma, where there was no danger, he went off himself to Moscow to ascertain how far there was still any danger there from the plague. Thence he informed the tsar that the plague had now subsided, though it had not entirely ceased. Meanwhile he was as attentive as possible in taking care that every precaution which had been ordered should be duly enforced, and he examined minutely into the causes and circumstances of every death which seemed still to be referable to the plague. The tsar and his family remained

[49] See what Nicon says of such *rewards* in his *Replies*, &c. xxv. p. 270, 285, 287, 289.

at Viazma till February in A.D. 1655. At length, on the 10th of February, the tsar too returned from Viazma to Moscow. Nicon went out in solemn procession to meet the conqueror, with the icons and crosses, amid a great concourse of the people of all ranks of the laity and of all the clergy. The patriarch of Antioch and the primate of Servia, who styled himself patriarch, had now also come in to Moscow. The inhabitants of Moscow at the sight of the tsar forgot the calamities which had so recently afflicted them. The tsar, however, did not stay with them long. On the 11th of March A.D. 1655, after having heard in the cathedral a moleben sung by the patriarch, he took his departure for Smolensk to rejoin his army, leaving at Moscow to carry on the government the boyar prince Gregory Semen. Kourakin, and the okolniks princes Daniel Step. Veliki-Gagin and Timothy Ivan. Scherbatoff, with the secretary of the council (and president of the posolsky prikaz) Almiaz Ivanoff. On the 24th of May the tsar moved from Smolensk. Glory and victory again accompanied his arms. But to his great grief, after the taking of Mohileff he learned that at Astrachan the plague had showed itself afresh. Immediately he sent thither the prince Volkonsky, to take the necessary measures against its spreading farther. But it was the will of the Lord that Moscow should again be visited by this scourge. In June the plague broke out also in the interior of Russia. As before, there began to be desolation in Moscow. But the tsar had full trust in the wisdom and care of the patriarch, already shown by him the year before. And so, leaving the care of Moscow to Nicon, the tsar remained with the army, while Nicon again was charged with the internal administration of the empire. As before, he went away from Moscow with the tsar's family to the Koliazin monastery, and issued oukazes (30th July and 31st Aug.) in the name of the tsarevich respecting precautionary measures to be taken against the spread of the infection. But there were special circumstances at that time which made it necessary for him to take special measures, besides those of the year before. Superstitious and evil-designing men began more and more to diffuse those mischievous ideas about the cause of the plague, which had already appeared among the people the year before. The patriarch wrote and sent abroad, in his own name, a long circular letter for the instruction of the superstitious and ignorant,

exhorting them to endure the calamity with patience, and to fortify themselves by prayer and fasting. He admonished them to avoid all communication with the infected, and forbade them to listen to the false doctrine of superstitious people, who gave out that no man ought to try to escape from that plague, inasmuch as it was sent by the wrath of God. He taught them that every man has to answer for his own sins; that, according to the teaching of our Saviour and the Apostles, to attempt to save one's life is not sinful, but, on the contrary, he who will not fly from manifest danger, and needlessly exposes himself to it, is to be regarded as guilty of suicide. 'Others,' said the patriarch, 'not attending to good counsels, have perished themselves and caused others to perish. They believed the tales of dreamers, who said that God had revealed to them when and how the plague was to cease. And what came of it? The infection took those credulous people, and from them spread to others: Christians died without Christian preparation for death. Let us be like the Ninivites, not like the men of Sodom. Let us cease from malice, lest we perish by malice.' So the pastor ended his instruction. Meantime every precaution was taken also for the health of the forces, which were engaged in the campaign with the tsar.[50] Nicon wrote also many letters to the voivodes and to the monasteries, directing them to send to the tsar for the war men for service, corn and flour, arms, horses, &c. 'The hossoudar the tsar, and we the great hossoudar, have made oukaz:' thus his letters began.

But while Nicon ordered well the internal administration of the empire, the Russian armies, led by the tsar himself, gained victory after victory. After the capture of Vilna, the tsar immediately despatched to Moscow the stolnik Ivan Kolicheff to announce this victory to the tsaritsa and the tsarevnas, and to Nicon. Khmielnitsky at the same time, in conjunction with the tsar's voivode Basil Bas. Boutourlin, ravaged Volhynia and Gallicia, even to Lublin. Driven out from the kingdom of Poland, John Casimir betook himself to the magnanimity of the Russian tsar, and entered into negotiations with him. Plenipotentiaries named from both sides concluded at Vilna, on the

[50] The plague visited Russia also in the following year, A.D. 1656; and at that time Nicon showed himself again the same good pastor that we have seen him in 1654 and 1655. See *Suppl. to Hist. Act.* iv. no. 29; and comp. nos. 23, 26, 32, 33.

24th of Oct. 1655, a convention with a view to peace, the terms of which were brilliant for Russia. 1. The tsar Alexis Mich. was to be recognised as king of Poland (elect) during the lifetime of Casimir, and after the death of Casimir he was actually to ascend the Polish throne: 2. White Russia and Little Russia were to be united to the Muscovite empire: 3. the followers of the Orthodox and of the Roman faith in the Polish provinces were to have full liberty to celebrate divine service: 4. the *Unia* was to be suppressed: 5. Russia and Poland, till their definitive union, were neither to make peace nor war without mutual concert. The victorious tsar returned to Viazma; and thither again at his desire there came to him, together with the tsaritsa and the tsarevich, the patriarch. The tsar again heartily thanked his friend and true pastor, who had saved both his country and the Church. The tsar took the title of 'Autocrat of Great and Little and White Russia.' As fellow-labourer with the tsar in the administration of the affairs of the *empire*, Nicon also received[51] the title of '*Patriarch* of Great and *Little* and White Russia.' So the glory of the tsar heightened the glory of the patriarch, and the noble qualities of the patriarch heightened the glory of the tsar.

The glory of the tsar's victories in Poland and Lithuania made a great impression on the mind of the voivode of Moldavia Stephen. They knew in Moldavia both the influence of Nicon with the tsar, and Nicon's readiness, according to the duty of a pastor, to protect the Orthodox churches. The union of Little Russia to the Orthodox empire of Muscovy inspired the Orthodox inhabitants of Moldavia with a hope that the Russian tsar might take them also under his high protection, and deliver them from the Turkish yoke. So, early in A.D. 1656, the voivode Stephen of Moldavia sent to Moscow the metropolitan Gideon and an envoy, the logothete Gregory, who (having arrived at Moscow just before Easter) 'made petition *secretly*' that the tsar 'would be graciously pleased to regard him Stephen with his imperial favour, and receive him, as he had received the hetman Bogdan Khmielnitsky, under his high protection; that he might be the one Orthodox emperor over all the Orthodox' (*Sobr. Zak.* i. no. 180). Nicon urged the tsar to accept this proposal of the Moldavian voivode, '*that there may be one*

[51] But see vol. i. p. 158-160, 502; ii. p. 281, 408-413; iii. p. 158, 333, 334.

fold and one shepherd.' Nicon thought with joy of the glory which would surround the Orthodox Church among the *Slavonian*[52] peoples, when they should *all* be under the sceptre of one orthodox sovereign. His wishes and expectations began already to be fulfilled. The tsar accepted the proposal of the Moldavian envoys. Nicon himself, in the cathedral, within the sanctuary, before the altar, received from the metropolitan Gideon an oath of fidelity to Russia, which he took in the name of all the clergy of Moldavia. At the same time the metropolitan of Kroutits and the protopope of the cathedral received a like oath in the body of the church from the logothete Gregory, which he pronounced in the name of all the people of Moldavia. A solemn banquet in the tsar's palace concluded this union of Moldavia with Russia. But as the proposal was made '*secretly*,' so also the subsequent history of this union has remained secret. (But see our vol. ii. p. 318, 502, 554.) Thus much only is known, that though Moldavia was considered to have joined itself to the tsar's empire, it was not actually obtained by him. Probably the political troubles which soon after followed in Little Russia and [still more] in Moldavia itself, did not allow either us to assert our right to Moldavia [by going to war with the Turks], or the inhabitants of Moldavia openly to fall away from the Turks and unite themselves with the Russians, who were *of the same race* and of the same faith with themselves.

Thus it was that Nicon acted for the benefit of his Orthodox country, and with sincere affection and zeal for his worthy sovereign. [Let us see now how his sovereign and his country appreciated and rewarded him.]

History of the sad fortune of the Patriarch Nicon, to the final judgment passed upon him (p. 154-177).

Seated aloft on the chair of the primacy, great [not only by his shining virtues and piety, but also] by his numerous and important services to the Church and to the empire, by his extraordinary gifts, his large, generous, and warm heart, his farsighted, clear, and comprehensive mind, ever seeking the

[52] Nicon was far from any thought of 'Panslavism;' and the Moldavians and Wallachians are *not Slavonians.*

good of his Orthodox countrymen, and, lastly, most highly exalted by the warm friendship of the tsar, Nicon, in the words of one who had seen him (Baron de Meyerberg, *Iter in Moscov.* p. 97), 'seemed all-powerful.' But there is not on earth any secure prosperity. There had now passed six years of his glorious patriarchate. The Church, well ordered inwardly and outwardly, and the empire rendered illustrious by wise laws within and by multiplied victories without, beheld with edification the mutual love of a sovereign and a patriarch, each of them in his own sphere the most worthy of his age; and they were expecting from this happy accord many fresh fruits. But, lo, there had passed, we repeat, six years from the time that the great Nicon received in the Church of his country the staff of the primacy, and it pleased the Lord that he should seal the rightfulness of his labours for the Church and for his country by his own sufferings. A heavy trial came upon him; and he manfully wrestled with it. From about the beginning of A.D. 1658 'there began to be a cessation of mutual counsel and a disagreement between the tsar and the patriarch.' In Nov. A.D. 1657 the tsar, at Nicon's request, had promised to visit the Iversky monastery after Christmas, and Nicon caused preparations to be made for his reception. But this visit did not take place.

The courtiers from the first had looked with envy on the *special proximity of Nicon to the tsar.* Raised from the hut of a poor peasant to the eminence of the chair of the primacy, Nicon stood at the head of all the tsar's councillors, and his extraordinary intelligence and the affection of the tsar set him above all the most distinguished boyars of that time. We have seen him one of the people nearest to the tsar when he was as yet only an archimandrite, and already the defender of the weak and the poor against the powerful and the rich. When the tsar had let his friend go to Novgorod, he felt, as it were, in his absence a loss for his own soul, and every winter he called him to the capital for friendly conversation, and for consultation on matters of state. In the rank of patriarch, Nicon, one may say without exaggeration, was as it were joint ruler with the tsar in civil matters. They who sought for any favour from the tsar at that time betook themselves with their petitions for it to the patriarch Nicon. But, lo, the tsar leaves the capital, and remains absent on the distant frontiers of the empire, occupied

with a great war. At Moscow he has left deputies to govern the capital and the internal affairs of the empire. The supreme inspection over these is committed to the patriarch Nicon, and Nicon gives them their instructions. At the same time the plague attacks the capital, its environs, and a multitude of more distant towns in the interior of Russia. The people die by thousands. The family of the tsar is in danger of death. The tsar commits the charge of them to the patriarch; and Nicon, while taking care of the tsar's family, at the same time in the name of the tsarevich, who was then an infant not yet one year old, issues oukazes to the boyars at Moscow, and to the voivodes in other towns, with directions about measures of precaution. The authority of the boyars might be said not to exist. The danger has passed without touching the tsar's family; the war has distinguished with glory the Russian arms; Nicon receives very rich gifts from the tsar. The *rest* of the faithful and valiant *servants of their country too* receive *rewards* for their services in the campaign. But Nicon is even magnified above all by the title of *great hossoudar*. Now he appeared on an height of greatness incomparably above all the rest of those surrounding the tsar's throne.

The friends of the faith and of their country rejoiced at such an exaltation of a man worthy of it. Such men were friends also of Nicon. But *among* those who were the nearest servants of the tsar there were also such [nearly all were such] as set their own vain-glory above every consideration of the common good. Blinded by envy, they would not see either the high gifts of other people or their brilliant services for the good of their country: they considered only nobility of descent, and the glory of ancestors. Disputing one with another for places [for precedence and places] even in the tsar's council, and when on duty in the field, or in any public sphere, they could not but cast glances of dissatisfaction and anger against Nicon, who was among them 'a new man,'[53] a sort of strange intruder, who, however, had thrown into the shade all their nobility and distinction. Hence, when Nicon was as yet only metropolitan, they already

[53] But some of those grandees who hated Nicon, as the tsar's own relations and connections, the Streshnetfs and the Miloslafskys, had no nobility of remote antiquity nor glory of ancestors to boast of, being themselves of obscure extraction: and there were many other reasons besides jealousy and secular pride for hating Nicon—most of all, immorality, covetousness, and injustice.

said among themselves at the court, or, to use the expression of the tsar himself, muttered, 'that never before has there been such dishonour done to us the nobility; the tsar has given us up to the metropolitan.' Reports of this reached the tsar himself, as appears from a letter of his own to Nicon. But then the mutual love and friendship uniting the tsar and Nicon was as yet strong, as being still in its freshness. Presently Nicon became patriarch; a new blow for those ambitious and covetous and unjust and proud men who surrounded the tsar. They who had seen Nicon perhaps when he was as yet only a common priest, then a monk, and later the superior of a poor convent, now were totally unable to rise in their conception of him above the idea of a common monk to a just view of him as patriarch; and they continued to look upon him as upon a poor hermit, who, to use their words, 'intermeddled with affairs which were none of his,' when he took part in the council of the tsar. Nicon seemed to be, and was in truth and fact, great; but envious and proud men said in secret, 'Why does he magnify himself? Of monks the tsar has plenty.'

We must not forget that among the courtiers there were also near relations and connections of the tsar. For the most part they had been raised to the rank of boyars [or okolniks] from the very lowest orders. These were the *Streshneff's*, the tsar's relations by his mother; and the *Miloslafskys*, the relations of his wife, the head of whom was the tsar's *father-in-law* Elia Danilovich. Their relationship seemed to these men to give them a natural right to be the nearest advisers of the tsar. But Nicon not only separated them as it were from the tsar by his own special proximity to him, but he also cast them into the shade by the glory of his extraordinary gifts. For weak and ambitious souls it was natural to hate a powerful rival.

Exciting thus envy among the courtiers, and especially among the relations and connections of the tsar, Nicon was also burdensome for them in other respects, both civil and ecclesiastical.

We already know that covetousness was the ruling vice of the boyars of that time. Complaints against the unjust judgments of the people of the prikazes resounded on all sides; especially were they heard in Moscow. The young tsar, who was pious and just, with a sincere love for his people, suffering under the pressure of the injustice of certain of the boyars, gave

orders for the compilation of a new code. The code was compiled, printed, and sent out to all the cities and towns of Russia; but causes and trials still continued all the same to be decided according to the arbitrary will of corrupt judges. In Moscow the highest officers of state set a scandalous example of this. Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, the tsar's father-in-law, was not free from this weakness; and under the same disease with him suffered also the tsar's brother-in-law Boris Iv. *Morozoff*. The patriarch Nicon, who had known by personal experience how heavy is the burden of poverty, especially when it is joined with the persecutions of injustice, always stood up for the poor people, and severely rebuked the corrupt judgments of the judges. He did not spare them even in the tsar's council, often rebuking there the guilty by name. Perhaps such rebukes from him were heard there by Elia Dan. Miloslafsky and Boris Ivan. Morozoff. But naturally they supported one another against the patriarch: and the tsaritsa Maria Ilichna Miloslafsky always supported the interest of her father. So the very nearest persons to the tsar, even his wife,[54] on this account also, had reasons to be ill-disposed towards Nicon.

The covetousness of the boyars was maintained by their arbitrariness, by disobedience to the [superior] authority, and to the laws. Then there were still quite within memory the times of the interregnum, when the arbitrariness of the boyars found for itself the widest sphere. The tsar Michael Theod., and especially his father the patriarch Philaret Nikitich, 'humbled' the insubordinate boyars, and brought them within the due bounds of obedience. But the spirit of disobedience which had then been dominant in the majority of the courtiers passed on also into the reign of Alexis. The youth of the tsar gave fresh scope for the development of the arbitrariness of the boyars, which darkened the first years of this gentle and wise tsar. It produced, as we know already, popular risings and murders. But Nicon becomes known and powerful at the court; and the word of the tsar becomes 'in the palace pretty formidable, and is executed without delay' [as the tsar himself wrote with satisfaction to Nicon]. The boyars saw that there was no longer room for

[54] It is noticeable that in the latter part of those six years during which Nicon actually sat in the patriarchal chair, the tsar and the tsarevnas were liberal in their benefactions to the Krestnoy and the Voskresensky monasteries which he was then founding, but the *tsaritsa* gave to those monasteries *nothing*.

their self-will, and gradually they began to desist from it. But they well remembered who it was that had given the tsar counsel against them. When the tsar went out to the Polish campaign new blows struck the arbitrariness of the boyars. 'The tsar before his departure,' says a contemporary writer and eyewitness of these events, 'for the direction of affairs during his absence, appointed a deputy with some other officers of state under him, and placed them under the patriarch Nicon, without whose consent they could not determine any matter great or small. They were required to appear before him with their reports every morning; and if any one of them came too late he was obliged to wait on the stair for permission to enter, however severe the frost might be, because the doors were shut at a certain hour, and the door-keepers then let no one in.' The boyars appeared thus before him; but they certainly did not like it.

Nicon, while he was thus hard to endure for the boyars in civil affairs, was also a sharp governor for them in *what related to the Church*. We have already had occasion to remark, that in respect of the purity and firmness of their faith there was exercised on *many* of our fellow-countrymen of that time a hurtful influence by the West of Europe, with which they were then brought into closer relations. But this influence was perceptible chiefly in the highest classes of society. Here especially it was that the rules of the Church were not obeyed. Here there appeared Latin organs, and icons of Italian style. 'The boyars called *blijnie* (*i. e.* near to the tsar's person), and the okolniks of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich,' says the historian Berch, travelling *continually* about Europe, brought back into their country new discoveries respecting refinement of manners, luxury, and outward enjoyments (*Berch*, P. i. p. 223; comp. Roumantseff's *Collection*, &c. no. 55, 129). To the number of such persons there belonged also some of the relations of the tsar, such too as enjoyed his special good-will. Such a one, for instance, was Nikita Ivan. Romanoff. But it could not be that Nicon—that most zealous defender of Orthodoxy—should look with indifference on any such defection of the boyars from sacred antiquity. 'It would be better for us to be sent in disgrace to Nova Zembla or Siberia, with the prince Ivan Ivan. Lobanoff, than to be with the metropolitan of Novgorod.' So wrote to Moscow, to his

friends, one of the officers of state who had been sent with Nicon to the Solovetsky monastery to translate to Moscow the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip. And whence was it that there was such dissatisfaction against Nicon? 'He makes men fast' (*goviet*, to fast, or perform their devotions in preparation for Communion) 'by force! no man can be made by force to pray.' As patriarch, Nicon continued with the same zeal to guard the sanctity of the Church from being trampled under foot by the light-mindedness of free-thinkers. We know already how he took away from the boyars their Latin organs and Frankish icons. Can one doubt that all such proceedings of the patriarch with the boyars excited against him people who were dissatisfied, and desired to cast off the yoke of his severity?

But while some of the boyars of light-mindedness went after innovations in the Church alien to her ancient orthodoxy, others stood at the head of the superstitious party of the obstinate defenders of an imaginary church-antiquity. Many of the boyars who were thus superstitious were near to the throne itself of the tsar, and belonged to ancient and distinguished families; *e.g.* the prince Youry Dolgorouky. Being ignorant men, they could not endure Nicon for his correction of the service-books, his improvement of the church singing, and his establishment of the Greek and Latin schools; but more especially for his having put an end to the disorderly custom of setting up in the churches *their own icons*, and giving them a special reverence above the rest. Neither could they forget this, that their 'noble and courageous and most zealous' protopope Abbakoum, the prince Lvoff, and other teachers of the *raskol*, were pining in confinement.[55] How should they do otherwise than seek in the acts of Nicon for some occasion *of crying out against him*, that they might rid themselves of the, for them, malignant and hated patriarch? Such an occasion at length presented itself.

In A.D. 1656 Nicon approved of the tsar's *declaring war against Sweden*, even in spite of the contrary opinion of many of the boyars of the council, who advised him to temporise, at least till peace should first have been made with Poland. But Nicon trusted that the war with Sweden would be for the tsar and for his country as glorious and as abundantly productive

[55] Abbakoum was exiled to the shores of the lake Baikal, the prince Lvoff to the Solovetsky monastery, Daniel the protopope of Kostroma to Astrachan.

of good results as that with Poland. Nicon knew that the patriarch Philaret Nikitich had wished to take away from the Swedes those ancient possessions of ours which they had appropriated during the time that our country was oppressed by calamities. But then, owing to internal weakness caused by the civil feuds which had preceded, these good intentions were not executed. Now, however, why should not the tsar Alexis, who was wise, firm, vigilant, powerful by the internal forces of his empire, and already glorious by brilliant victories,—why should not he execute that which had been the aspiration of his father and his grandfather? The enterprising and resolute Nicon was not to be deterred by dangers and difficulties. He persuaded the tsar—firmly, with trust in God and in his saints—to take up arms, and to recover to the empire and to *the Church of his country* their ancient territories in Carelia and Ingermanland. The tsar complied; the campaign was opened. But as in the councils held about it there had not been unanimity, so neither was there in the field the necessary combination and unity of action. However, the first operations of the Russian arms were now also brilliant, as they had been in the Polish war. But at length the tsar laid siege to Riga, and the successes of our army found there a rude check. Treason disgraced the Russian arms, which up to that time had been attended by glory (Berch,[56] vol. ii. p. 29). And from that time there begins for our army an unbroken series of misfortunes, which at last brought the country to the lowest degree of inward exhaustion. The good-hearted but irascible tsar was irritated by the unfavourable change in his affairs. His anger would naturally be directed most of all against him who had *urgently* advised him to begin the war with Sweden. In such a frame of mind, mortified, dispirited, and angry, dissatisfied with himself and with others, he returned to Moscow, to re-appear no more in person at the head of his armies.

Meanwhile the unfortunate war continued without any better success. The imperial treasury was entirely exhausted. Envoys were sent to Venice to attempt to negotiate a loan, but it was refused. There had been issued at Moscow, by the advice of the boyars, a new copper coinage, to go instead of the

[56] Berch, however, is not an author to be followed, unless so far as his statements and stories are confirmed from other sources.

former silver one; and this presently caused discontent and popular disturbances.[57] The patriarch meanwhile, as if untouched by *all these* public calamities, was just then undertaking to found new monasteries, the Voskresensky and the Krestnoy.[58] And he asked and obtained for them from the tsar valuable estates. But when the boyars wished to open a new source of revenue for the state in the estates and movable wealth of the monasteries, Nicon made strong objection against this, and asked and obtained from the tsar his confirmation [*i.e.* his signature] to a *letter of exemption* similar to one granted in time past by the tsar Michael Theod. to the patriarch Philaret Nikitich (*Sobr. Zak.* i. no. 201; and comp. *Sobr. Hossoud. Gram.* iv. p. 128).

But it was not difficult to calumniate before the tsar all the acts of Nicon. The tsar's irritation at the disordered state of the affairs of the empire opened now to the boyars a wide door for calumnies against the patriarch whom they hated. Some said that the patriarch had abused the friendship of the tsar; that he advised him to go out campaigning in order that, during the tsar's absence from Moscow, he might himself lord it there over all persons and all matters. Others said calumniously that Nicon wished to make himself equal with the tsar, and even that he wished to be himself tsar. (See *Replies*, &c. xxvi.) His title of great hossoudar, given to him by the tsar, offered them a convenient handle. Trusting in the friendship and affection of the tsar he had had the *indiscretion* (in A.D. 1655) to grant by an oukaz issued in the name of the tsarevich one of the crown estates to the Iversky monastery (*Acta Hist.* iv. no. 97). Now they accused him of plundering as a robber the property of the state, transferring to his monasteries extensive estates with crown peasants. Meanwhile, they added, pointing to the state of our affairs with Sweden: 'Nicon is not willing that the tsar should

[57] But here the writer is looking on to what took place in A.D. 1662.

[58] Here, as elsewhere, he writes without exact chronological order, and, partly in consequence of this, with some inaccuracy. Nicon, in 1656 and 1657, was no doubt quite 'untouched by the public calamities' of A.D. 1662; and it does not appear what the tsar's repulse from Riga in Oct. of A.D. 1656 should have to do with Nicon's intention, of an earlier date, of founding the Krestnoy, or with his compliance, in that same and the following year, with the tsar's own bidding and encouragement, to found the Voskresensky monastery. Here too, in naming these two monasteries, he inverts the relative order of their foundations.

get the means [of carrying on the war more successfully] from the estates of the monasteries. That implies, they concluded, that Nicon does not honour the tsar. There appeared, lastly, some false witnesses, who probably imputed to Nicon *their own* venality, when they said to the tsar: Nicon was bought by the Jesuit Allegretti to advise the tsar to declare war against Sweden, in order to draw off the war from the territories of Poland (Berch,[59] P. i. p. 96, 200, 202, 226, 229). The good, we repeat, but irascible tsar *was violently enraged at this supposed treason of his friend;* which, according to the habits of that age, might seem—*only not in Nicon*—very probable. Perhaps the friends might have been reconciled by a personal interview and a sincere opening of themselves to one another. But this was exactly what now the boyars did not allow to take place. They had already determined that, cost what it might, they would alienate the tsar from the patriarch, and implant in them both, after mistrust of one another, mutual coldness and antipathy, and so at length produce an open rupture. The best means to this end appeared to be that of not letting them have any personal interview with one another, when their hearts might have been again warmed and united by affection, the sparks of which were not extinguished in them, as we shall see, even at that time when they seemed to have already begun to be at enmity with one another.

And now there were no longer any of those friendly conversations between the tsar and the patriarch at table in the imperial or the patriarchal dining-hall. They ceased also to call Nicon to the palace for consultation on matters of state. The tsar broke off his custom of going out to attend the patriarchal celebrations of divine services, and remained always to hear the divine service in his own palace church. Every time that Nicon officiated, especially when there were solemn processions, Nicon used to send before each service from himself priests to the palace to invite the tsar to pray in common with the patriarch. The tsar did not show himself. Nicon gave orders to prolong the ringing of the bells, and again sent to invite the sovereign to the common service in the cathedral.

[59] But see the caution given in a former note against Berch's stories, of which this is one of the most absurd. Michaelofsky himself shows some misgiving on the subject below.

The tsar declined. Nicon waited for him: the tsar sent to say that 'they were not to wait for him.'[60] So, we repeat, 'there began to be a cessation of mutual counsel, and disaccord, between the tsar and the patriarch.'

Nicon was pained to see how the warmth of that friendship which had existed between himself and the tsar, and which had been till then so beneficial to the Church and to the state, was cooling by degrees. He already felt the loss of his former influence in civil and even in ecclesiastical affairs: but he still continued to bear with what he disapproved and regretted. At length the coarseness, audacity, and shamelessness of his enemies increased to such a degree, that they began openly to make a mock of the pontifical blessing of Nicon. The boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, the tsar's maternal uncle, as Nicon asserts,[61] taught a certain dog, like himself, to sit up; and as our Lord, at his ascension, lifting up his hands blessed his disciples, so also the boyar taught that dog to mimic with his forefeet the divine blessing; and they called that dog the patriarch Nicon. Nicon complained to the tsar of that irreverence of Streshneff; but no notice was taken of it. Then, as if ashamed of his own humiliation in the capital, where he was oppressed by the enmity, the calumnies, and the contempt of the boyars, Nicon withdrew to Voskresensk, as if of his natural liking for active labour, and to superintend the building of that his beloved monastery. Here he sought for rest to his soul, wounded by the unfavourable change of relations between himself and his friend the tsar. And hence he thought perchance to make his imperial friend himself feel the loss of the patriarch. They say that separation unites friends more closely than a constant residence together. But the tsar had now come to the age when cold calculation or moral habit supplants the youthful affections of the heart, and Nicon was deceived in his expectation.

The boyars were very glad to see him absent himself from the capital. They could now without risk multiply calumnies against him before the tsar. In addition to all their former accusations, they said that he was neglecting his duties both

[60] But this is generalising, and with some inaccuracy, from what took place on two particular festivals afterwards.

[61] But this and other facts seem here to be put together without sufficient attention to their relative dates.

towards the Church and towards the state and the tsar, in order to build monasteries. Having lost his confidence in Nicon, the tsar now believed the calumnies of the boyars against him. Meanwhile the war with Sweden continued, without the presence of the tsar at the head of his forces. He remained at Moscow, *as if fearing the arbitrariness of Nicon*, with which the boyars *threatened him*.[62] [Oustrialoff, from whom Michaelofsky often transcribes word for word his historical notices, writes more justly about the tsar's reasons for not leaving Moscow, though he lays the blame on Nicon. He writes that 'Nicon no doubt was far from desiring to do anything to help the Poles; but his *injudicious* (or *unreasonable*) proceedings *occupied* the tsar during three whole years (meaning apparently from A.D. 1662 or 1663 to A.D. 1666) just at that time when foreign policy needed all his attention. He had owed his successes in the first war with Poland to his personal presence with the army, which precluded all disputes about places and precedence: but *now*[63] he could not determine to leave Moscow and to lead his armies to victory.' vol. i. p. 335, ed. 1855.] The tsar's voivodes, left to themselves with their mutual jealousies, contended one against another about their places and precedence, and lost one battle after another. The tsar was irritated and angered at the unsuccessful progress of the war, and at the same time increased his anger against Nicon, as *the* adviser of the war. Then the enemies of the patriarch saw a way in which they might develop the mutual coldness existing between the tsar and the patriarch to an open and complete rupture.

They began to work as their instrument the monastirski prikaz, which Nicon had always hated. 'Six years,' he says in his letter to Paisius Ligarides, 'we were in the councils in accord with our gracious hossoudar, though not in all respects: that is, [not] in respect of ecclesiastical constitutions; [for] that

[62] This is nonsense: it is enough that the tsar would not now—or could not if he would—leave Nicon, as before, at the head of all; nor, on the other hand, could he well leave him at Moscow with the boyars.

[63] That is, really, from the time when he had first begun to disagree with Nicon, or to feel so towards him or respecting him as to be unwilling to set him again *over* the boyars, as in A.D. 1654, 1655, and 1656. On the other hand, he might be apprehensive of some inconvenience arising if he were simply to name boyars of the council, who would be enemies of Nicon, to carry on the government in his own absence, while Nicon also should be together with them at Moscow.

power which our holy mother the Church has received in respect of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the monastirski prikaz[64] had taken to itself: and they judge ourselves and other consecrated monastic people by the tsar's order.' This prikaz now became in its dispositions more bold and more pertinacious. It now again extended its authority from civil matters relating to the monasteries to the disposal of places of monastic superiors, and began to nominate priests and deacons to the villages of the monasteries without any reference to the local bishops, or even to the patriarch, only by oukaz of the hossoudar the tsar. The disorder in the Church was increased. Nicon complained to the tsar of the unlawful interference of the monastirski prikaz in ecclesiastical matters: the tsar did not attend to his letters: the boyars rejoiced. They now carried their audacity to such a pitch as to begin to reverse dispositions made by the patriarch himself, and they took from him some estates (Platon, *History of the Russian Church*, vol. ii. p. 237). The chief boyar in this court, Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, who had before (in 1648) been charged with the compilation of the code, and was liked by the patriarch as little as the monastirski prikaz itself, now became Nicon's personal enemy; and he so directed matters in the prikaz, of set purpose no doubt, as to provoke and grieve Nicon. Nicon wrote to the tsar forcible and touching letters, in which he showed, from the law of God and from the canons, that it was unlawful for lay people to interfere with the government of the Church; and he pointed to the examples of religious sovereigns, Jewish and Christian, in former times, who honoured the sacred order and the property of the Church, and who were on that account blessed by God and by men: he pointed also to the examples of irreligious kings, whose memory had perished with a noise,[65] [as of acclamation]. But those courtiers who were about the tsar represented to him all these views of Nicon as partly questionable, partly erroneous, and even disrespectful. 'Nicon compares thee,' they said, 'to the wicked kings of Israel.' The tsar was made angry, and sent[66] his boyars to

[64] Compare vol. iii. p. 52, where, however, the distinct mention of the monastery court has been dropped through the negligence of the translator.

[65] 'When the wicked perish there is shouting.' 'His memory shall perish with a noise,' or 'with a shout.'

[66] But to all these details dates and references are wanting; and there is some anticipation of things which really occurred afterwards.

say to Nicon that he must desist from writing to him such letters. Nicon hoped to convince the tsar by persisting. He was so bold as to write to the tsar, urging him to annul even the book itself of the code, which, to use Nicon's words, the boyars *set above Christ's gospel*, but in which meanwhile all was written to the prejudice of the Church and of the sacred order. The tsar sent his boyar to order peremptorily Nicon to cease from writing to him: 'otherwise,' added the tsar, 'we will not endure thee.' However painful it must have been for the patriarch to receive such a reply from the tsar, he did not give up the vain hope of a reconciliation, though now the final rupture of their mutual friendship was at hand.

PART II.

REQUITAL OF THE PATRIARCH NICON

BY THE STATE

AND CHURCH OF HIS COUNTRY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF NICON FROM HIS CHAIR AT MOSCOW, AND OF WHAT FOLLOWED FROM THE 10TH JULY A.D. 1658 TO THE 28TH JUNE A.D. 1659.

1. *From written statements of Nicon himself*, (vol. i. p. 21, 104, 583, and vol. iii. p. 52, 172, 385, 419), *supplemented from other sources.*

In June A.D. 1658 there came to our most religious tsar Alexis Michaelovich, &c., a certain tsar of Georgia named Teymouraz; and the tsar's majesty received him in the capital city of Moscow with gladness. [This, observes Michaelofsky, was an occurrence of moment to our country both politically and religiously, the Georgian prince coming to tender his homage to Russia, and one object among others being to seek for the Georgian Church protection against Mahometan persecution. Our patriarchs had always on such occasions taken part in the councils of the tsars; and Nicon thought that his office gave him a right to be present at the state reception. He purposely came from Voskresensk to Moscow.] And on the 4th day of July our most noble tsar made a great feast for the entertainment of the tsar Teymouraz, and invited him to the banquet. [Nicon meanwhile was in his own patriarchal palace, expecting the tsar's invitation. But he was not invited. In the register of the court ceremonial on this occasion it is noted that 'there were at the banquet the priests of the church in the

vestibule of the palace (*krestovie popi*), but the patriarch and the church dignitaries (*vlasti*) of Moscow were not at the table.' Nicon sent his boyar, the prince Dmitri, to learn why they had not invited the patriarch to the palace.] And then an okolnik of the tsar's majesty, named Bogdan Matv. Khitroff,[1] was clearing the way [on the palace stair, called the *krasnoe kriltso*] for the meeting or reception of the tsar, as he was expecting the Georgian tsar Teymouraz: and it chanced that there was there a man of ours—so Nicon relates it—by name the prince Demetrius, according to the laws of the Church holding the office of *defensor* (ἔκδικος· see vol. i. pp. 177 and 552). And the okolnik [as he was clearing the way and striking with his truncheon such of the crowd as pressed too much forward, having descried the patriarch's boyar] struck him on the head with his staff a sharp blow. And when the man thus causelessly struck said to him: ['Thou oughtest not to strike me, Bogdan Matveyevich!] I have not come here idly, but on duty;' the okolnik of the tsar's majesty asked him: 'Who art thou?' And he said: 'I am the patriarch's strapchi, and am appointed for *such and such a duty*.' And the okolnik of the tsar's majesty said to him: 'Don't make too much of thyself: why are we so much to regard the patriarch?' and he struck him again with the same staff with greater force on the forehead, and wounded him severely. And he came and showed me his wounds, complaining of the okolnik. And I wrote to the tsar's majesty with my own hand, representing what had been done, and requesting that he would cause inquest to be made, and do justice, and give redress against him who had struck our officer[2] without cause. And I wrote: If thou wilt not judicially punish him who has unjustly struck our officer, then we, by the power given us from the Lord God, will punish him as we know how to do in order to justice.[3]

[1] Who became some years later the tsar's *dvoretskoy*, and was called 'the whispering favourite.'

[2] An officer appointed by the emperor and the patriarch jointly for this very thing, to have free access to the civil rulers and judges, and to obtain from them, for the Church and for her clients, justice in any matter in which they may be wronged. See the *Replies*, &c. xxvi. pp. 177 and 552.

[3] 'This gross affront, coming as it did after the slight already put publicly upon the patriarch by not inviting him to the palace,' is called by Paisius Ligarides, in his History, a '*beginning of skirmishing*,' the courtiers feeling themselves now sufficiently strong for the battle.

And the tsar's majesty[4] would not do this; but he wrote with his own hand that he intended to see me: 'After a while I shall see thee.' But on that day he did not see us, [nor on the next, nor afterwards; and Khitroff remained unpunished].

And on the 8th July it was the custom, instituted by the tsars and bishops in time past, to keep a festival in honour of the icon of our Lady of Kazan, which has a church of its own at a certain spot; and in that church every year the tsar assists at the vespers and at the matins with all his synclete, and the patriarch with all the sacred synod; and they celebrate the holy liturgy; and the patriarch himself, assisted by the other bishops, pontificates. And when the time comes that they should assemble for the singing of the vespers, and when the patriarch is going to that church for the vespers, he then sends to give notice to the religious tsar one of the priests, to let him know that the patriarch is setting out to go to that church, that the tsar may come. But on this occasion the tsar would not go. Neither [when he was sent to and invited] would he go to the matins, nor to the *παράκλησις*[5] [and the liturgy], having taken offence against me.

And again on the 10th of the same month it was the custom, instituted by former tsars and by the great catholic and apostolic church [the cathedral] of the Assumption of the holy Mother of God, to keep a festival in honour of the holy tunic of our Saviour, which was brought from Persia: and the most religious tsar with all his synclete usually meet to attend the vespers and the matins; and, as in the former case, one of the priests is sent to the most religious tsar to invite him to come to the vespers. But on this occasion [when sent to and invited] he would not come. But he sent a stolnik, whose father was a member of the synclete, the prince Youry Romodanofsky by name, to let me know that the tsar's majesty was wroth against me; and that on that account he would not be at the matins; and he did not desire that I should wait for him either before the liturgy.

And he, the prince Youry, said to me in the tsar's name: 'Thou contemnest and insultest the tsar's majesty; and thou hast caused thyself to be styled great hossoudar. But thou art

[4] The tsar said before the Council in Dec. A.D. 1666, that Nicon's letter was brought to him while the tsar of Georgia was dining with him, 'and *at that moment* to make inquest and do him justice was impossible.' See vol. iii. p. 419.

[5] *i.e.* the procession with the λιτεία.

not a great [hossoudar]; we have only one hossoudar, the tsar.' And to that I replied, that 'my being styled great hossoudar was from no desire of my own, but the great hossoudar the tsar had been pleased so to style me both by word of mouth and in writing; and of this I have proof in the letters written to me by the tsar's majesty with his own hand.'

And he, the prince Youry, said: 'The tsar's majesty honoured thee as a father and pastor; but thou didst not know thyself (*i. e.* didst not know thine own place): and now the tsar's majesty has commanded me to say to thee that he forbids thee to style thyself in speaking and writing great hossoudar, and that he does not mean to honour thee any more' (vol. iii. p. 386; and compare what the tsar himself says at p. 419).

Elsewhere Nicon writes more briefly: 'I sent to inquire whether the tsar's majesty were coming to the *vigil*. And he would not come to it. But he sent a certain prince of his suite to my cell with *many unprofitable words*, and with disrespect. And we, having heard that reproach (or reviling), thought it over, and determined that we would give place to wrath' (vol. iii. p. 53).

He seems also already at that same interview to have given an intimation beforehand to the tsar of the step he intended to take, and of his motive. For at p. 104 of his *Replies, &c.* he writes: 'I did *not* go away *without the knowledge of the tsar*, but the hossoudar the tsar *knew* that I went *because there had begun to be wrath against me without any just cause*. For there came to me from him the hossoudar his people of the chamber (*komnatnie*), the stolnik prince Youry Ivan. Romodanofsky and Athanasius Ivan. Matuishkin; and to them *this same thing* was said: namely, that *on account* of his imperial displeasure I was minded to go away from Moscow. Now [I said] because he is wroth against me, he abstains from going to the church. And about that his wrath, it is known to all the empire that it is on account of his displeasure against me, that he the hossoudar does not go to the holy cathedral. And on account of that his imperial displeasure I will go away from Moscow: and I hope that he the hossoudar may be more at his ease without me.'

Then he goes on in the same place to relate what these wrongs were—not personal wrongs (see vol. iii. pp. 419 and 421), but wrongs done against the Church—his own reproofs of which

had caused the tsar's unjust anger, adding that *of all these things*, when he was about to go away from Moscow, he *testified* publicly, before all the clergy and people, and before heaven and earth, in the cathedral. 'And so,' he concludes, 'I *did not* go away *without its being known why*.'

After that interview with Romodanofsky and Matiushkin, when the *vlasti* had come together to the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, and had waited some time for Nicon to come forth from his inner chambers and go with them to the cathedral, he sent them out word that they were to go without him. And so they went, and sang without him the vigil service (the matins, *zaoutreni*) of the festival.

And at the third hour of the day, when they had again assembled at the krestovaia hall, Nicon prepared himself to celebrate together with them the liturgy.

From Subbotine.

After relating what had preceded down to the mission of Romodanofsky, M. Subbotine writes thus: All this was a plain sign of displeasure. And the prince Youry did not conceal from Nicon that the tsar's majesty was displeased with him, and displeased in particular at his styling himself *great hossoudar*. Nicon began to justify himself. But Romodanofsky said to him peremptorily in the tsar's name, that 'for the future he was not to style himself great hossoudar; and that the tsar did not mean to honour him any more.'

One can scarcely admit that Romodanofsky ventured to speak such words of himself, without having really been bidden to speak them by the tsar. And if so, then it is plain that the tsar when he gave these his orders must have felt against his former friend the utmost displeasure, even a strong antipathy. As regarded Nicon too these words [brought things to a crisis]. . . . He determined publicly in the church to renounce the patriarchate.

Probably his purpose was *not* to give up *altogether* the patriarchal chair; but he meant to move the tsar [to strike the consciences of 'them that were disobedient'], to bring him at once to an explanation, and so to reëstablish their former relations. Subsequently, when his friends asked him *why* he left the patri-

archal chair, and whether he had any thought of returning to it, he answered plainly: 'I left it because I was angry; and as for returning to it, why should I not?' However, some persons attached to him had said to him before that his intention was too bold and hazardous. On the morning of the 10th July, after the interview with Romodanofsky, he said to his *diak* Kalitin that he would leave the patriarchate. He began to dissuade him. Nicon did not listen to him. Kalitin hastened to carry this news to the boyar Ziuzin, one of Nicon's most devoted friends. Ziuzin told Kalitin to go again to the patriarch, and beg him in his name to 'give up that rash design, and not to provoke the great hossoudar;' adding that, 'if he persisted, then, though he should afterwards wish to return, it would be too late, and he must expect to have the great hossoudar incensed against him.' After hearing this message—so Kalitin afterwards said to Ziuzin—the patriarch seemed to hesitate, and he began to write; but when he had written only a few words he tore it up, and said: 'No; I will go!'

Nicon celebrated his last liturgy in the cathedral of the Assumption with great solemnity. He put on the sakkos of St. Peter the first metropolitan of Moscow, and an omophorion which had been worn in the Sixth Œcumenical Council [held at C.P. in A.D. 680, before the schism of East and West]. At the service there were many spiritual dignitaries (*vlasti, i.e.* bishops, archimandrites or hegoumens, and archpriests, concelebrating with him, or present). There was a very great concourse of people. At the time of the service, within the sanctuary, some were already saying that the patriarch meant to give up the patriarchate. The subdeacon Ivan Tveritsin, who that morning had bought for the patriarch a common walking-stick, 'such as priests carry,' spoke of this to another subdeacon named Matthew. At the time when they sang the Communion, the patriarch ordered the klinchar to set keepers at the doors of egress, and to bid them not let the people go out of the church, as he meant to preach. In fact, at the usual time, Nicon came out to the ambon, and began to read to the people a homily of St. John Chrysostom, in which the saint explains how high is the importance of the pastoral ministry, and how great an evil[6] it is for the Church when a pastor has not the necessary capacity to feed the

[6] See below the *depositions* 23, 24, 36, 57, 61, 65.

flock.[7] Then, without any break in the connection of ideas, he ceased to read, and went on 'speaking words of his own, looking at the same time in the faces of the people,' and saying: 'I am myself an incapable pastor *of this kind*. I have not fed you well; and I have not the ability to feed you. So *I will no more be patriarch;* and henceforth *you are no more to regard me as such.*' At these words there was a disturbance in the church; there began to be a noise, 'so that, owing to the press, it became impossible to hear what was said further by the patriarch.'

Really Nicon read a moral instruction on that love for the flock which is the first requisite and characteristic of a true pastor. This in the Greek and Latin edition of the works of St. John Chrysostom appears, without any separation, as the latter part of Hom. xxix. of his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. But in the Slavonic translation it is distinguished from the preceding—the commentative—part of the same Hom. xxix. by a separate heading, '*The Moral Instruction.*' Having said just before that the love of St. Paul for his disciples was unparalleled, and that it begins and ends every one of his epistles—'for as a loving father loves an only son, so he loved all the faithful; wherefore also he said: Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?' (2 Cor. xi. 29)—the holy father ceases to comment, and enlarges on the love befitting a pastor. And here begins that instruction which Nicon read, as follows:

For before all other things this—viz. *love for the flock*, like the love of a loving father for his only son—is the requisite for a *teacher*. Wherefore also Christ said to Peter: '*If thou lovest me*, feed my sheep' (John xxi. 16); for he that loves Christ loves also his flock. Moses also was *then* set by him over the people of the Jews when he had shown *his affection* for them; and when David was chosen to the kingdom, it was after he also had shown his affection for them (1 Kings xvii.). For while yet only a lad he felt such pain for them that he even offered his own life, when he overthrew that alien. . . . And Samuel was likewise affectionate; and hence he was moved to say: 'But as for me, God forbid that I should sin by ceasing to pray for you to the Lord' (1 Kings xii. 23). So also Paul—or rather not so,

[7] But this is inaccurate. So too are the words 'of this kind,' which below are put by M. Subbotine into the mouth of Nicon, as if to connect what he said with the homily.

but much more—was all on fire for them that were subject to his rule. And hence it was that he caused his disciples to be so disposed towards him that he could say, that 'if it had been possible ye would even have plucked out your own eyes and have given them to me' (Gal. iv. 15).

For this cause also [viz. because this *love* is the first requisite of a *pastor*], this was the first point on which God reproved the teachers of the Jews, saying: 'O ye shepherds of Israel, do shepherds feed themselves? do they not feed the sheep?' But they did the contrary. 'For,' he says, '*ye eat the milk, and ye clothe yourselves with the wool, and the fat ones ye kill; but the sheep ye have not fed*' (Ezech. xxxiv. 2). And Christ, bringing forward the rule for the best shepherd, said: 'The good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep' (John x. 11). This David did both in many other places, and when that terrible wrath from above was coming down on all the people. For while they were all being slain, he said: '*I the shepherd have sinned, I the shepherd have done wickedly;* but these the sheep what have they done?' (2 Kings xxiv. 17). Therefore also in the choice of one of those punishments which were offered, he chose not famine, nor to be pursued by enemies, but that death which was being sent from God, by which he expected to place the rest in safety, but himself before all the rest to be struck down. But when this was not so, he laments, and says: 'On *me* let thy hand be;' and, if that is not enough, 'also on my father's house. For I,' he says, 'the shepherd have sinned.' As if he had said, '*Even though these had sinned*, I was the proper object for punishment, *who did not properly correct them.* And when the sin is mine, I ought by right to suffer the punishment.' For, wishing to heighten the charge, he introduced the designation of '*shepherd.*' Thus then he stayed the wrath; thus he obtained the revocation of the sentence. So great is the power of confession. For the just man is *in the first*[7] *instance an accuser of himself* (Prov. xviii. 17). So great a thing is the solicitude and sympathy of the best shepherd. For his bowels were torn asunder as they fell, as if it had been his own actual children who were being slain. Wherefore also he claimed that the wrath should come upon himself. And at the beginning of the slaughter he would have done this, but

[7] In the English auth. version, '*He that is* first in his own cause *seemeth* just; but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him.'

that he then expected it in going its course to come to himself also. But when he saw that this was not so, but they only were decimated, he could not endure thus, but was inflamed more than for Amnon his firstborn. For then he did not ask for death; but now he claims it as just that he should fall before the rest. Such ought the ruler to be: he ought to be pained more by the sufferings of others than by his own. Something of this kind he suffered also in the case of his son [Absalom], so as to teach us that he loved his son *not more* than he loved his subjects. Though the young man was licentious and a parricide, for all that he said: 'Would God I had died instead of thee!' (2 Kings xviii. 33). What sayest thou, O blessed man, and meekest of all men? Thy son was striving to kill thee, and involved thee in ten thousand evils; and when he has been taken out of the way, and the victory gained, dost thou then wish thyself to have been slain? 'Yes,' he says: 'for it is not for me that the army has gained the victory; *I* have still war upon me worse than before, and my bowels are now torn asunder more violently.' These holy men, then, of old thus cared for them that were intrusted to them.

But Abraham took great thought even for them that were not intrusted to him; so great as to engage himself in extreme dangers. For because he did what he did, not only for the sake of his nephew, but also for the people of Sodom, he did not give up pursuing the Persians till he had freed them all. For though he could have retired after recovering his nephew, he would not; for he cared for all alike, as he showed also by what followed. For when now it was not an army of strangers that was about to besiege them, but the wrath of God was about to overthrow their cities, and there was need now not of arms, nor of fighting, nor of strategy, but of supplication, he showed as much anxiety for them as if he himself were about to perish. For this it was that he once, twice, thrice, and many times approaches God, and takes refuge in [the weakness of] nature, saying: 'But I am earth and ashes' (Gen. xviii. 27, 17). And since he knew that for themselves they were delivered over to wrath, he claims to have them saved for the sake of others. For this cause God also said: 'Shall I hide from my servant Abraham what I am about to do?' that we may learn how benevolent to men is the just man. And he would not have ceased from interceding, if God

had not ceased from talking with him first. And he seems indeed to be entreating for the righteous, but he really did all for those sinners. For the souls of the saints are exceedingly tender and philanthropic, both towards those who belong to themselves and towards others: and even to their beasts they extend this their kindness. For this cause also a certain wise man has said: 'The just man is tender of the lives even of his beasts' (Prov. xii. 10). But if also of beasts, how much more of men?

But since I have mentioned beasts, let us consider what is done by those shepherds who are in Cappadocia, what manifold and what great hardships they undergo that they may take due care of irrational animals. It has often happened that they have had to remain buried under the snow for three consecutive days. The shepherds in Libya also are said to endure hardships not less trying, having for whole months together to go about that inhospitable desert, abounding in the fiercest wild beasts. But if there be taken for brute beasts such great care, what excuse can we have, we who have had rational souls intrusted to us, and sleep this deep sleep? For ought we so much as to pause to take breath, or to rest at all? and not rather to be running about everywhere, and exposing ourselves to ten thousand deaths for these sheep? Or know ye not the value of this flock? Was it not for this that thy Lord did those innumerable works, and afterwards shed forth his own blood? And dost thou seek repose? And what can there be worse than these[8] shepherds? Dost thou not understand this, that these sheep are surrounded by wolves, far more dangerous and fiercer than any natural wolves? Dost thou not consider with thyself what sort of a soul he needs to have who is to administer so great an authority? But popular leaders who lead the people, when consulting about ordinary worldly matters, add whole nights of watchfulness to days: and do we, who have a contest for heaven itself, sleep even during the day? And who, then, shall deliver us from the punishments due to such delinquency? For if it were so that our body was to be cut into ten thousand pieces, if we had to undergo ten thousand deaths, ought we not to run willingly to such sufferings, as if to a festival?

[8] Perhaps this passage may be connected with certain misstatements occurring in one or two of the depositions of Feb. A.D. 1660: 'And how great an evil it is when,' &c.; and 'I am myself an incapable pastor *of this kind*,' &c.

And these reflections let not the shepherds only hear, but the sheep also, that they may make their shepherds more zealous, that they may more sharpen[9] their purpose; affording them not anything[10] else, *but only docility and obedience*. Thus Paul also commanded, saying: '*Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as having to give account*' (Heb. xiii. 17). But when he says 'they watch,' he alludes to ten thousand labours and anxieties and dangers. For the good shepherd, and such a one as Christ seeks, rivals ten thousand martyrs. For the martyr is he who has once died for Christ; but the shepherd [dies in will] a thousand times for the flock; at least if he be such a one as he ought to be. For such a one even every day may [have to be ready to] die.

Wherefore do ye also, as knowing the labour, help the prayers of your pastor, his solicitude, his zeal, his affection [by your own], that both we may be your glory, and you ours. For to this end it was that Christ gave this charge to the prince of the Apostles, to him who loved him above the rest—*after having first asked him if he were loved by him*—that you may learn that *this charge* is set, before all other things, as a sign of *love* towards him (John xxi. 15). For this charge needs a *manly*[11] soul (with all the energy as it were of the military age; not weak like a child or an old man).

But all this I have said of the best shepherds, not of myself, nor of such as are like myself; but if any one be such as Paul was, as Peter, as Moses.[12]

Here Nicon 'ceased to read; and looking in the face of the people, without any break in the connection of ideas, went on in words of his own,' of the substance of which the following may be taken[13] as an imperfect outline:

[9] Lit. 'anoint,' as wrestlers are anointed to the combat.

[10] *i. e.* not any other help, or *impulse*, or *interference*.

[11] νεανικὴν, lit. a youthful soul, or the soul of a young man fit for active military service.

[12] If Nicon had read to the end of the moral instruction of St. John Chrysostom, he would have continued thus: 'These, then, let us all imitate, both rulers and subjects; for he who is ruled also may be in part a shepherd, *i.e.* of his house, his friends, his servants, his wife, his children. And if we so manage well what belongs to us personally, we shall attain to all manner of happiness; to which God grant us all to attain by his grace and loving-kindness,' &c.

[13] That is, if we put together Nicon's own statements with fragmentary notices contained in some of the depositions taken afterwards by order of the tsar. But see the Appendix, in which this subject is treated more at length.

And if St. John Chrysostom—that great and holy bishop, whose instruction I have hitherto been reading—disclaims thus for himself, of his humility, that character of the loving and good shepherd which he has so glowingly described, much more certainly must such a one as I confess that I am not what a shepherd ought to be—though yet every pastor must have *something* of that love of the flock, unless he be reprobate. But now it is not in order to stir up myself together with other bishops my brethren to greater diligence, and to move you the flock to reciprocate and help forward our love, that I have set before you the pattern of a good pastor; but it is rather in order to take occasion from hence to confess against myself all my own insufficiency and unworthiness.

If a pastor is incompetent and knows not how to feed his sheep, he only damages the flock: he becomes diseased himself, and through him the sheep also become diseased. Such is the case with me. I am nowise competent to feed you. I have only done you harm. I am a sinner, unworthy of the high-priesthood, unfit to bear on my shoulders so great a burden. I took upon me to steer a great ship—the ship of the Russian Church—but I had not the strength nor the skill necessary for steering it.[14]

Nevertheless I testify here before Almighty God and the Immaculate Mother of God, and his holy angels, and all his saints, that, being conscious of my own insufficiency, I would never have thought of ascending to such a dignity (*Replies, &c.* p. 21), had not the tsar and the boyars and all the sacred synod and all the people perseveringly besought me even with tears; and had not the tsar and the boyars (see vol. iii. p. 383) made a covenant and promised before God to keep the commandments of Christ's holy gospels, and the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers (vol. i. p. 21, and iii. p. 383), and the laws of the religious Greek emperors unchangeably. But the Lord knows, and all the multitude of the people know, after what manner the tsar himself besought me (vol. i. p. 222). And at length, when I had long refused,[15] after many entreaties

[14] Nicon, 'while he was reading' and speaking, 'shed tears,' and 'wept much; and many who saw this, orthodox Christians, having in their hearts the fear of God, shed tears also, as they looked on him their patriarch.' See below, the deposition, no. 71, of the archimandrite Tichon, taken in March 1660.

[15] Nicon in his letter to the patriarch Dionysius of C.P. writes of the same

from the tsar and from all the assembly and the sacred synod, I spake to the tsar in this cathedral, calling to witness the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the immaculate Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and the holy angels and archangels, and the holy Baptist, and the holy apostles, and the holy fathers of the seven œcumenical councils, and all the saints, before all the sacred synod, and before the imperial synclete, and before all the people, that if it pleased God that I should be patriarch, and it were so that I observed in the tsar any fault contrary to the holy commandments of the gospel, or contrary to the canons of the holy apostles and fathers, then I, Nicon, as it is written in the psalms, should, without being ashamed, speak before the tsar of the commandments of the Lord and of the holy apostles and the holy fathers; and that he, the hossoudar the tsar, and the tsar's boyars, should hearken to me in all things.[16] And the hossoudar, with all the boyars and with all the sacred synod, then promised, in this cathedral, to keep unchangeably all that we had mentioned—to hear attentively and to obey the commandments of Christ and the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and to devise nothing otherwise, by any vain subtlety whatever, according to the tradition of men, and according to the elements of this world; but to obey us as their chief pastor and supreme father in all things which I should announce to them out of the divine commandments and laws: and they called to witness our Lord and God Jesus Christ, and our most immaculate and blessed and glorious Lady the holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and the holy angels and all the saints, and the sacred and holy gospel, and all the holy and venerable icons. And so I became patriarch (vol. i. p. 583, and iii. p. 384).

Moreover, at this our election to the patriarchate, we ourselves also, equally with the tsar, engaged with an oath with the

thus: 'And when I had long refused, as not being of such capacity as to be fit to be *alone* the chief pastor, saying, "I am a humble person, and of no great parts, and I cannot teach the flock of Christ's rational sheep," and much time had now passed—the Lord God is my witness that this is the truth—the tsar *prostrated himself on the ground*, and so lay with all the people, and with many tears besought me; . . . . and I was not able to resist the tsar's entreaty,' &c. Vol. iii. p. 382.

[16] See above of the election of Nicon, and the conditions on which he accepted the patriarchate, p. 10.

subscription of our hand (vol. i. pp. 13 and 104) to maintain unchanged the orthodox faith set forth by the holy fathers in the council of Nice, and to maintain and keep the commandments of God and those of the holy apostles and the holy fathers in all their integrity.

And since I received the Church of God, I have been six years patriarch; and I have kept her pure in the Christian faith, and have done nothing without the counsel of the œcumenical patriarchs. And so long as the great hossoudar the tsar, *so far as he could*, continued in his promise, obeying the holy Church, and showing himself pious and gracious, and in all the divine law obedient to whatever we said, so far as was due towards us, we also *had patience* (vol. i. p. 21).

But now for my sins before God, for my incapacity, my shortcomings and negligence—because I did not visit betimes and heal, while he might yet be healed, the servant[17] that was sick and weak by the wayside, nor do other like good works, and because I did not correct them that needed correction—it has become impossible for me to go on (comp. vol. i. p. 111) or to bear any longer this burden. I am powerless any longer to feed the flock of Christ's rational sheep. It is as when a ship is sailing on the sea, if the helm is rotten and breaks, there is nothing to steer with: so now the helm—that is, I myself—being rotten has broken under the storm, and the ship is wrecked.[18] Not only was I from the first of insufficient capacity, but I have also been faulty and negligent in teaching and correcting you, and of little worth. And so through my negligence I have become, as it were, scabby and diseased in your eyes; and you from scab and disease I have not preserved. Through my fault ye have all sinned and still sin: for all have become disobedient: they have not remembered those words of the apostle, where he says: 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as having to give account.' And I have become unacceptable to you. And on account of my many sins, as it is said, here in the capital city of Moscow there have been many pestilences and conflagrations and wars and schisms and all manner of evils: and I have become burdensome to all.

Already, several years ago, when at the time of the plague

[17] The servant of God, *i.e.* the tsar. [18] See depositions, no. 39 and 48.

I went with the hossoudar the tsarevich to the Koliazin monastery—at that same time many of the people at Moscow assembled in a mob at the Lobnoe Miesto (the Calvary, outside the Kremlin), and called me an iconoclast, because I had taken from them and defaced many icons; and for that they wanted to kill me. But I had taken from them only *Latin* icons, to which it is not proper to do reverence; an importation brought to you by Germans from Germany. And I pointed in the cathedral to the icon of the Saviour, painted in the Greek style, saying: 'It is right to trust in this, and to do reverence to this: I am no iconoclast.' [And the patriarch of Antioch Macarius, and the metropolitan of Servia Gabriel, being present with me, testified of the same thing.] And again, after that, they called me an heretic, saying: 'He is giving out new books.' And that was all so for my sins. And I set before you much instruction and testimony of the œcumenical patriarchs. And ye, in the disobedience and hardness of your hearts, wished to stone me. Now Christ indeed once by his blood redeemed us all; but *my* blood, if you were to kill me by stoning me, would deliver nobody; [it would only make you guilty, and cry out against you.] And therefore, rather than that you should kill me by stoning me, or call me an heretic, it will be better that I should leave you and go away: [better that, like Jonas, I should with my own consent be cast out, if only so there may be calm.] And so I will do. But first I will say to you all with the prophet Samuel: 'Behold, here I am: witness against me before the Lord: Whom of you have I wronged; and I will make it up to him. From whomsoever I have taken a field, let him take it back; or if I have bought any land at half price or at a low price, let him return the low price to me, and take back his land. Or if I have taken aught from any man by compulsion, or have pressed him to yield me anything, I ask his pardon. But as for me, God forbid that I should sin by ceasing to pray for you: nevertheless, I will set before you the truth' (comp. 1 Kings xii. 3 and 23).

But what is most of all is this, that, contrary to all justice, the synclete of the tsar's majesty, the boyars, and all kinds of people do all manner of wrongs to the ecclesiastical order; and the tsar's majesty does not grant any inquest or satisfaction; but when we complain of such things he is only wroth against

us (vol. iii. p. 386). And for some time past the hossoudar the tsar himself has begun to disregard the divine commandments of Christ and of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, which he pledged himself to observe at our appointment to the patriarchate; neither has he suffered me to govern at all according to the canons (vol. i. p. 13). He the great hossoudar, in contravention of the divine canons, has taken away the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and has ordered that both we ourselves, and the bishops, and the archimandrites, and hegoumens, and all the sacred order, should be judged by the people of his own courts, as now also is done in the sight of all (vol. i. p. 104).

Since, then, he, the great hossoudar the tsar, has become false to his promise, and has conceived wrath against us unjustly, as the Lord knows, only because we reprove injustice and maintain the divine canons, we—remembering our own promise for the keeping of the commandments of God, which we promised at our election and appointment to the patriarchate, with subscription of our hand, in this holy cathedral, on this anniversary of the bringing to Moscow of the holy tunic of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who endured for our sake rebuke and insult, spitting, buffeting, the purple robe, unjust condemnation, crucifixion, the cross, and death—testify before God and our Lord Jesus Christ and the immaculate Mother of God and all the holy angels and all the saints, and before all the sacred things, and before all the sacred assembly of the clergy and all this concourse of the people, and before heaven and earth, concerning all those wrongs already mentioned which have been done, and concerning the tsar's wrath, declaring that he is wroth against me without a cause; and on that account he now abstains from coming to the solemn assembly[19] (vol. iii. p. 387).

And remembering the divine command, 'Give place to wrath,' I will now go away from this place and city into the wilderness (vol. i. p. 21, 22), since the tsar's authority has engrossed every thing, and we are accounted as nothing (ib. p. 53). And as for you, I commend you into the hands of the living God; may he feed you! [I henceforth am not your pastor; yea, yea, I am no more patriarch of Moscow.] And so I give you my peace and blessing and forgiveness; and I also ask forgiveness of you. Amen (blessing them with his hands).

[19] The πανήγυρις, *i. e.* the festival for which all assemble.

Probably those words which we have bracketed above were never really uttered, but rather they were purposely avoided by Nicon. He himself distinctly denies having said, 'I am not worthy to be patriarch' (vol. iii. p. 419), or having *renounced* his chair (ib. p. 423, 428, 431), or having uttered the word '*abdication*.' '*I testified*,' he says, 'but I swore no oath:' and he insists that he spoke only of '*giving place to wrath*,' and of '*going away from this place and city*.' And he asks indignantly: 'What *abdication is this?*' Still, what Nicon said and did was a *sort of abdication*, though not such a one as could really vacate the episcopal chair. He himself, when pressed with the question, 'Then didst thou *not* make abdication?' replied, according to Paisius Ligarides, whose testimony here may be admitted: 'I made it *in my own sense*, and like Martyrius of Antioch, who, when the people were disobedient and irreverent, refused to remain their pastor; and yet, since he did this only verbally, it did not canonically vacate his chair.'[20] So too Nicon, in letters written afterwards to the tsar, wrote himself '*late* patriarch,' admitting that in some sense he was out of the chair; and when this was cast in his teeth, he answered: 'Well, *for the tsar* I am still *not patriarch*.' It is to be borne in mind that the sense to be put upon Nicon's words and acts, in order to suit the purpose of his enemies, was that of a free, spontaneous, and absolute abdication of his chair (vol. i. p. 54); and when the depositions of Feb. A.D. 1660 were about to be taken, the deponents were desired to depose distinctly to this fact, and for the most part to this fact only. If Nicon really said, 'Henceforth I am not your pastor or teacher;' 'Henceforth I am not' or 'will not be patriarch of Moscow,' such words, if only separated from their context, would be just what was wanted. But if he had been cautious enough to avoid uttering any words so categorical, still the sense to be imputed to the words really spoken and the acts done by him required some such plain and short sentences for its expression. However, it is needless to dispute about mere words. If Nicon did *not* actually utter such words as those bracketed above, still he *might very well* have uttered them *in his own sense*, without thereby making his own position really worse, or that of his enemies really better, than it

[20] Vol. iii. p. 172. And comp. what the patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem writes at p. 353 of vol. iii.

was without them. And since these words, or others like them, which they would account for, appear in nearly all the depositions taken for the tsar in Feb. A.D. 1660, we have inserted them, only with this accompanying comment and reserve.

But for what followed we may continue to put together and to supplement Nicon's own statements thus:

After having celebrated the holy liturgy, finishing[21] it in the usual manner, and having read an instruction, and after having spoken and testified, I divested myself, as bishops do, of the pontifical vestments (viz. the mitre, the omophorion, and the sakkos). And having written with my own hand a letter to the tsar, I sent it from the sacristy across to the palace by my deacon the *kliuchar* Job, to advertise the tsar that I was going away, and to explain the cause; telling him that I had not done nor was doing any hurt or prejudice whatever to the Church of God, but was about to go away on account of his unreasonable wrath. And in my letter there was written thus: 'Behold, I see thy wrath increased against me without just cause; and on that account thou absentest thyself from the holy assemblies (*παναγύρεις*) in the church. But I am a stranger and a pilgrim upon the earth. And behold now, remembering the divine command, "Give place to wrath," I will go away from this place and city. And according to the words of the gospel, "When they persecute you in one city, flee into another," and "Whoever receives you not and hearkens not to your words, when ye go out from that house or from that city, shake off the dust from your feet for a testimony against them;" so now I, going forth from this *your* city, will shake off from my feet and leave to you the dust which cleaves to them. And thou wilt have to give account for all before the Lord God' (vol. i. p. 22, 23, and 583; iii. p. 53 and 386).

'Whether the hossoudar *read* that letter or not'—Nicon

[21] After the prayer behind the ambon the bishop comes out, and gives the *antidoron* (and, if he will, he then preaches). Then, blessing with his hands, he says: *The blessing of the Lord*, &c. Choir: *Amen. Glory: Both now: Kyrie eleison*, thrice. *My lord, bless!* Bishop (this is the ἀπόλυσις): *May Christ our true God*, &c. The choir sings, Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα· and the bishop blesses with the lights. Then he unrobes, either in the sanctuary or on the platform in the nave. Sometimes, *after unrobing in the sanctuary*, he comes out, and preaches *in his mandya*. Nicon certainly preached *before unrobing*, but not 'without making the *dismissal*:' for he sent to the doors to keep the people from going out, which implied that he meant to preach *after* making it.

writes in one place in his *Replies*, &c. vol. i. p. 583—'I know not, but only I know that he sent it back to me (*by the same deacon*), saying that it was of no use to him.' The deacon had also been directed by Nicon to ask the tsar to allow him a cell for his retirement. But in his letter to the patriarch Dionysius of C.P. written at a later date, viz. in Dec. A.D. 1665, Nicon continues as follows:

'And the tsar's majesty, *having read*[22] that letter, sent back together with that deacon, on the part of his imperial majesty, the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy and the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and certain others' ['with the same words of disrespect as before,' vol. iii. p. 53].

From the depositions taken afterwards, so far as they are borne out by Nicon's own statements, or not contradicted by them, it appears that when they had come to the church the boyar Troubetskoy in the first instance presented himself before Nicon as if to take his blessing. Nicon did not bless him, but said: 'My blessing is past; for my unworthiness I am going away.' Then the boyar asked: 'What is thine unworthiness? what hast thou done?' Nicon replied: 'Eh! if thou wishest it, I will make to thee my confession.' The boyar said: 'What have I to do with that? (or that is not my business): make not thy confession to me.'

Then the boyar and his colleagues said to the patriarch *in the tsar's name:* 'The tsar's majesty has sent us, and has commanded us to say to thee from him: For what cause wilt thou go away?' And the patriarch made answer: 'I give place to the wrath of the tsar's majesty because, contrary to justice, the synclete of the tsar's majesty, the boyars, and all kinds of people, do all manner of wrongs to the ecclesiastical order, and the tsar's majesty does not grant any inquest or redress; but when we complain of such things, he is wroth against us. There is nothing more terrible for any man than to incur the tsar's wrath, as Gregory the Divine writes in his discourse to the CL. bishops' (vol. iii. p. 53 and 387).

And the boyar, still speaking in the tsar's name, asked[23] also: 'What persecution is there? and who is persecuting thee? And

[22] So also Nicon had written in his *Replies*, vol. i. p. 22, though at p. 583 he writes doubtfully. Perhaps it was sent back *the first time* unopened.

[23] Or *repeated*, if he had said it before.

why dost thou ask for a cell, when thou hast cells, built by thyself, in the patriarchal dvor?' And he spoke to the patriarch in the tsar's name, that he should not go away, but remain and live in the patriarchate (*i.e.* in the patriarchal residence) as before.[24]

And he, the patriarch, replied: '*Those* cells are no longer mine: let *him* live in them whom it may please the hossoudar to put there. But for myself I beg only that the great hossoudar will be pleased to allow me a cell to live in in some monastery.' And he gave to the boyar a letter,[25] saying: 'Take this to the hossoudar, and say that I beg the hossoudar to be so gracious as to grant me a cell.'

According to the deposition of the metropolitan Pitirim of Kroutits, taken in Feb. A.D. 1660, the boyar Troubetskoy *did not* receive the letter; but Troubetskoy says of himself in his own deposition that he *did* receive it. We may collect, then, that he did not receive it at once, but first made objections (not now in the tsar's name) against Nicon's renewing his petition for a cell: but at length he received it. Apparently also, before leaving the patriarch, Troubetskoy again made as if he desired to take his blessing. But Nicon said: 'I have no blessing to give thee.' And of this, with all the particulars, the boyar made report to the great hossoudar.

And the great hossoudar sent the boyar to the patriarch a second time, and desired him to return [again] to the patriarch that letter [saying that it was of no use to him]. And he bade him say to the patriarch, that he should not go away, but be in the patriarchate as before: that of cells in the patriarchal dvor there are plenty, and he can live in whatever of them he pleases.

And the boyar went again and spake such words in the tsar's name to the patriarch; and the patriarch made the same reply as before. And farther the boyar spake also thus: 'The great hossoudar has commanded me to ask thee, the most holy patriarch: Hast thou not some [personal] quarrel against the great hossoudar, or some calumnious (or reproachful) words? Be pleased to speak them out.'

But the patriarch said to him: 'I have no [personal] quar-

[24] That is, that he should be content with the position left to him by the tsar and the boyars, and administer the Church under their secular supremacy.

[25] The same letter apparently which had been sent before to the tsar by the hand of the deacon Job, and which had now been brought back to the patriarch by the same deacon as if unread.

rel whatever, nor any calumnious (or reproachful) words against the great hossoudar, nor against anybody; but I leave my chair knowing my many sins towards God; for on account of my many sins here in the capital there have been many pestilences, and wars, and all sorts of evils: *on account of my sins:* and therefore I leave my chair.'

And the boyar returned to the patriarch the letter, saying that it was of no use to the tsar. And the patriarch said to him: 'The word that I have spoken I do not revoke:[26] I have long foreseen that the tsar would not be gracious to me very long; and that by the time I had been patriarch six years I should be hated and persecuted' (see Shusherin's account below; and comp. vol. iii. p. 419, 421, 426).

'The same boyars also'—(so Nicon relates at p. 387 of vol. iii.) but this was probably of themselves, not by the tsar's order—'said, taunting and reviling us before the multitude of the people: "Eh! thou hast given thyself the title of Great Hossoudar, and thou hast interfered in many matters of state: but now for the future thou wilt please not to style thyself Great Hossoudar, nor to interfere in matters of state."

'And we replied: We did not of ourselves take the title of great hossoudar, nor have we interfered in matters of state. But for that we spoke to any one against injustice, and delivered the poor from their distresses, we bishops are appointed expressly for this. And *this* is a general commandment addressed to all—[even to the tsar]—from our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has said: "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me."'

And after these things I put on[27] the humblest and worst episcopal dress [to be found in the sacristy], and went out from the cathedral to the podvorie of the Voskresensky monastery of our own foundation, taking nothing of my personal property[28] with me, but carrying with me only my personal quality, and taking a single mitre, and other episcopal vestments one of each, and those not rich, that I might be able to officiate as a bishop.

[26] That is, the tsar's message gives me no reason for revoking it.

[27] Instead of writing, 'having previously put on,' which would have been more exact, at least as regards the particulars last mentioned.

[28] That is, from the patriarchal residence, or nothing *worth mentioning;* whereas a bishop who had voluntarily resigned his see to go into retirement would have taken away with him his *personal* property.

(But I did not go away as if renouncing the episcopal office, as now they calumniously assert, saying that I of my own self renounced the episcopate.) And there I waited, expecting *till the tsar's majesty should be pacified*, and [letting him know] that I wished to go out to the monastery which I was founding at Voskresensk.

And the tsar's majesty sent *again the same boyars*[29] to desire that I should not go out [from the city] *without having first seen him*. And I, after waiting there three days,[30] in expectation of some message from the tsar's majesty, when none came, after those three days[31] went out to the monastery which I was founding at Voskresensk.

Again [that very same day of his departure, the 12th July] there were sent to me some of those same boyars, saying: 'Wherefore hast thou, without order from the tsar's majesty, gone away from Moscow?' And I answered them: 'I have not gone away to any great distance. If the tsar's majesty should change, so as to become gracious and lay aside his wrath, I will come back again.'

And after that there was no more communication ever made on that subject from the tsar's majesty, nor any mention of my return, that I should return to the chair; but there was an *order made* [by the tsar and the council of state] that the metropolitan of Kroutits Pitirim should administer [the patriarchate] for the time.

And after our departure the tsar's majesty forbade people of all orders to approach me, or to listen to me.

He also forbade that which I wanted to be given to me from the patriarchal residences.

[29] Shusherin relates that the tsar sent the boyar Troubetskoy *a third* time *to the cathedral*, with permission to Nicon to go to *any monastery* he pleased; and that then only the doors of the church were opened, so that he could go out. And this may have been so, though Nicon himself does not mention it. See Shusherin's account below.

[30] *i.e.* after the old manner of reckoning, according to which the first and third imperfect days would both be counted.

[31] '*Getting impatient*,' Michaelofsky writes, 'determined finally to leave the capital. But first'—so he continues—'having called to him Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutits, he told him that he was going away *for a time* to his Voskresensky monastery, and commissioned him till his return, *in quality of vicar*, to administer the affairs of the patriarchate, *referring* in matters of greater importance *to the patriarch himself*. And having done this, he went out,' &c.

And whoever comes to us, if information of that reaches the tsar's majesty, they examine such persons with severity, and send them into exile to distant places. And so he has struck terror upon all people.

And the tsar's majesty ordered[32] that the whole patriarchate, in respect of all matters pertaining to it, should be administered by the metropolitan of Kroutits; and he forbade that we should be asked anything or referred to: and he ordered that he himself should be applied to *absolutely* in all episcopal and spiritual matters (Nicon's *Letter to the Patriarch Dionysius of C.P.* in vol. iii. p. 388).

From Shusherin's Life of the Patriarch Nicon.

The most holy patriarch, desiring to give place to wrath, left his pastoral chair and episcopal staff in the catholic and apostolic church of the Assumption; . . . . and he sent to the tsar a letter of his own writing, asking him to allow him somewhere a cell to live in.

The tsar thereupon sent to him his *near* boyar, the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, to the cathedral; *for the people*, witnessing this unusual affair, made much weeping and lamentation, and *would not let him go out of the cathedral.*

The boyar having come, and seeing the patriarch in a black klobouk, and holding in his hand a plain pateritsa, said to him in the tsar's name: 'The great hossoudar has commanded me to say to thee: Why dost thou ask for a cell? Thou hast cells of thine own building in the patriarchal dvor.' 'Those cells are not mine,' Nicon replied: 'let him live in them whom the hossoudar may be pleased to put there; but for myself I only beg the great hossoudar to be so good as to let me go into some monastery.'

The boyar went back to the religious tsar; and after remaining there a short space, he came again a second time, and spake the same words as before to the patriarch; and farther he spake also thus: 'The great hossoudar has commanded me to ask thee, the most holy patriarch: Hast thou not some quarrel against

[32] Practically this was done from the first, and it is implied under the acts mentioned just above; but it was done formally and definitively at the end of Feb. A.D. 1660, or a little later.

the great hossoudar, or some calumnious words? Be pleased to speak them out.'

But the patriarch said to him: 'I have no quarrel nor any calumnious words whatever against the great hossoudar, nor against anybody; but I leave my chair knowing my many sins towards God: for on account of my many sins here in the capital city of Moscow there have been many pestilences and wars and all sorts of evils: *all on account of my sins:* and therefore I leave my chair.' And so again a second time the boyar returned to the tsar.

Meanwhile the devout people kept the doors of the church fast closed, not to let him go out by them from the church; and they wept much for this, that they were losing their pastor and teacher; and so they kept him in the church. And they expected also the tsar to come.

But the most holy patriarch remained sitting on the lowest step of his place (the episcopal platform), which is in the middle of the church, looking towards the west doors: and he often rose, and sought to go out of the church; but the people would not let him go out, and kept weeping; and he, seeing their tears, burst into tears himself.

Again there came for the *third* time that boyar with others, saying thus: 'The great hossoudar has commanded me to say to thee: Choose for thyself a monastery and cells wherever thou pleasest.' And so the most holy patriarch bowed himself before the boyar, and said: 'I thank the great hossoudar for his imperial grace.' And so he went out from the cathedral.

And he found outside the cathedral an izvoschik with an open wheeled carriage (*kolesnitsa*, *kolaska*, *teliega*), which had been prepared for him beforehand, and which was standing ready; and he was about to get up into it, there being mud at that time on the Ivanofsky ploshchad. But the people, seeing this, broke the teliega, and undid the collar, and took the horse out.

And the patriarch, seeing that they would not let him get into the carriage, went across the Ivanofsky place, and through the mud, on foot; and they brought up to him there a coach (a *kareta*); but he would not get into it. The people in great numbers followed him. And suddenly, at the Spassky gates of the Kremlin, they again shut the gates in his face, so as not to let him go out: and he sat down on a ledge in one of the niches

(*pechoura*); and there many people stood about him weeping, and bewailing him, because [they said] the shepherd is leaving the sheep. And all at once there came some of the tsar's grandees to that gate; and then they opened the gates.

And the most holy patriarch, having arisen, went again on foot, by the Krasni ploshchad and by the Ilinsky, all the way to his own Voskresensky podvorie; and the people in a great multitude followed him, thronging him and weeping. But he, when he had come to his Voskresensky podvorie, after having first turned and given peace to the people and having blessed them, went into his cells, which are in the podvorie; and then all dispersed to their homes.

And the patriarch Nicon, having remained there in the Voskresensky podvorie three days and three nights, and having asked and obtained from the Novodiviehy monastery the loan of two open carriages of basket-work, such as are used at Kieff (*kolaska*, *kolimaga*), put his things [among which were some books] into one of them, and got into the other himself, and went away to his own monastery of Voskresensk.

But the religious tsar, having been informed of this, and that he was journeying in a common kolaska, immediately sent after him his same boyar, the prince Alexis Troubetskoy, with his patriarchal coach, that he, the most holy patriarch, might journey in it. But the boyar, though he started very soon after him, was not able to overtake him; but he came to him at the Voskresensky monastery, and there spake to him the words of the tsar's oukaz, desiring him to take the carriage. But he would not take it; and they took it back as far as the village of Chernevo, which belongs to that monastery, and left it there. And the same coach stood in the village of Chernevo a long time. p. 69.

From Subbotine, from the depositions of A.D. 1660, *and from other sources.*

After having uttered his abdication, Nicon went back from the ambon into the sanctuary, and there began to unrobe. He put off his mitre, his omophorion, and his sakkos, which the subdeacons carried into the sacristy. Meanwhile, according to the deposition of the metropolitan Pitirim, they all—that is, the clergy within the sanctuary or *oltar*—began to beseech him with tears, saying: 'To whom dost thou abandon us as orphans?'

And there was brought to him a bag containing a black habit (that is, a common monastic dress, which he had caused to be provided beforehand). But they, according to the deposition of the metropolitan of Servia Michael, bade him not to cast off his dignity[33] (*san*); and they all in a body took the bag away from him, and suffered him not to put on that black habit. And the patriarch, in the podriznik or stichárion only, went from the sanctuary into the sacristy,[34] and putting off there the stichárion, took and put on a mandya *with stripes*, and a *black*[35] klobouk. Also while in the sacristy he wrote[36] a letter to the tsar, which he sent by the kliuchar, the deacon Job. Then, going forth from the sanctuary,[37] with the staff of St. Peter the first metropolitan in his hand, he first set this staff at the patriarchal place, and took instead of it a common staff with a single hook, such as priests walk with, which he had caused to be procured for him beforehand that same morning; and so he went on as far as to the episcopal ambon or platform on which the bishop is vested, beyond the centre of the church; and there he sat down on its lowest step, with his face towards the west doors [and so towards the palace, which is immediately opposite to the west doors of the cathedral, across the way], waiting for the return of his messenger whom he had sent to the tsar.

Meanwhile Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutits,[38] and Michael the metropolitan of Servia, with other spiritual dignitaries [instead of remaining with their patriarch, who had already sent a deacon to the tsar, or at least applying to him for directions], had gone across to the palace to the tsar, to *inform him* of what had taken place in the cathedral. When he had heard their

[33] The word *san* means properly the dignity itself, but it is used also for the official robes betokening it, and so is ambiguous.

[34] Which adjoins the sanctuary on its south side, and equally with it and with the prothesis, on the north side, is within the iconostase or screen.

[35] That is, an *episcopal* mandya, but not a *patriarchal* klobouk; for the patriarchs of Moscow wore their klobouk *white*.

[36] Or perhaps then only finished writing; for it is said in one or two of the depositions of A.D. 1660, that he wrote something—the deponents knew not what—within the sanctuary, while they were singing, before the end of the liturgy.

[37] From the 'oltar,' which means here, as it does often, the whole space within the screen; and he would go out now from the sacristy by the south side door.

[38] Who, being a metropolitan *ἐπὶ ψίλῳ ὀνόματι*, lived always at Moscow, and acted under the patriarch of Moscow as his vicar.

story—so the tsar said of himself afterwards—'it seemed to him as if he were asleep with his eyes open, and saw all that in a dream.' *In order to an explanation with the patriarch*, he sent to the cathedral the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy and the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff. As to the nature of the *explanation* which they had with the patriarch, and of what sort it was, the accounts differ, though there were many witnesses. Some of these witnesses, when examined afterwards by order of the tsar (in Feb. A.D. 1660), said, evasively enough, that 'the people thronged so, that they could not hear the words.' Only the two metropolitans and the archbishop of Tver Joasaph, besides the boyar Troubetskoy himself, deposed to any particulars. The metropolitan Pitirim and the archbishop Joasaph,[39] whose depositions are almost word for word the same, asserted that Nicon said to the boyar Troubetskoy in the cathedral: '*I am unworthy to be patriarch;*' while the metropolitan of Servia Michael made him say to the boyar Troubetskoy, 'that he was a common monk, and not patriarch;' and '*Patriarch I will not be; I will go into retirement*' (lit. '*into the wilderness*'). And the prince Troubetskoy himself deposed that Nicon said to him in the church: '*I have given up the patriarchate of myself, not from any persecution:*' '*There has been no wrath whatever of the Lossoudar against me:*' 'Already in time past I . . . told him that I *would not be* more than three years in the patriarchate:' '*I am not worthy to be patriarch:*' 'I have long *made a vow* on this point that I *will not be* patriarch.' And in another deposition he made Nicon to say to him three days later at Voskresensk: '*If only I conceive the desire of being any more patriarch, may I be accursed, and be anathema!*' But Nicon himself, in his letter to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius, and elsewhere, relates the matter very differently. And the presence of Rodion Streshneff, one of

[39] These two made Nicon, in his discourse from the ambon, to have renounced the chair even with an oath or imprecation; and afterwards, in putting off the episcopal robes, or, as they word it, 'the *episcopal dignity*,' to have exclaimed: '*I am no longer your pastor.*' And when the clergy within the sanctuary asked him with tears, 'To whom dost thou abandon us as orphans?' he, according to them, replied: '*To him whom God and the most holy Mother of God shall please to give you.*' And the metropolitan of Servia Michael made him to have said from the ambon: '*I have sinned; I am unworthy of the priesthood.*' But it is to be borne in mind that all these statements occur for the first time only in documents dated a full year and a half after what was then called Nicon's 'voluntary and complete abdication.'

Nicon's chief enemies, makes it probable that the tsar's messengers did then in fact—as Nicon asserts that they did—repeat to the patriarch publicly, before all the people, those same words of vehement anger and disrespect which he had already heard spoken to him in the tsar's name on the morning of that same day, and with so much indignation—but then only in private in his cell—by the prince Romodanofsky. Besides, this was such a critical moment for Nicon and for his adversaries, that these latter could not fail to perceive how much it would serve their own purpose to keep up the indignation of the patriarch, and to instigate him to go on more boldly in that *dangerous* course on which he had himself—contrary to their expectation, but to their special satisfaction—*so incautiously* determined to enter.

After such an '*explanation*' with the tsar's messengers, there was nothing more for Nicon to do but 'to go out of the church and to go away.' So he went out on foot through the Krasni ploschad to the Ilinsky, to the podvorie of his Voskresensky monastery.

Thus, if Nicon had thought by what he did to bring the tsar to an explanation, and to a good understanding with himself, he was bitterly undeceived by the result. The tsar'—here M. Subbotine is borrowing the words of Solovieff—'did not come to have an explanation with him in the cathedral; he did not entreat him to remain; he did not ask publicly his pardon; the *scene* which had taken place at the election of Nicon to the patriarchate was not repeated.' Having waited in the podvorie till the third day, Nicon saw that there was nothing further for him to expect, and went away to his own monastery of Voskresensk.

He had scarcely arrived when there came thither after him, by command of the tsar, the same boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, with the secretary of the council Larion Loponchin. They had orders to ask Nicon: Why, without having consulted with the great hossoudar, and *without having given him his blessing*, he had gone off from Moscow *precipitately?* This mission and this question could not but surprise Nicon, when he had stayed on at Moscow three days, waiting in vain for some communication from the tsar, and for the order promised him about his departure. It was as if they had waited on purpose till he should of himself leave Moscow, in order to be able

then to call him to account for his arbitrary departure. An answer he gave, but a *very guarded* one, in a letter which he sent back seemingly by Troubetskoy himself, for it is dated on the same day, the 12th July. Besides that he said verbally to Troubetskoy: 'I have gone away to no great distance; and if only the tsar's majesty changes, so as to become gracious to me, I will go back again.' But the prince Troubetskoy had no order to invite the patriarch back to Moscow. On the contrary, he was charged to ask Nicon 'to give his blessing to the great hossoudar, to the hossoudarina the tsaritsa, and their children, and *to bless him whom God should permit to be* patriarch *in his room;* and in the mean time, so long as there was no patriarch, *to bless the metropolitan of Kroutits to administer the Church.*[40] To these proposals Nicon replied with a tranquillity and submission which, under his circumstances, were remarkable. He said that he sent to the great hossoudars his blessing and pardon, that he blessed also him whom God should permit to be patriarch in his room; and he even begged the tsar to hasten the election of a successor, that the Church of God might not be left in widowhood and without a pastor; and, lastly, he also blessed the metropolitan of Kroutits to administer ecclesiastical affairs till the election of a new patriarch. But as regarded himself, he repeated, and with an oath,[41] that he did not desire to be patriarch. So Nicon's answer is given by the boyar Troubetskoy in his report to the tsar. Nicon's own letter to the tsar is distinguished by the same tranquil and pacific character as the conversation with Troubetskoy given above, though in it there is no mention either of a successor or of a vicar[42] of the patriarchal chair. In this letter he styles himself '*late patriarch*' (or '*ex-patriarch*,' '*bivshi* patriarch'), and humbly asks pardon of the tsar [for having left Moscow without waiting for a further communication from him longer than till the third day]. Subbotine, *Dielo Patr. Nikona*, p. 16-25.

[40] Nicon of himself had already done this before he left Moscow, but not in the sense in which the boyars meant to take it, viz. as if the chair was absolutely vacant. In plain words, they would have said to Nicon, 'Since you would not stay at Moscow *to act under us* yourself, *bless* now the metropolitan of Kroutits *to act under us, and independently of you.*'

[41] According to Troubetskoy; but this he himself absolutely denied.

[42] The metropolitan of Kroutits was always and permanently *vicar* under the patriarch; but, like other inferiors, he took the blessing of his superior for whatever he did.

Letter of Nicon to the tsar.[43]

To the most religious, most mild, most autocratic, divinely-preserved great hossoudar the tsar, &c., Alexis Michaelovich, &c.; to the great hossoudarina the tsaritsa and grand princess Maria Ilichna, &c.; to the great hossoudar the tsarevich and grand prince Alexis Alexievich; and to the hossoudarinas the religious tsarevnas: I, your sinful beadsman the humble Nicon, *late* patriarch (*bivshi patriarch*), pray for the spiritual and bodily health of you, hossoudars, to the Lord God, yea, yea, with tears; and I beg grace of you, my hossoudars, and forgiveness. Though my sin be above that of those who sin seventy times seven times (according to the question of the prince of the apostles) towards you, great hossoudars, nevertheless the divinely inspired [fathers] understood that even this great and inconceivably excessive multitude [of sins] is for the sake of the holy Lord God to be forgiven. Forgive, then, me my great offence against you, great hossoudars, since it is written: 'When thou askest forgiveness for thy sins, forgive also thyself whatever offences have been committed against thee:' for forgiveness is granted in return for forgiveness. Such as a man is, the Lord says, to his own debtors, such shall he find the Lord God to be to himself.

A second and a third time, and many times and many times over again, I pray you, for the sake of the Lord God, forgive me, that ye yourselves also may obtain from the Lord God forgiveness and blessing; and remember not at all against me my great offence. I know, I know that my offence is [seems to you?] great, and very, very great against you, my hossoudars; yea, yea, it is indeed immeasurable.

But for what concerns myself, my very sinful self, if thou wilt be forgiving, and be gracious enough to be willing to be informed, [it was thus]: After the departure of your boyar Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy and his colleagues, I waited expecting from you, my great hossoudars, *agreeably with my request*,[44] a gra-

[43] This is probably one of the letters which the tsar caused to be shown in Feb. A.D. 1660 to the Russian synod, and in Dec. 1666 to the synod presided over by the Eastern patriarchs, in order that Nicon might be made to bear witness against himself that he had absolutely vacated the chair, inasmuch as he wrote himself '*bivshi*,' i.e. '*late* patriarch.'

[44] From the Synodal Archives, roll (stolbetz) ii. part ii. where it is gummed together with the report of the boyar Troubetskoy, or rather with the second of two depositions taken from him in Feb. A.D. 1660.

cious oukaz [*i.e.* a permission]; and I did not wait on till I received it, but, on account of my many infirmities, I ordered myself to be transported to the oratory of your majesty, the monastery of Voskresensk, where with my tears I pray and beseech the Lord God for the spiritual and bodily health of you my great hossoudars. For his sake overlook and pardon me for all, and forget not me, your poor and sinful servant, of your great grace [or compassion], in like manner as ye were wont before; that the Lord God also may not forget you.[45] 'A.M. 7167 [A.D. 1659], July 1.' [So the copy has; but the true date is A.M. 7166, A.D. 1658, July 12.]

In writing this letter Nicon threw himself for once into the tsar's own spirit and style; and having an opportunity of begging pardon in a matter merely personal, in which no duty towards the Church was involved, he exaggerated his own very slight or imaginary fault, and humbled himself with such effusion and excess as might suggest to readers of our own age a suspicion that he wrote with more of irony than of sincerity. But this was certainly far from his mind and purpose. He was a Russian of the seventeenth century—originally a simple mujik—and he knew well how to suit himself on occasion to the sovereign with whom he had to do. At any rate, for the moment, as Subbotine writes, but with too much of imagination, 'his humble letter touched the gentle heart of Alexis Michaelovich: his old friendship revived: he began to be sorry for Nicon: he began to doubt whether he had not even already been dealt too hardly with; whether he was really to blame, and whether it would not be better to restore things to the state in which they were before: in a word, the tsar did not proceed *at once* to the choice of a new patriarch. He sent to Nicon his cousin and personal favourite the spalnik Athanasius Ivan. Matiushkin to say that *he forgave him*, with other gracious words: he also let Nicon know that he had ordered sixty men of the guards (*streltsi*) from his own Sabbin monastery to be

[45] Note that he does not mention, either orally to Troubetskoy or here in his letter even to the tsar himself, the fact that *the tsar* had sent and desired him not to leave Moscow *till he had seen him* (a message which the *council* certainly would not have approved), and that he had waited so long as he did wait *in consequence of this intimation of the tsar's intention*. Nor even in asking pardon does he *directly* mention that which most needed to be pardoned, viz. his having disregarded an express command of the tsar.

stationed at Voskresensk for its security. Nicon thanked the tsar, and said that thirty would be quite enough; and thirty were sent. So he already began to have with Nicon relations which recalled to mind their former intimacy. This vacillation of the tsar, with a manifest disposition to favour Nicon, ... would naturally incite his enemies to do their utmost to turn the tsar again to their own side, and to manage so that the affair should end not merely in the election of a new patriarch, with the allowance of some sort of position to the old, but in the complete deposition and degradation of Nicon; for they understood perfectly well that nothing else could secure them against danger from such a man. In what way they acted during the next following days (but to act against Nicon in his absence was easy enough), we have no precise information. Only a letter written by Nicon himself to the tsar [shortly after the 25th July, A.D. 1658, that is, about a fortnight after his former letter] makes us acquainted with the intrigues and successes of the party adverse to him at the court. From this letter we learn that the tsar himself had sent to him shortly before the prince Youry [Dolgorouky], to say that "only he himself and this prince Youry were *good* towards him;" and so the tsar himself confessed that all those men *not good* towards Nicon, who formed the court, were intriguing against Nicon. We learn also that these boyars who were *not good* towards Nicon reported to the tsar different things that Nicon had said in a distorted manner: "What he had said in humility, that they represented as spoken proudly; what he had said in *commendation*, that they represented as spoken reproachfully." We learn that they persuaded the tsar that Nicon had emptied the patriarchal treasury, and had taken away with him much from it; that they induced the tsar to issue orders respecting ecclesiastical matters, and to examine the private property of the patriarch and his secret papers. It is plain that of all this Nicon received exact information.' [And he who had written so humbly before, and had obtained by his letter an assurance that the tsar *forgave him*, and so *was in charity* with him, now wrote again to the tsar, respecting this his forgiveness and charity, a very different letter.] *Subbotine*, p. 26-28.

Letter from Nicon to Alexis [*written from Voskresensk after the 25th of*] *July* 1658, *complaining of the sealing and seizure in*

the podvorie of the Voskresensky monastery at Moscow of his private letters and papers, of the omission of sending to him from the tsar imianninie pirogi on the namesday [25th *July*] *of the grand princess Anna Michaelovna, and of the prohibition of different persons to go to him to Voskresensk, with an assurance that the patriarchal treasury at Moscow was left at his departure untouched, and with a petition that the tsar's anger against him might be pacified* (from part ii. of roll ii. in Synodal Archives).

To the tsar, &c. I, your humble and sinful beadsman Nicon, *late patriarch*, pray for your majesty, that you may be preserved in health, together with our hossoudarina your tsaritsa the grand princess Maria Iliehna, and your son our hossoudar the tsarevich and grand prince Alexis Alexievich, and your sisters our hossoudarinas the tsarevnas and grand princesses Irene Anna and Tatiana Michaelovna, and with your daughters our hossoudarinas the tsarevnas and grand princesses Eudocia, Martha, Anna, and Sophia Alexievna, and with all your synclete and all your Christian army, and with all orthodox Christians. Farther, I pray that you be not angry against me, your beadsman, that I write of matters of the greatest importance to thee, great hossoudar, trusting in thy former good disposition in God.

For I have heard that what thou hadst aforetime given to the holy cathedral church, thou hast now commanded to be restored to thee. I pray thee, by the Lord our God and by Jesus Christ, not to do such things. For thou thyself hast read the sacred Scripture which saith, 'Give, and it shall be given unto you,' &c. And again, elsewhere it is said to Ananias, 'Why has Satan tempted thy heart, and so thou hast tempted the Holy Ghost? Was it not altogether thine own, and in thine own power to give it or not to give it?' But whatever has been written beforehand has all been written for our instruction. And again I entreat thee, great hossoudar, to desist from such things. 'And be not conformed,' it is said, 'to the evil, but rather to the good.' Emulate that poor widow who gave the two copper pieces, and that other woman who poured ointment on the feet of Christ, and to whom Christ promised that it should be remembered; and it is to this day read, and celebrated, and made a pattern for all who of love to God give to the holy churches. Do not begin, for the Lord's sake, in these small

things, that thou come not to great irreverence, and provoke against thee the anger of thy Lord (for *thou still hast many good qualities*). For from a small irreverence there grows great. And it is not strictly our own, but God's own, that we give to God. For this cause also they say in the church, 'Thine own of thine own we offer to thee.'

And again, farther, my thought forces me to write to thee, great hossoudar, this also: *Though I, as of duty bound, asked pardon of thee*, great hossoudar, by a letter, *for what as a man I had done amiss*, according to the commandment of the Lord, who has said: 'If thou bringest thy gift to the altar, and thy brother has ought against thee, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled with thy brother' (but I did so *not as a brother, but as the very last of thy beadsmen*); and *though thou*, great hossoudar, *didst*, through thy stolnik Athanasius Ivan. Matiushkin, *send* me thy gracious *forgiveness*, nevertheless now I hear that thou doest much towards me, *not as towards one forgiven*, but as if I were *the last of malefactors*, seizing my poor and humble property which was left in my apartments, and my written papers, in which were many private matters which no secular person has any right to see, since by divine permission and your imperial counsel, in conjunction with the sacred synod, I was chosen as the primate; and I had with me many secrets of state of thy majesty, as likewise secrets of other persons, who, needing perfect absolution of their sins, wrote to me letters under their hands and seals, that I, as a bishop, having power by the grace of God given to us from the most holy and life-giving Spirit to bind and loose on earth the sins of men, might absolve them; which letters no other person beside myself should have seen; nor thou thyself, great hossoudar. And I am astonished at this, how thou hast so soon come to such audacity, thou *who before wast afraid to assume jurisdiction even over the lowest clerks, out of respect to the sacred canons, which forbid this.* But now thou hast desired to know the sins and secrets of him who aforetime was, as it were, the shepherd of all the world [of thine empire], and not only to know them thyself, but to make them known to lay people, to whom, if they repent not, do thou, O Lord God, not fail to impute this as sin.

Is it for nothing that I say now that our cause is judged by the unrighteous, and not by the saints? If thou hadst so

been pleased, great hossoudar, and hadst desired anything of us [which we could rightly do], we would have done it. But we hear that this was done in order that the sacred letters written by thy hand might not remain in our possession, in which, writing to us, thou didst give to us thy beadsman, with other signs of grace, *the title of great hossoudar*. So also did others, not of our will, but of their own pleasure. I know not whence it began, but I think it was *by thyself*, great hossoudar, that the beginning of such titles was introduced. Because thou, great hossoudar, didst [during thy campaigns] so write in all thy imperial letters, and it was so written again to thee in the reports from all the divisions of the army and in all public acts; and it was not possible to correct this. Let it be suppressed!—my evil and proud and accursed title—though it was by no will of mine that it was introduced. I trust in the Lord that nowhere can there be found any sign of my own wish and command for its use, except it be in some lying forgery, for which at this day I have suffered and still suffer much for the Lord's sake at the hands of false brethren, as in a certain place it is said, 'in perils among false brethren,' and 'Their lips are full of bitterness, and deceit is under their tongue, and unrighteousness,' &c. For what we may have said with humility, this is proclaimed as said in pride; and what we may have said in good commendation, this is reported as having been said in a tone of reviling and insult. And by the lying words of such men thy wrath has been increased against me, *being directed*, as I think, against nothing so much as against that great, very great, magnifying of me, beyond what had ever been before among the ranks and titles of your imperial court, viz. the styling of me *Great Hossoudar*. For *that* I am called in question, which I never desired nor sought; and for *that* I am reproached and reviled *before all the people* without a cause. I think that thou also thyself, great hossoudar, wilt not have forgotten that in the holy liturgy they used to proclaim me, by my own order, after the τρισάγιον as *veliki hospodin*, not *veliki hossoudar*.[46] About this we made an express order. If thou, great hossoudar, hast forgotten, be pleased

[46] In Greek—so Paisius Ligarides renders it—μέγας κύριος, not μέγας αὐθέντης. But the distinction in Greek, as well as in Russian, is one of mere fashion. Αὐθέντης, or *master, effendi*, is not only the title of a certain rank, but it is also used in common parlance like the English word *sir*, *sire*, and the French *monsieur, monseigneur;* and δεσπότης (*despot*), in Bulgarian and Russian *hospodar*

to have the clerks and deacons of the great church questioned; unless they lie, they will tell thee the same that I tell thee now.

But once more let us speak of the injustice of false brethren, that to such an excess are their falsehoods carried, that now I am condemned as worse even than thy known enemies; I who was once in all wealth [and favour], and did share thy table—I blush not to glory of this—and was fed, as a calf for the slaughter, with many fattening meats.

According to thy imperial custom—which I, having so frequently enjoyed it, cannot soon forget—when recently, on the 25th of July, they kept the namesday of the religious tsarevna and grand princess Anna Michaelovna, and all rejoiced and enjoyed themselves, I alone, as a dog, was excluded from thy rich table. Yet even the dogs, as the saying is, are fed from the crumbs that fall from their masters' table. *If I were not regarded as an enemy*, I should *not* have been without some little morsel of the bread from your rich table. Thou thyself, great hossoudar, art not ignorant of the divine scriptures. Thou knowest of what thou wilt be questioned first at the day of judgment. 'I was hungry,' he says, 'and ye gave me meat.' This is said not as if Christ cared so much about men being hungry, but to teach us *charity;* because it is not the rich only who can fulfil this commandment, but also every one, even of the poor; for there is no man who has not his daily food, however poor he may be. If Christ had been anxious [simply] about the poor, he would not elsewhere have said: 'Take no care for what ye shall eat, or for what ye shall drink: look to the fowls of the air how they sow not, neither reap nor gather into barns, and yet my heavenly Father feedeth them.' This I too write in like manner, *not as caring about thy bread*, but seeking from thee, great hossoudar, grâce and *charity*, and *that thou mayest not be put to shame* for lack of these before the Lord God. Even though I were regarded as an *enemy*, which by God's grace I never have been to you, great hossoudar, still of enemies it is said: 'If thine enemy hunger, give him bread;' and again: 'Love your enemies.' Many who both are enemies and have fought against you in war receive your grace; and I,

and *hossoudar*, while it is a title of governing princes (as when they speak of the despots or hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia), is also given by the Greeks, even in the printed liturgy, to their bishops.

when I was very rich in food, found then thy favour multiplied over and over again towards me. But *now*, when, *for the Lord's sake*, I am poor in all these things, I multiply my diligence in my prayers for your spiritual and bodily health, not forgetting the words of the apostle, who has commanded us to pray first of all for kings, and for all who are in authority, that the Lord may give you a quiet and peaceful and undisturbed life, that we also may live in all godliness and purity.

But, farther, I also pray thee thyself: Cease, for the Lord's sake, from being angry without cause. 'Let not the sun,' the Lord says, 'go down upon your wrath.' And what says the Holy Ghost by the lips of David, the prophet and king? 'He that walketh blamelessly and doeth justice, who speaketh truth and doth not deal deceitfully in his heart, who hath not done evil to his friend, nor hath received a reviling accusation against his neighbour: he that doeth these things shall not be removed for ever.' Such is the rule of the royal prophet. But I now above all men have been slandered to thee, O great hossoudar, and maligned and abused without cause. For this cause I pray thee, change thy disposition, for the Lord's sake, and act not towards me thy sinful servant with cruelty as hitherto. Seize not my poor things [my papers]. Fear him who says: 'With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again: As ye would that men should do unto you, so do unto them; and if ye would not have anything done to yourselves, do not that to others.' Dost *thou* wish to have *thine own* secrets without thy consent published to other men? Fear him that saith: 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' And again: 'Not one jot nor one tittle of the law shall pass away till all be fulfilled.' How else canst thou escape being put to shame before Him who says to thee: 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy'? How wilt thou obtain mercy, if thou art not thyself merciful? How wilt thou pray continually and ask of God forgiveness of thy debts, saying, 'Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors,' if thou never forgivest them? How wilt thou behold after thy long life—may it be for many years! but thou must die—the face of God, if thou hast not been pure in heart?

Besides, it is not I only, but there are many others also who

on my account suffer. Only these few days ago, thou, great hossoudar, didst send and say to me by the prince Youry, that except thyself alone there was scarcely anybody else but the prince Youry who was *good* for me. But now it is thou alone [*i.e.* thou above all others] who showest thyself excessively harsh towards me thy poor beadsman; and thou even forbiddest them that would be kind to me; and thou *hast laid a strict prohibition on all that they should not come to me.* For the Lord's sake, for the Lord's sake, desist, I pray you, from such doings. Though thou hast been set by the Lord to be a great tsar, yet this is in order that thou mayest do *justice.*

And what is my fault in thy sight? Is it that, *for the sake of the Church,* I desired of thee justice against one who had wronged [or insulted] it? And I not only obtained no justice, but received answers full of displeasure.

And now I hear that, contrary to the laws of the Church, *thou darest to take upon thyself to judge the order of the clergy, jurisdiction over whom is not committed to thee of God.* Consider, for the Lord's sake, the former generations, and the examples of those who, contrary to the law, *dared to meddle with any sacred function.* Thou thyself, great hossoudar, art not ignorant what is written of Uzziah, and of others: nor, as I think, art thou ignorant of the history of Manuel the Greek emperor, and that invasion [of the rights of the Church] which he meditated, when he would have judged himself certain foul crimes of some priest; and how Christ appeared to him in the same likeness in which he was painted standing [in the icon] over his head. And now, by the providence of God, the holy great catholic apostolic church (*i.e.* the cathedral of the Assumption) in the imperial city of Moscow possesses that same icon of Christ. And in it to this day they observe the right hand of Christ stretched out in the attitude of pointing, as when he bade the angel tell the emperor that he should be punished, saying: 'Judge not *my servants* before the universal judgment:' as also the other histories relate of this sacred interposition.

Be mollified for the Lord's sake, and do not be cruel on account of my sinful person against those who are compassionate towards me. For they are all thy people, and they are in thy hand; and there is none who can deliver them from thy sacred dominion. For this cause rather be more gracious, and protect

them; as the divine apostle teaches, saying: 'For thou art the minister of God, for the punishment of evil doers, but for the praise of them that do well.' And have not respect of persons in judgment, but judge righteous judgment; and such as are persecuted maliciously, or accused on slight grounds, or slandered, for the Lord's sake set at liberty, and restore them [to their homes], that the holy God may forgive thee thy many sins.

As for them that say against me that I took away a large quantity of divers kinds of treasure, may the holy God not impute this to them for sin. As for me, I am pure from these [imputations]. One sakkos I took, and that not a valuable one, but ordinary; and an omophorion that I took was sent me as a present by Gabriel the metropolitan of Chalcedon. And these I took not for any value they might have, but that so long as I live I may use them in making prayers for your majesty's health, spiritual and bodily; and that after my death they may be put upon my sinful body.

But as for them that say that I took away with me a great quantity of treasure, I took in truth no such thing; but only so much as was needed to expend on the building of the church [here at Voskresensk]. And this it was my intention in time to return [to the treasury of the church at Moscow]. And farther, what was given to the treasurer of the monastery at Voskresensk at the time of my leaving Moscow, was not for the sake of any lucre, but that I might not leave the brethren in debt, as there was nothing with which to pay the workmen.

But as for other money of the cathedral, there is visible to the eyes of all men the building of the [patriarchal] house at Moscow, which cost 12,000 rubles and more. The establishment for tallow (*na salnoi zavod*) cost 10,000. We petitioned thee, great hossoudar, to accept for the expenses of thy campaigns 60,000 [but M. Mouravieff's copy has 10,000, and so too has Solovieff]. There are in money in the treasury 9000 [Solovieff has 10,000; and 9000, he continues, were recently paid for a nasad]. There were expended 3000 in the last summer for the purchase of horses. A mitre cost from 5000 to 6000; and of other expenditure the holy God knows how much was bestowed on the poor, orphans, and widows, and distressed people. All this is entered in the book of the treasury. But for all this [if you please] I acknowledge myself in fault. Forgive me [if I am

so] for the Lord's sake, that you yourself also may be forgiven of God. 'Forgive,' he says, 'and it shall be forgiven unto you.' Be not displeased, for the Lord's sake, at the [bad writing of this] letter. My sight is bad; and I cannot write it out fair. Farewell, great hossoudar, with all thy gracious house, for many years. (A.D. 1658, in July, after the 25th.)

'The tsar' (so writes Subbotine) 'could not but feel the justice of Nicon's complaints. But, on the other hand, from the time that he had allowed himself in the inclination and the will to free himself from the influence of the patriarch, he had subjected himself with great facility to other contrary influences; and to these last it was owing that he went on farther and farther, as he did, in divergence from his former friend.' Hence, though he had been well enough pleased with Nicon's humble letter of the 12th July, and had sent him in words messages of forgiveness and charity, and even, with characteristic weakness, had represented himself *privately* as being still Nicon's friend, his *only* friend,[17] while all the courtiers were his enemies,—still for all this his *public* conduct continued unchanged: and when Nicon wrote to him again on this subject—humbly indeed still, delicately, and affectionately, so far as their personal relations were concerned, and there was occasion to speak of forgiveness and charity or of double-mindedness, but with plain-spoken reproofs and warnings against secular interference in the affairs of the Church—the tsar was only disturbed and irritated; and the more so from a consciousness of his own double-mindedness and weakness. 'In truth,' writes Subbotine, 'throughout the whole course of this affair we see the tsar under the influence of the party hostile to Nicon; an influence from which at times he seems to have wished to free himself, but had not the resolution to attempt it; and to which at length he became so accustomed that he no longer knew how to do without it; especially when the business with Nicon had gone too far. He himself some years later seems to have spoken words on some occasion or other, as if comparing his own position with the position of Nicon, so far as regarded their differences, and finding that it would be much easier for Nicon than for himself to take a step with a view to a pacification: "*If only he were*

[17] But Solovieff writes of this, that the tsar had '*forewarned*' Nicon, as if the message by the prince Youry had been sent somewhat earlier.

willing to humble himself," said the tsar, "he is free to do what he pleases, whereas I am surrounded by the spiritual dignitaries and the boyars. They all excite me to wrath: but he, being alone, can do better than I can what he himself wills, according to his own thought: nobody puts any constraint upon *him*."' But to humble himself, for the sake of a pacification with the boyars, in that sense which the tsar thought possible and even easy for Nicon, while for himself to make concessions to Nicon was difficult or impossible, owing to the pressure put upon him by the boyars, this Nicon thought impossible, in consequence of the charge laid upon him by God. As St. Paul says: 'If I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; and if I preach it not, woe unto me, for a charge is laid upon me!'

But in the mean time,—while the tsar, in spite of his own conscience, thought he *could not* and certainly *would not* change his public conduct, and Nicon, in obedience to his own conscience, sought by his letters either to alarm the conscience of the tsar or to persuade his will,—the tsar, as Nicon says, was only the more moved to wrath and severity; and he confessed of himself to those about him how violently the rough letters (so he called them—*jestokia pisma*) of Nicon vexed and provoked him.

'Thus,' writes Subbotine—as if it was all *a merely personal matter*, and Nicon was to be praised for his humble letter of the 12th July, but blamed for that written after the 25th July, in the same summer of A.D. 1658—'this new letter of Nicon, occasioned by the *unpleasant* reports which had reached him from Moscow, and so unlike in tone to his previous letter, *effaced all those good impressions* which that previous letter had produced on the mind of the tsar. That good-will which had been rekindled towards his old friend gave place to the same hostility which had existed shortly before; or, at any rate, he felt that to go any farther in conciliatory intercourse with Nicon would now be unsuitable, and derogatory to his own honour. The enemies of Nicon triumphed.'

But there is no sign that the humility and earnestness with which Nicon had asked pardon for waiting only till the third day at Moscow before leaving, had moved the tsar even to *think* seriously of *changing his public conduct*: on the contrary, he had been going on consistently in the path on which he had entered: and it was this fact which caused Nicon, only a few days later,

to write the fresh letter now in question. That letter, no doubt, vexed and pained the tsar—it could not but do so, since the tsar would not repent, nor retrace his steps—and so far its effect was satisfactory to Nicon's enemies. But it caused no real change in their position and influence: nor did it decide the tsar to proceed at once—as they no doubt wished him to proceed—to the complete deposition of Nicon, and to the election of a new patriarch.

Of Nicon's life at Voskresensk: from Shusherin and Michaelofsky.

After his withdrawal to Voskresensk, Nicon put about his body iron chains;[48] and he devoted himself wholly to prayer, fasting, and mortification. He now began to superintend constantly in person the building of his great church of the Resurrection, carrying bricks in his own hands and on his shoulders, while the brethren of the community carried bricks together with him on all working days. Also the patriarch began to make around the monastery preserves and ponds, and to stock them with fish; and to construct mills, and to plant gardens and orchards. And in company with the brethren he cut wood, extended the arable lands for sowing, drained marshy grounds, made grass-meadows, and cut and stacked hay; everywhere taking part in every kind of labour, and showing himself in everything a pattern; and being always the first to begin work, and the last to leave off.

His outer garment was a sheepskin shoub, and he wore a gown (*riasa*) of gray cloth of lambs' wool. His mandya was always of black monastic cloth, *only with stripes* (such a mandya, that is, as *bishops* wear). This last, however, he put on only for the church; while at other times and for work of all kinds he went about having only his head covered with a kamilavka and a hood, without a mandya, girt with a broad leathern girdle, a quarter of an arshine broad or more. On the festivals of our Lord, for divine service he wore softer garments, and carried also in his hand an episcopal crosier; but on common days he had a thick stick in its natural state, cut from some tree. He often went fishing, both by day and by night; and from the produce of his own labour he fed the brethren.

[48] Very heavy chains, which he wore thenceforth to his death, and which are still to be seen hanging up over his tomb.

His food on common days was cabbage boiled, with bread dried and broken small, garden vegetables, especially small cucumbers (*agourtsi*), and broth made from small fish; and that only on days of relaxation: but on Wednesdays and Fridays and on Mondays he never touched fish throughout the year, except on festivals of our Lord and of the Mother of God when they fell on such days. His drink was water.

He was ever the first to enter the church for divine service, and the last to quit it. Every day, after the liturgy, he heard—and with tears—that moleben to the most holy Mother of God which is appointed to be sung *in afflictions and difficulties*. His office for his cell he performed with exactness, according to the rule of the *skeet* of Anzer, and it occupied him till late in the night.

It was his custom on great festivals of our Lord to celebrate the liturgy himself; and then he also ordained for his own monasteries hierodiacons and hieromonachs (besides consecrating archimandrites); and for the villages belonging to his monasteries he ordained secular priests, and deacons and subdeacons, and readers and singers.

It was his custom while living at Voskresensk—and he ordered the same to be done equally in his other monasteries—to give meat and drink to all strangers who came liberally, and not only to them, but also to their beasts, for the space, if they wished it, of three days. And if any one desired to become a monk in those his monasteries, his orders were to receive all such without taking from them any present or dowr, such as was then often taken from postulants; and he ordered that all the monastic clothing wanted for their tonsure should be given to them at the expense of the monastery. And *this* he enjoined *most strictly*, that in these his monasteries no gifts whatever should be received from anybody, saying that givers of gifts are the ruin of monasteries. But if any person would give anything, as alms for the commemoration of relatives, or for the building of the church of God, that was to be received, not as a favour, nor as entitling the giver to any favour in return; and the prayers desired were to be made in the ectenias and in the προσκομιδή for the living and for the dead, and the names were to be written in the synodica or diptychs.

Also it was his custom on festivals of our Lord and of the

Mother of God, and of great saints, and on Sundays and Sabbaths, and on imperial namesdays[49] always to dine with the brethren in the refectory, and to share with them his own food. And he then fed strangers and pilgrims together with himself in the refectory; and after the dinner he used to wash all their feet, how many so ever they were. But in those times there were divers wars with other kingdoms; and soldiers returning to their country from the field of battle, and footsore with marching, would turn aside for a rest to his monastery: and he received them all affectionately, and fed them, as a father might feed his children, whatever might be their number: and there were sometimes a hundred, or two hundred, or even three hundred, of them in one day.

At such hours as were not taken up by prayer, work, or monastic duties, Nicon devoted himself to the reading of spiritual books. He continued, among other things, to compile his Russian chronicle, which he brought down to A.D. 1640, and in which, on its completion in A.D. 1661, he wrote with his own hand an inscription which has been given above at p. 26 of this volume.

At the distance of about 150 sagenes from the monastery of Voskresensk, on the bank of the stream Istra, he built an hermitage—a small square tower or pillar, with two little churches in it (one of the Theophany, the other of SS. Peter and Paul), in imitation of the little churches of the hermits on Mount Athos, an extremely narrow stair, and cells scarcely more than six feet long, and as many wide. He had made before similar hermitages also near the Iverskoy monastery. To this he retired during all the set fasts of the Church from the cœnobite life of the monastery; and there in private he increased his austerities. At those times his sleep was not more than three hours in the twenty-four.

The tsar knew what a life of mortification and labour Nicon led in his monastery at Voskresensk; and out of personal respect he from time to time sent him alms—a thousand or two thousand rubles at a time—says Shusherin. Besides that, he would send presents of provisions and drinks for the table of the brethren. Every time that there occurred any special occasion for rejoicing in the tsar's house, Nicon received from him rich gifts.

[49] Lit., days of the angels or patrons of the tsar and the tsaritsa and other members of the imperial family.

On the namesdays of all the members of the tsar's family there were sent to Nicon *pirogi* (bread-cakes) in their names, as had been used to be done always before his retirement.

The tsar also showed grace to the patriarch in this, that he gave [or rather still *left*] to him for his maintenance the three great monasteries of his foundation, the Iverskoy, the Krestnoy, and the Voskresensky, so that he might have them entirely under his own control, and live from them and their peasants, with all their lands, revenues, and usufructs, and might build his great church of the Resurrection: nor were the tsar's own imperial dues and head-money (*obrok*) to be levied at all on those monasteries or on their estates. And there were then registered as belonging to those monasteries above 6000 peasants. Besides that, the religious hossoudar the tsar had assigned to Nicon a yearly payment of 2000 rubles from the Kamsk salt-works.

And by the help of this grace of the tsar, and from the resources of his own newly-founded monasteries, he went on building the great church of our Lord's Resurrection in his New Jerusalem, and not least by his own personal labours, encouraging others to like zeal, and helping forward the work in all manner of ways. (Shusherin, *Life of Nicon*, p. 71 and 87, 89.)

But in this account of Nicon's life in his retirement at Voskresensk, and of his relations with the tsar, we have been consolidating, and in some details anticipating. And Shusherin, though he had been imprisoned for ten years solely for his attachment to Nicon, is too tender and reticent in relating the conduct of the most religious tsar. Now we may return to the end of July A.D. 1658, the date from which we have digressed.

Time went on. Pitirim, the metropolitan of Kroutits and the patriarch's vicar, had not as yet received any formal order from the tsar and the council of state to omit Nicon's name from the public prayers: consequently whatever he did as patriarchal vicar, he was still doing it by virtue of Nicon's blessing or permission. But in some instances the name and authority of Nicon were now used by the tsar and by the monastirski prikaz to reverse sentences passed by Nicon personally, and never really remitted by him, as he mentions himself, writing thus: 'Those men whom we, by the power given us by the Holy Ghost, have *bound*, the tsar looses, and, regarding our bond and curse

as nothing, bids them to be absolved, and unites himself with them, and goes to prayer with them' (vol. iii. p. 56, and compare vol. i. p. 195, 196). One such act, dated little more than a month after Nicon's withdrawal to Voskresensk, may serve as a specimen.

A Letter of the Tsar.

From the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich., autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, to our beadsmen at the Cyrilloff monastery, the archimandrite Abramius, the elder Sabbatius Youskoff, and the elder the kellar Matthew, with the brethren:

In this present year 7166, on the 10th day of July (A.D. 1658), our father and beadsman the *late patriarch* Nicon left his chair in the holy catholic and apostolic church (*i.e.* in the cathedral of the Assumption) and his patriarchate, of his own will, and went away, as having made a vow of penitence.

And *he forgave and absolved* the two hierodiacons Cyprian and Jonah.

Wherefore, when this letter of us the great hossoudar reaches you, we will that ye, *in virtue of* the absolution of the great *hospodin* the *late patriarch* Nicon, direct the said hierodiacons Cyprian and Jonah to be *set free from their penance*, and let them be at large in the Cyrilloff monastery, together with the rest of the brethren, until our farther orders.

And write word to us to Moscow that this has been so done. And direct your answer to be delivered *to our boyar the prince Alexis Nikitich Troubetskoy*, and to our okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and our secretary Alexander Douroff. Written at Moscow, in the year 7166, this 17th day of August (A.D. 1658).

The new year beginning A.M. 7167 (1 Sept. A.D. 1658) came: the autumn passed, and the winter. Things remained still in the same undecided and strained position.

There continued to be done by the tsar, or in his name, acts similar to those imputed to him in Nicon's letter, written after the 25th July A.D. 1658, and to that of the date of 17th Aug. given just above.

Thus, on the 21st Feb. A.D. 1659, the tsar addressed an oukaz to Callistus, bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk, to whom Nicon had given jurisdiction in A.D. 1656, charging him to obey in spirituals *no other superior than himself*, and who, when consecrated bishop in 1657, had sworn the usual oath of canonical

obedience to the same effect. And now, by his oukaz of the 21st Feb. A.D. 1659, the tsar annulled an ancient privilege which had been restored by Nicon in March A.D. 1658 to the convent of the Theophany at Polotsk, and ordered that, instead of being subject only to the primate, it should thenceforth be subject to the bishop Callistus, who was *ordered* by the same oukaz to *exercise spiritual jurisdiction* over it. The bishop Callistus was at this time at Moscow, whence he returned to Polotsk on the 1st of April. The tsar wrote also on the 21st Feb. to the Theophany monastery at Polotsk an oukaz, thus:

'From the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c. to the hegoumen Ignatius, with his community. *We command* that Callistus bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk *have jurisdiction in all spiritual* matters over thee and thy community; and that ye be obedient to him in all things. Wherefore from the time that this our imperial letter reaches you, ye are, *in virtue of our oukaz*, to have recourse to the bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk, Callistus, *for the decision of all spiritual matters*, and to show yourselves obedient to him in all things. Moscow, A.M. 7167, Feb. 21 (A.D. 1659). 'A true copy. Senka Kliuchareff.'

On the 2d of March in 1659, two choir diaks, named Ivan Tveretinoff and Sabba Semenoff, were arrested and subjected to examination for having gone to see Nicon at Voskresensk, contrary to the prohibition alluded to by him above as being already in force in the latter part of July 1658. They deposed, among other things, that Nicon, speaking of the defection of the Kozak hetman Vigovskoy, had said: 'Vigovskoy was always obedient to me, and he would obey me now; but those people need to be dealt with in a certain way.' In fact, the Kozaks already, before the death of the hetman Khmielnitsky, had themselves expressed their dissatisfaction against the boyars, and their mistrust of the policy of the tsar; but they had always shown gratitude towards Nicon, and confidence in his zeal for Orthodoxy. The tsar after this sent the secretary of the council, Dementius Bashmakoff, to say to Nicon, as if in answer to his complaints, that *ecclesiastics* might visit him freely (though neither was this really permitted). Bashmakoff found him in his hermitage (to which he commonly retired during Lent), and brought him certain presents from the tsar. Nicon *went in state*, after celebrating the liturgy, to the convent, and there received Bashmakoff. He began to complain of the conduct of his spiritual children.

'I do not call myself,' he said, 'patriarch *of Moscow;* but I am still patriarch, and grace is still with me;' and he alluded to the fact that two men had been healed by him of the black sickness (Solovieff, vol. xi. p. 303).

At the end of March A.D. 1659 a circumstance occurred which greatly offended Nicon. He was told that on Palm Sunday (27th March), Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutits had performed the ceremony of going in procession on the ass or horse, as then practised in Russia. [This ceremony, borrowed from the Latins, and unknown to the Byzantine Greeks, had long been regarded by Nicon with awe and misgiving. In A.D. 1655 it is mentioned by the Syrian archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (see vol. ii. p. 179, 360) as a strange ceremony of the Muscovites which excited his utmost curiosity: and he relates how Nicon wished the patriarch of Antioch, as his superior in rank, to perform it rather than himself. But that patriarch and his archdeacon preferred to be only spectators. And now, in A.D. 1659, Nicon certainly had not blessed the metropolitan Pitirim of Kroutits to perform this ceremony.] The performance of it he regarded as belonging exclusively—if only it were right to perform it at all, of which he doubted—to the patriarch, who was appointed to represent the person of Jesus Christ: and in this act of Pitirim he saw a lawless assumption of the rights of the patriarch, and personally of his own, which had not as yet been taken from him by the election of a new patriarch. On this occasion he wrote to the tsar as follows:

Letter of Nicon to the Tsar.

To Alexis &c., wishing him to rejoice, and to rejoice exceedingly, in much meekness and in health for many years, your humble beadsman Nicon patriarch prays for all these things, yea, yea, most heartily, from the Lord. And further, with much affection I beg and beseech your sacred kindness with patience to hear out what I write; what my conscience has forced me, has absolutely forced me, to write: and of this no one else knows.

As to-day there came to our ears a report from many—and for some time it seemed incredible for the impropriety of the thing; however, I am now convinced that, lawless and impious as it may be, it has really been done—that a certain person has dared lawlessly and impiously to pollute by spiritual adultery, as it were, the chair of the primate of all Russia, and to celebrate the ceremonies of Palm Sunday. And we know not whether it

be true that this was so done with the will of thy nobility. But if it was of thy will, then—even the wise may *forget themselves*. But we write not on our own account, nor looking to a return, as of a dog to his vomit, to ambition and power, but desiring [only to defend] those rights which are set at naught. And having turned to the Bible, we remembered how it is written that a good thought falls not into the heart of a man without the providence of God: but of these presumptuous acts we considered long how anything so audacious and contrary to the divine command could be done, for which nowhere can any precedent or direction be found in the holy scripture. I know not whether it be right that the like is done in the *liteia* (λιτεία) by inferior bishops in certain cities, as in Novgorod and in Kazan. We have been used to think that this is rather discountenanced by the sacred scriptures, as they do not justify a priest in taking upon himself to do any great mystical act belonging to a bishop, such, I mean, as ordaining. It is true that they by the prayers of the liturgy change the species of bread and wine, the one into the body, the other into the blood of the Lord; but for this we have the teaching of the holy gospel: 'As they did eat,' &c. And the divine apostle Paul says: 'What I received of the Lord,' &c. And again: 'Ye call me Master and Lord; and ye say well, for so I am: but if I, your master and teacher, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet; for I have set you an example; and so do.' And after a little: 'If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.' And these things are so. Yet not even thus do the sacred canons permit them who have not received ordination and blessing thereto to do them. But of this [ceremony of Palm Sunday] it is nowhere written in the gospel: 'I have given you an example: this do.' But what is the true Scripture, in which Christ tells us that we have life? Whichever one of the Evangelists we ask, they will all alike tell us thus: 'When Jesus was come near to Jerusalem,' and what follows. All this was done by the apostles as servants; and Christ gave them no power to do this, nor said: 'In like manner do ye also.' And it is not fitting that the servant should do what belongs to his lord, for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth. How can any one praise or commend it, if a slave begins to do what belongs to the tsar? Not only is he unworthy of honour, but instead of life he deserves death. He who has done this deed has neither been ever blessed to do it, nor autho-

rised by any letter; nor had he any custom to plead to justify him in doing it. If other bishops do the same [in their own dioceses], I know not whether it be right to do it, or not rather right not to do it: let them that are of more understanding and learning than us decide. Nevertheless they are blameless, and they may be excused, even if wrong, as they are obeying an old custom. And I wonder at thy nobility, how thou couldest so permit the sacred seat [of the primate], without any act of the sacred synod, to be dishonoured. Or has that which has now been done some connection with the sense of that Scripture which says: 'When ye see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing where it ought not'? &c. Why should I write at length of these things? That man will know his own vanity when, after death, the veil shall be taken away from his eyes; and then he shall see himself destitute of all glory, divine or human, and shall lament his own wretchedness; he shall appear to the eyes of all as a worldling, but not as a pontiff (lit., a *sanctifier*). And from henceforth I doubt whether he ought to be allowed to do episcopal acts, as it is written: 'To him that hath, it shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly; but from him that hath not, there shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have.' And 'the unprofitable servant ye shall cast into outer darkness,' &c. But if it was of thy will, great hossoudar, that this was done, then may God forgive thee! But *for the future*, for the Lord's sake, keep thyself from judging and determining in things which belong not to thee. And be not displeased at my letter, which is badly written and uncorrected. Farewell, great hossoudar. Mayest thou be preserved in health to the festival of festivals!

A.M. 7167, March [the 29th perhaps or 30th, that is, Tuesday or Wednesday in Holy Week], A.D. 1659.

In consequence of this letter there were sent to Nicon to Voskresensk the doumni dvorianin Procopius Eleazaroff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, who, in a deposition taken from them in the following year, A.D. 1660, Feb. 15, gave jointly the following account of this their mission. They said:

Report or deposition of the doumni dvorianin Procopius Eleazaroff.

In the past year 7167, Apr. 1 [this was Friday in Holy Week], by oukaz &c. I was sent, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, to the most holy patriarch Nicon. And having

arrived, we said to him, that he the patriarch has written to the tsar that already a certain man has dared to pollute with spiritual adultery the chair of the primate by performing the ceremonies of Palm Sunday in the stead of the primate (unlawfully, as he pretends), because there is now no primate of all Russia.

And the great hossoudar &c. has commanded us to say to him the patriarch: In the past year 7166 (A.D. 1658), when he the patriarch of his own will abandoned the most exalted primatial throne of Great Russia, *without being persecuted by anybody*, the great hossoudar &c. sent to him the patriarch his boyar the prince Al. Nik. Troubetskoy to desire him to return to the chair.

And he the patriarch desired the prince Al. Nik. Troubetskoy to represent his petition to the tsar, that the tsar would be graciously pleased not to deprive him of the liberty of his own will: that for the future he would never be patriarch of Moscow, and had [thenceforth] *nothing to do with the episcopal functions.*

But now he the patriarch writes to the great hossoudar about the ceremony of Palm Sunday, calling it adultery. But he the patriarch, after having abandoned the flock, has no business to write to the great hossoudar &c. of such matters. And that act, which the metropolitan Pitirim has performed *by command of the great hossoudar*, is nothing new. In former years in the realm of Moscow, both before the time that there were patriarchs and during vacancies between different patriarchs, the ceremony of the palms on Palm Sunday was performed by the metropolitans of Kroutits, because they were always at Moscow in the quality of patriarchal vicars.

And by oukaz of the great hossoudar the boyar prince Alexis Nik. [Troubetskoy] spake of him, the metropolitan of Kroutits, to him the patriarch, that he should give him his blessing to do as before, and as used to be done during the vacancies between different patriarchs, to have charge of the cathedral, and to do all things that might be done. And he the patriarch gave his blessing to the metropolitan to do in all things as had been usual aforetime. And further, he the patriarch had said and recommended and desired that his request should be presented to the great hossoudar, that the great hossoudar should command the sacred synod to elect to the patriarchal chair him whom God should be pleased to allow: and he the patriarch gave his blessing for this, but had no manner of thought of returning himself to the episcopal chair.

And after this we said to the patriarch what besides we had been charged to say from the great hossoudar.

And the patriarch, having heard what was addressed to him, said that he had written to the great hossoudar about the ceremony of Palm Sunday, that it was not competent for a metropolitan to perform that ceremony *without the consent of the primate*. And the metropolitan of Kroutits was the last of the metropolitans. For the primate is in the figure of Christ: but the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops are in the figure of the disciples and apostles: and it is not fit that the servant should presume to sit in the seat of his master. But for that before the patriarchs, and during vacancies between the patriarchs in times past, metropolitans have done this, they have all so done *of ignorance*.

And the patriarch was reminded how he, the patriarch himself, when he was metr. of Great Novgorod had done the same. After that, he became primate in Moscow. And at that time, while he was primate, in Great Novgorod and in Kazan the local metropolitans performed that same ceremony of Palm Sunday. And why did he the patriarch at that time never think of correcting it? But now, when he has abandoned his flock, it is *not his place to say so much as a word about such matters*. And the patriarch said that when he was metr. of Great Novgorod he had done the same in the ceremony of Palm Sunday *from ignorance*, like [the rest]. And in the time of his primacy, being surrounded by much ignorance and many abuses, he had not found an opportunity of correcting this. He *had left his episcopal chair, no doubt, of his own will, not being persecuted by anybody*;[50] but as for his styling himself *patriarch*, he had never renounced that name: only he *would not be named* [patriarch] *of Moscow*, because he had quitted the primatial chair of Great Russia *of his own will*, and had sent [to say so] to the great hossoudar by the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy and the okolnik Rodion Matveëvich Streshneff; and the words he then uttered he the patriarch still abides by, and has not so much as a thought of returning to his former primatial chair. As he then, on leaving his chair, gave his blessing to the great hossoudar and to all the sacred synod to elect a patriarch, whomsoever God shall please, so now also he confirms the same blessing: And to all who were bound, and to whom after his departure he gave

[50] But Nicon denied absolutely having said this.

his absolution, to the same he now too gives his pardon and blessing.

And it was said to the patriarch that in future he should not write to the great hossoudar of such matters, seeing that he has abandoned his flock; and now also he says that he has no thought of returning to the primatial chair of Great Russia; and he has given his blessing for the election of a patriarch in his stead; so that *he has now no business to interfere in these matters*, nor to cause trouble by his letters.

And the patriarch said: In former years, long ago, even hermits used to write to the religious emperors of the Greek empire about the correction of spiritual matters: and I am still a member of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, not cut off for any *crime;* only of my own will I have relinquished my flock. But to take thought for the truth I have not relinquished. And for the future also, if I hear of any such spiritual matter which needs correction, I will not promise to be silent.

And it was said to him: Under the old Greek emperors hermits admonished them when different *heresies* began to spring up, and to draw away religious Christians from the Orthodox Church: and those heresies the hermits refuted by the admonitions which they wrote. But the religious Christian tsars [emperors] were from of old defenders of the Christian faith, and rooted out the heretics as tares from among the wheat with severities, punishing some, and banishing others. But now he the patriarch writes to the great hossoudar with rebukes, telling him that to examine [questions and causes] about the Christian faith, and to judge and correct, is not his imperial province. But the Christian faith from the beginning stands as a pillar unshaken by the support and upholding of the religious Christian emperors. And now by the grace of God there are no heresies nor disturbers of the Christian orthodox faith; and he has no one to accuse of heresy. But *in essentially spiritual matters they govern* synodically to whom the Church is committed of God.

And the patriarch said: As for what the metropolitan [Pitirim] has now done respecting the ceremony of Palm Sunday, we in our letter to the religious tsar have written about it, if that act was done by command of him the great hossoudar, we forgive him the great hossoudar, and we send to him our blessing. Signed [by both the envoys].

CHAPTER II.

OF NICON'S RETURN TO MOSCOW IN A.D. 1659, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT WITHDRAWAL TO THE IVERSKOY AND KRESTNOY MONASTERIES, ETC., JULY 1659 TO DEC. 1660.

MEANWHILE there was beginning — there had already begun —for the reign of the tsar Alexis a change of outward fortune, merited by the inward change that had taken place in his own heart—for his heart had been 'lifted up'—and by his change of conduct towards the Church. He began too to be touched in his family.

In contrast to the brilliant successes of his first two campaigns, those of A.D. 1654 and 1655, when he was seeking to please God, and sincerely honouring God's servants, we shall now see a long-protracted unsuccessful war parallel to the long-protracted struggle with Nicon, vacillations of fortune and complications of difficulties parallel to the vacillations and perplexities of the tsar's own conscience, and occasionally great defeats or other calamities, as sensible rebukes and warnings, which, like Nicon's letters, agitated and distressed him, but did not effectually move him to break those bonds in which he was held by evil men—bonds in which he had bound himself by his own sins and weaknesses. The first, and one of the most startling of his great reverses, came upon him in the spring of 1659; soon after he had lost his third daughter Anna, who died on the 8th of May.

Already in May 1658 the Kozak hetman Vigovskoy—who, after the death of Bogdan Khmielnitsky in 1657, became his successor—had leagued himself with the Tatars, and was acting independently, in contempt of the orders of the tsar; and on the 6th of Sept. A.D. 1658 he had made terms with the Poles, from whom he obtained all that he desired. In fact, the hetman became a sovereign, who might even be neutral in the war between the Poles and the Muscovites, while his subjects became also

Polish citizens. The tsar then issued letters (23d Sept.) respecting his defection, and for the election of a new hetman: but Vigovskoy still acted hypocritically; and as late as the 14th December 1658, he replied to letters from Romodanofsky that he was merely chastising 'his own enemies *and their confederates*;' the 'confederates' meant being the *Muscovite* troops acting under *the tsar's commanders*.

On the 15th of Jan. 1659, the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy—the same whom Nicon had blessed for the war in A.D. 1654 and 1655, and who, on the 1st of July 1658, when sent to the cathedral, had hypocritically asked Nicon's blessing, and had been answered: 'My blessing is past; I have no blessing for thee'—left Moscow for Little Russia with an army, it was said, of 150,000 men. On the 30th he was at Sievsk. On the 7th of Feb. instructions were sent to him to enter into relations with Vigovskoy, and to talk him over; and if he should show his articles of agreement with Poland, to offer him the same, or more. But it never came to that. On the 28th of Feb. Troubetskoy left Sievsk, and on the 10th of March he came to Poutivl. On the 26th he left for Constantinoff on the Soulia, calling to him the Muscovite voivodes from Lochvitsa, and Bespali from Romen. On the 10th of April he marched out from Constantinoff to Konotop, in which place a partisan of Vigovskoy, the polkovnik Goulianitsky, shut himself up. Troubetskoy reached Konotop on the 19th of April, and besieged it till the 27th of June, when Vigovskoy came up, together with the Tatar khan. Having left all of the Tatars and the half of his own Kozaks in a spot convenient for an ambuscade, beyond the little river Sosnovka, he at dawn, with the other half of the Kozaks, fell upon the besiegers; and after throwing them into confusion, he was making off with his booty; and thus he drew away in pursuit after himself a portion of them under the command of the princes Sim. Rom. Pojarsky and Sim. Petr. Lvoff. These on the 28th of June (the eve of the festival of the Apostles) came up with the retreating Kozaks; and, as soon as they had passed the Sosnovka, they were attacked by the whole force of the enemies, surrounded, and taken prisoners; all, that is, of their force who were not put to the sword. The flower of the Muscovite cavalry, which had distinguished itself in the campaigns of 1654 and 1655, perished in one day. Five thousand were

taken prisoners. They were taken to an open place, and *butchered like sheep. Never again was the tsar able to bring into the field so powerful a force.*

Alexis Michaelovich on the receipt of this news went out to the people *dressed in mourning*, and a panic fell upon Moscow. The blow fell all the heavier, because so completely unexpected. In August, by command of the tsar, the people of all orders hastened on the earthworks for the fortification of Moscow. The tsar himself, with the boyars, went often to inspect and superintend these works. The inhabitants of the environs with their families flocked into the city; and there was a report spread that the tsar would go away beyond the Volga to Yaroslaff.

During this panic—which was greater than the actual consequences of the disaster at Konotop justified—the tsar thought also of Nicon, and his *personal* thought was no doubt only for the patriarch's greater security: but Nicon was at that time in much greater danger from the boyars than from the Tatars: and the tsar's anxiety being communicated—as we may collect—to some of them, or to the council, produced first a friendly suggestion to Nicon himself, and, this having failed, an actual order of the council which would have had the effect of removing him from his own estates and monasteries, and shutting him up elsewhere, so as to become virtually a state prisoner. From this charitable design he *escaped*—by the narrowest escape possible—through his own sagacity and promptness.

'We had been living'—so he writes himself—'after our withdrawal, in the monastery at Voskresensk for a year and more; and the hossoudar the tsar had made no question whatever about the patriarchate being vacant, as knowing very well the cause of our withdrawal' (vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 101). 'And after one year from our retirement to the monastery of Voskresensk' (*i.e.* after the disaster of Konotop above related), 'an alarm came upon the tsar and upon all the people of Moscow, as if an irruption of the barbarians' (the Tatars of the Crimea) 'was at hand. And the tsar's majesty sent to me one of his *near* nobles [lit., *blijnoro chelovieka*, his '*near man*'] to inform us of that. (And to suggest that we should *remove* to some safer place.[1]) And we said to

[1] So that removing or going away was, by their own confession, no *crime*, since they even themselves suggested it. So Nicon also reasons against them. See vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 101.

him: Except Moscow, there are no cities near, and to go to Moscow there is *no sufficient reason;* while to go away to our distant monasteries' (the Iverskoy or the Krestnoy) 'we have not the means. So do thou report to the tsar, and ask where it is his pleasure that we should be.'

It seems, from a comparison of Shusherin's account with Nicon's own, that the tsar's messenger (his '*near man*') had also already, on this occasion *named* as a safe and suitable place for Nicon to remove to, *the Koliazin monastery.* He named it, it is true, as yet only as a place *suggested* or *recommended* by the *tsar;* but Nicon saw at once *whence* such a suggestion had in all probability originated, and *who* would be ready to make their advantage of it, and *in what way.* Shusherin relates this first part of the matter thus:

The tsar sent his near man, saying that there was an invasion [to be apprehended] of the barbarous Tatars of the Crimea, and they are now advancing near to the frontier of the Russian (Muscovite) empire, and thou our father and beadsman, in case of this invasion, living here in this new and empty place of the Voskresensky monastery, canst not escape nor stand out (for at that time the Voskresensky monastery was only begun, and had only a low and weak precinct); and [the messenger suggested] 'that he should be pleased, on the recommendation of the most religious hossoudar the tsar, to go, on account of that invasion of the barbarians, to the Macarieff monastery at Koliazin, as that monastery is of old foundation and is strongly fortified, having solid stone walls.' But the most holy patriarch said to the messenger: 'Tell the most religious hossoudar the tsar that to the Koliazin monastery *I will not go.* It would be better for me to be in the Zachateysky monastery in the Kitai-gorod, at the corner, than in the Koliazin monastery. But I have, without needing to go to the Koliazin monastery, by the mercy of Almighty God and of his the hossoudar's imperial grace, strong monasteries of my own, the Iverskoy and the Krestnoy; and I, after making reference [and arranging] about this with the great hossoudar, will go to my own monasteries. And now do thou notify to the great hossoudar that I am coming to Moscow to apply to him the great hossoudar about all my needs.' But the messenger asked: 'What is that Zachateysky monastery, of which thou the most holy patriarch hast been pleased to say that it

would do better than the Koliazin monastery?' The patriarch replied: 'That which is at the Barbara krestetz, under the hill, at the [church of the] Conception (*Zachatia*).' The messenger exclaimed: '*There* there is no monastery, but only the great *prison!*' And the patriarch said: 'Ay, *that* is the Zachateysky monastery which I mean.' And so the messenger, with the blessing of the patriarch, and with these words, went his way. (Shusherin, *Life of Nicon*, p. 56.) But Nicon himself (in his letter to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius, in which his purpose was only to show that at that time he was still treated by the tsar and the boyars as patriarch, but not to enter into all details) continues thus:

'And the same day from *other* informants we heard that the Tatars were advancing upon Moscow: so we, without waiting till the Tatars should come up, drove to Moscow, and on arriving there alighted *at our own podvorie of the Voskresensky monastery.* [And he sent word at once, no doubt, to the tsar of his being there.] And there came to us from the tsar's majesty the *secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff* [not till the following day, as we may collect, after the council had met], and questioned us thus: "The tsar's majesty [in council, that is] has commanded me to ask thee: Why hast thou come to Moscow?" And we said that we had come in consequence of a message from the tsar's majesty, and on account of the invasion of the barbarians. And after that for three days (*i.e.* till the third day) there was no manner of communication made to us.'

Shusherin relates that when Nicon thus came to Moscow they were making preparations as if for a siege, and strengthening the outermost or earthen rampart. And on his arrival at the Iverskoy [then the Voskresensky] podvorie, he sent a message to the tsar, to let him know that Nicon has come on account of certain needs, and wishes to see his imperial eyes, and after giving him peace and his blessing, to go away to such place as he may be directed to by God and by his imperial good pleasure and consent, so as to be safe from the invasion of the barbarians.

But the religious tsar on that night, not having yet consulted with the boyars, was not pleased to bid the patriarch come to him: but on the morrow he consulted with the boyars, [and it was determined] to send yet[2] the secretary of the council

[2] The tsar having perhaps communicated for deliberation only the *fact* of

Almiaz Ivanoff',[3] to ask the patriarch on account of *what* needs had he come; and to desire him to inform about that him the secretary; and the secretary was to report to himself the great hossoudar and to all the council (lit., to all the *palata*). So the secretary forthwith went, and spake all his message. And the most holy patriarch, having heard it, said to him: 'I am not going to speak to *thee* about my needs; nor is it my will to send my blessing through thee; that is a perfect blessing which is given with the sign of the cross and with imposition of hand.' And the secretary who had been sent from the council went away with that answer. And on that day again they did not suffer the most holy patriarch to be admitted to the tsar's presence. But to understand more clearly what was at issue, and what caused the delay, we must revert to Nicon's own words:

'But after three days' (*i.e.* on the third day from the first coming of Almiaz Ivanoff from the council, the fourth seemingly from Nicon's coming to Moscow), 'there came again from the tsar's majesty the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, and said to us: "*The tsar's majesty* [*i.e.* the tsar *and the council*] has *commanded*[4] thee to go to the Koliazin monastery. Go then, and *be not obstinate*, lest greater wrath be provoked against thee" [or that there may be nothing worse]. And we said: "If our coming is disagreeable to the tsar's majesty, and peace and our blessing are not to his mind, we will go back to our own foundation of the Voskresensky monastery; but to the Koliazin monastery we *will not go*."' So the secretary returned to the tsar and the council with this answer: and the tsar, it seems, on hearing it, was not prepared to *force* Nicon to comply with the order of the council, but determined to admit him to his presence; not, however, without the council having still something to do with the matter. Instead of sending one of the *near* people about his person, he sent again, now for the third time, the secretary of

Nicon's having come to Moscow; or Shusherin having made his message to the tsar, sent the night before, fuller than it really was.

[3] Whom Michaelofsky makes to have been the tsar's messenger sent to Voskresensk; but both Nicon himself and Shusherin call that messenger the tsar's *blijni*; and that mission was plainly a *personal* one from the tsar, not from the tsar and the council.

[4] The tsar probably was unwilling at first to make this *order* in council, and hence nothing was settled the first day: but on the second day the boyars carried their point.

the council Almiaz Ivanoff. And here we may continue in the words of Shusherin.

But on the third day—so he writes, omitting the second message sent from the tsar in council; but we, having inserted this, must correct him, and write for him instead, On *that same* third day—the great hossoudar sent again to the patriarch the same man—that is, the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff—saying: 'The great hossoudar has been pleased to appoint for thee to come to the palace above the stairs this evening, to be received by him the great hossoudar.' Here, besides writing that Nicon had been, as it were, the third [rather the fourth] day from the time that he left the monastery of Voskresensk without eating anything—for he had brought no provisions with him—and that the people of Moscow, seeing that their pastor had returned, were glad, Shusherin mentions also, that on one of those days while Nicon was at Moscow, they received the news that the Tatars of the Crimea had [separated from Vigovskoy and] marched off back to their homes, [so that all danger of an invasion was now over].

And when the evening was come, *the same* messenger, viz. the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, came to speak and announce that it was time to go up to the most religious tsar.

And the most holy patriarch went, according to the custom, to the upper chambers [of the palace]. And the religious tsar met him at the top of the stair. And so when they had gone into the chamber, the most holy patriarch said the prayer, '*O Lord most merciful*,' &c., and the rest, in the usual order, and added petitions for the tsar and the tsaritsa, and for all his house, and for his army. And then after the prayer they sat down and conversed a little, speaking to one another words of good-will, asking one another of their health and welfare. And when they had sat a short time—*the boyars also being there*—the tsar and the patriarch went to the religious tsaritsa, to their children, and there they tarried about[5] four hours of the night. And after that, the religious tsar let him go to his own Voskresensky monastery. And after a short time the religious tsar gave him permission to go, according to his own request, to the Voskresensky and the Iverskoy [rather, to the Voskresensky, the Iverskoy and the Krestnoy] monasteries.

[5] Or 'till about'?

And when he was preparing for his journey, the tsar also invited him to his imperial banquet. But he excused himself, saying that 'To-morrow early I have to depart on my journey.' But the religious tsar sent after him for his table and for his journey 2000 rubles in silver, and bade him take from the Sabbin monastery 20 streltsi and sotniks, to give him all security against evil-disposed people in the monasteries, and on his journey. And so thereupon the most holy patriarch went forth from the capital city of Moscow, and came to his own foundation the monastery of Voskresensk. (Shusherin, *Life of Nicon*, p. 60.)

Of his interview with the tsar at Moscow Nicon himself makes mention in his *Replies*, &c. in three places, writing thus: 'And after one year I went again to Moscow; and the hossoudar the tsar allowed me to see his face. And while I sat with him, he uttered not a word to us of the patriarchate being vacant; and made no allusion whatever to our previous departure, or to anything which had before passed, knowing that I had nothing to answer for as towards him the hossoudar. But he did all just as if we were still living at Moscow, in such manner as was customary at the reception of the patriarch, and bade us to sit on that seat [which was proper for the patriarch], as all know who were present. And he *afterwards*[6] would have given orders to send me to the monastery of Koliazin; *only I did not choose to go there*, but retired again to my own monastery at Voskresensk, conforming myself to the divine command which says: When they persecute you in one city flee into another,' &c. (*Replies*, &c. p. 101 and 105). And again (this was in July A.D. 1663), speaking to the prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, and through him to all the boyars from whom he had come, when the boyar had said, 'Thou thyself hast written thyself "*late* patriarch," therefore it is plain that thou didst give up the patriarchate;' Nicon replied: 'The patriarchate and the episcopate I did *not* give up; but on account *of your malice I went away*, giving place to wrath, &c. And why now dost thou call me

[6] As if the tsar, before letting Nicon go, had made mention once more of the Koliazin monastery, for the satisfaction of the boyars who were present, saying perhaps: 'So thou wilt not go to the Koliazin monastery? Why shouldst thou not have gone thither?' but granting Nicon's request that he should return to his own monastery, and afterwards, on his desiring it, adding the permission to go also to the Iverskoy and the Krestnoy.

late, and not from the first? or why, after having thyself taken our blessing, dost thou now revile it? As our blessing was from the first legitimate and good, so our refusal of blessing will abide upon you firmly. Ye yourselves have seen how we were at the time of the expected inroad of the Tatars at Moscow, and how we were received there by the tsar's majesty without any variation whatever from what was usual before, as he knew that there was nothing to blame in our departure. So also the tsar and the tsaritsa and the tsareviches and the tsarevnas all then took our blessing; *and ye too, the boyars, all of you:* no one found any sort of fault with it. And the holy synod of Sardica says: A bishop who is unjustly oppressed, though he remain *out of his diocese* until the oppression shall have passed, is to be received,' &c. (*Replies*, &c. p. 595, 597).

It has been observed by different writers, that Nicon, as having returned to Moscow of himself, without waiting for any formal permission, went only to the lodge of his Voskresensky monastery, not to the patriarchal palace, where his personal property had been sequestered by order of the council; that he did not show himself publicly in the cathedral; and that though he was at length admitted to see the tsar, he had no private conversation with him, but saw him only in the presence of the boyars or of the tsaritsa. This is all true, no doubt; and Nicon may have hoped on arriving at Moscow that the tsar, after the personal message sent by him to Voskresensk, would receive him at once, and converse with him, without making it a matter of discussion in the council. But Michaelofsky and others are much mistaken in thinking that Nicon, 'having long desired above all things to obtain a private interview with the tsar,' went to Moscow as he did to seek such an interview, in the hope of effecting a pacification; and that so his venture was a failure. On the contrary, he went to defeat, if possible, the design which he rightly suspected to have been formed by the council of removing him from his own estates and houses, where he had still a sort of liberty and position, and sending him to the Koliazin monastery. And in this at least he perfectly succeeded. As for Solovieff, he seems to wish his readers to believe that Nicon on this occasion showed himself at Moscow *as a political agitator*. 'A *foreigner*,' he writes, '*relates* that Nicon tried to win the people (see Paisius' *History*, vol. iii. p. 38, 39); that he *fed the*

poor and washed their feet (see the *Travels of Macarius*, vol. ii. p. 181); *asked* if peace were *yet* made with the Poles;[7] sighed when he was told that it was *not*, &c. The tsar *forthwith* commanded him to leave Moscow' (Solovieff, *Hist. of Russia*, vol. xi. p. 306).

But, without dwelling on such idle tales of *foreigners*, one may rather inquire why Nicon declined the tsar's invitation to dine with him the next day, when this invitation seemed to offer a prospect of some farther and perhaps less reserved conversation. But Nicon no doubt considered that the tsar, if he had pleased to converse with him in private, was more free to do so at first than now, after he had made the boyars to be parties in all that he did; and that, though it was intended to make a show of friendliness by giving him that parting invitation, the tsar would really be more embarrassed than pleased if it were accepted. He knew how things stood, and gave that answer which was most suitable.

Two months after his return from Moscow to Voskresensk, Nicon—partly from a wish to visit his more distant monasteries; partly, as he says himself in his letter to Paisius Ligarides and in memorials to the tsar, because there had begun to be a want of means in the Voskresensky monastery for his subsistence and for the works carrying on there; but partly also, since all danger from the Tatars was over, that the boyars might have less reason to intrigue against him, or to be jealous of his vicinity—availed himself of the tsar's permission, and went away first to the Iverskoy; and before long he went away again from it to the Krestnoy monastery on the White Sea.

First he went to his Iverskoy monastery on the Valdai lake, in the government of Novgorod. He had established there a printing-press, at which in this year 1659 there were printed for him a small book entitled *The Intellectual Paradise* (*Rai Muisleuni*); a *Circular respecting the Krestnoy monastery;* and perhaps also, though this is undated, a *Kanon or Moleben* (παράκλησις) *Of the Union of the Faith*, and a *Moleben to be sung for the pacification of the holy Eastern Church*, in four folio leaves, or eight pages.

There are two short letters written by Nicon from the Iverskoy to his friend the boyar Ziuzin, who was now the inferior of

[7] Just after the disaster at Konotop, when the Tatars and the Kozaks, then in league with the Poles, were thought to be marching upon Moscow!

the two voivodes at Novgorod. In the first of these, which is undated, Nicon acknowledges the receipt of a letter from Ziuzin, and at the end he writes thus: 'Continue in health, and forget not to bear us in mind according to thy former affection; and let us hear of thee *often*, that we may have the pleasure of knowing that thou art in good health.* We have sent you some fish, some of the fruit of the labour of the brethren of the Krestnoy monastery, two large salmon of last year's catching; and whenever they bring any fresh of this year's catching, we will send you some of that.' There is also a short letter from Nicon of the 15th of December, acknowledging the receipt of another from Ziuzin, and this too is still dated from the Iverskoy.

Towards the end of this year 1659, while Nicon was still at the Iverskoy, the tsar, by a letter addressed to Callistus bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk, and dated the 10th Dec., ordered that bishop to make Ignatius, then hegoumen of the Theophany monastery at Polotsk, an archimandrite, and to institute him to the Borisoglebsky monastery, and to give him jurisdiction over all its monks, servants, and dependents; and so soon as he should have done this, to make and send a written report of his having done it to the *rozriadni prikaz of the patriarchate* at Moscow, to the patriarchal boyar Boris Iv. Neledinsky (as presiding *under the tsar* in that prikaz), and to the secretaries of the same prikaz Ivan Kokoshiloff and Ivan Kalitin. Attached to this letter *of the tsar*, which is still preserved, there is *the patriarchal seal of Nicon*, a hand *in the act of giving the blessing*. The address on the back of the letter is: 'To *our* beadsman Callistus, bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk.' There is also preserved a *letter of institution* from the bishop of Polotsk Callistus, dated 15th Jan. A.D. 1660, and addressed 'to Ignatius, *archimandrite of the Borisoglebsk* and hegoumen of the Theophany monastery of Polotsk,' declaring that he had obeyed the tsar's commands, having 'by the grace of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, *and by oukaz of the tsar*, &c., blessed and instituted Ignatius hegoumen &c. to the *spiritual office* of archimandrite over the Borisoglebsky monastery,' &c. And in a letter of the 27th Sept. A.D. 1660,

* Probably too Nicon wrote thus because Ziuzin's letters would give more or less of information about what was going on at Moscow, while Nicon himself might be out of the way of communications, especially after his removal to the Krestnoy.

given to 'Ignatius, archimandrite of the Borisoglebsk and hegoumen of the Theophany monastery at Polotsk,' and addressed to the bishop Callistus, the tsar writes to the bishop these words: '*By our imperial ukaz* thou hast, *by the grace* given thee from the *only-begotten Son the Word of God* and Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, *by the coöperation of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit*, made Ignatius hegoumen of the Theophany at Polotsk to be an archimandrite for the monastery of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb,' &c.

About the end of 1659 Nicon went on from the Iverskoy to the Krestnoy monastery in the isle of Kia on the White Sea, in the government of Kargopol: and there is a petition addressed by him soon after his arrival at the Krestnoy to the tsar, complaining that on the 23d April in the past year 1658, Ivan Baskakoff, in sending from all the monasteries of Kargopol, on account of their estates, a certain number of men for the tsar's service, or compositions in money in lieu of men, had made no exemption of the Krestnoy and its dependencies, though before the Krestnoy monastery had not been on the list of those subject to annual imposts; and that from that time the monastirski prikaz at Moscow had *by a letter of the tsar* required the same Ivan Baskakoff to exact for the year 7167 (1658-1659) from the Krestnoy, on account of its estates, from its 800 fixed dvors 16 men as due to serve with horses, and for its 41 unfixed families 32 rubles 26 altines and 4 dengas. 'And in the present year 7168 (A.D. 1659, Sept. 1, to A.D. 1660, Aug. 31), in pursuance of a letter of the tsar from the monastirski prikaz, the voivode Eustathius Zibin sent twice from Kargopol to the Krestnoy; and made the hegoumen and the stroitel give 16 men as liable to serve with horses, and for the unfixed families 15 rubles 6 altines and 4 dengas for the past year 7167; and those men were sent off from Kargopol on the 22d Nov., and allowance-money was given them for half a year, 612 rubles,' with other details. 'And now,' Nicon writes, 'I your beadsman shall have no means left to go on living in the Krestnoy monastery. As I journeyed by the road I was short, and from the peasants nothing can be taken; they are extremely poor.' And he petitions 'that those men that have been taken for service may be returned to the Krestnoy monastery *in consideration of his poverty*.'

On the 3d of Feb. A.D. 1660, Nicon, in acknowledgment of

a letter from Ziuzin, wrote to him from the Krestnoy monastery as follows:

'Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, to our son in the Holy Ghost Nikita Alexeyevich, and to our daughter Maria Stepanovna, with all your house, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Be it known to you that we by the mercy of God are this day, Feb. 3, alive in our foundation of the monastery of Holy Cross on the Frozen Sea. Thy letter of the 15th Jan. we received on the 30th, and read it, and all the lamentations you make about us. But we by the mercy of God do not afflict ourselves for those things. The chariot of life carries us uphill, and carries us down. We rejoice to find ourselves at rest, and are not at all sad.

'The episcopate is a good thing in its full legitimate sphere, and in its honour; nevertheless we must lament for the universal utter declension from the first times, considering that—what shall I say?—when the faith of the gospel was first disseminated and the episcopate was honoured in religious empires, then they [the bishops] were preferred in honour before the irreligious; but when the malice of pride had extended itself, and the honour of the episcopate was diminished, then, alas, the heads of empires and kingdoms also fell, and were without honour, as we read of the Greeks, and of others. So here also it was at first after [the time of] the grand prince Vladimir. But how great evils the princes and the rest suffered for a long continuance of time I cannot on this small piece of paper enumerate. However, one case is enough as an illustration. They set aside a patriarch [Job] who was guilty of no crime,[9] and raised to the chair Hermogenes, as if by a lawful election, while the other was still living. And what great calamities followed! Of this Christ is a sure witness, that if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom shall not stand; and if a house be divided against itself, that house shall not stand. Of old time, when Dathan and Abiram murmured without cause against Moses, what was the consequence? Does not thy nobility know that all the bishops are of our consecration? But only a few of them have obtained our permission and blessing before serving

[9] Job, however, had himself been intruded in like manner by the civil power into the place of a metropolitan, Dionysius, who was still living, and who was guilty of *no crime*.

the tsar. But he who is not blessed [by his superior in such a case] differs nothing from one excommunicate; and the canon of the Apostles [canon x.] decrees: "He who prays with one excommunicated is himself excommunicate;" can. xi., "He who prays with one deposed is himself deposed;" can. lv., "If any one of the clergy insult a bishop, he is to be deposed." But of them that be now, there are many who offend against this canon. But what matters it though any one be not deposed by a synod of bishops? still he is deposed by the canon. And why should I write more than this which I have written, seeing that one cannot write out all [the canons] which are of like purport with these, since there are so many of them? Keep in health, and do not forget to write again to us, and to tell us how you are. Your suffering without just cause is a good and hopeful example for *us*. And we have many such prototypes: such as John Chrysostom, Athanasius the Great, and our own metropolitan Philip.'

'A long time passed'—so Paisius Ligarides writes in his *History*—'and all was full of confusion and interminable contention. A synod therefore *was proclaimed;* and the local bishops met: and having heard witnesses, and having accurately *examined into* what had passed, and having ascertained the *monstrosity* of the case, they synodically agreed and declared that they considered Nicon to be no longer patriarch; and that none of the bishops were any more to give him the name or title of patriarch, or kiss his hand according to the custom; and that if any bishop should contravene this decree, he was to incur canonical censures and penalties; as may be seen in their synodical codex, subscribed by the bishops, and by the other heads of the clergy. The *main point* of the synodical determination itself was the *fact* of Nicon's own *voluntary and absolute abdication*.' Vol. iii. p. 43. But this synod will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PSEUDO-SYNOD HELD AT MOSCOW IN A.D. 1660 BY THE TSAR AND THE BOYARS, TO DECREE THAT NICON BY HIS OWN VOLUNTARY AND ABSOLUTE ABDICATION HAD CEASED TO BE PATRIARCH: FROM 5 FEB. TO 5 OCT. IN A.D. 1660.

At the time when Nicon wrote to his friend Ziuzin from the Krestnoy monastery the letter printed above, the boyars of the council had at length prevailed with the tsar to take steps for the appointment of another patriarch. Two courses leading to this end were open to them: one was, to avail themselves of an offer which Nicon had made from the first, and to elect a new patriarch with his concurrence and blessing; the other, to deal with him as with a *criminal*, who had already absolutely vacated the chair, and had subjected himself besides to penalties. Possibly the *tsar* would have preferred to take the former course of the two; but the boyars felt that the only safe course for themselves was the latter. Whatever was the cause, action was taken as if with a view to *both* these two courses at once.

As if with a view to the first method, there was sent to the Krestnoy monastery, to the patriarch Nicon, the stolnik Matthew Stepanoff Poushkin, who arrived there on the 24th Feb. A.D. 1660; and after his return to Moscow made, on the 6th March, a report and deposition to the effect that Nicon now as before was ready to consent to the election of another patriarch, provided only that he himself were treated with respect, and not as a criminal; and that he had sent, as was desired of him, an *Answer in writing*, adding also a collection of *Extracts from the canons*, &c. to justify the ground taken up by himself. This written offer of Nicon will be found below, together with the report of the stolnik Poushkin, by whom it was brought to Moscow.

But at the same time that they thus sent to treat with Nicon the tsar and the council had also convoked for the 16th of February a synod of the Muscovite clergy; a synod assembled by the

tsar's compulsory command alone, and without the blessing or free concurrence of any spiritual authority. It might be said, indeed, by some, that the local synod had a right to meet, and even to judge the metropolitan or primate: and let this, for the sake of argument, be admitted. In that case—if, for instance, the primate was accused of heresy, or of some flagrant immorality—the bishop ranking next after the primate might move the rest; and some of them, or all together, might apply to the civil ruler for his help and protection. Supposing such a will to exist among the bishops, they would call on the accused primate to appear at their synod, and to clear himself. If he appeared, he would be still as yet their head and their president, until his defence had been heard and disallowed by his brethren. Then only, after the judgment of the synod, could he be treated as one condemned and deposed. And for any such meeting and proceeding of a local synod against the local primate there would be needed, after all, in order to its validity, the formal confirmation, or at least the tacit acceptance of some higher and more general synod, or of some superior hierarch, to which or to whom the local primate, if wronged, might appeal. Thus, if the Muscovite bishops had canonically assembled, whether only of their own free motion, or in *concurrence* with the wish of the tsar and his nobles, they would have had to invite and require the presence of their primate the patriarch Nicon; and they would have had to call upon him personally to give an account of that abdication which he was said to have made verbally in the cathedral on the 10th July A.D. 1658, and of his subsequent absence from Moscow. One can imagine the scene which must have followed. It was impossible for the tsar and the boyars to meet Nicon face to face in a synod of the Russian bishops, and to allow him to be questioned on these points, when he had so plain a case against them. He had only to ask: 'Is it the tsar and the boyars, or the patriarch whom Christ has sent to teach, and whom you, the bishops, at your consecration have sworn to obey? If it is the patriarch, then let the tsar and the boyars desist from such and such encroachments; or at any rate let them not impute it as a crime, that he whom they have themselves vowed to obey in spiritual things refuses now to act in spiritual things as their servant and deputy; the more so, as he is ready, if it be only his person that offends them, to stand aside, and let them choose any

other man canonically qualified—whomsoever they will—to be patriarch in his room.' It was impossible, then, for the tsar's synod to judge and depose Nicon, or even to examine and judge whether he had by his own act really vacated the patriarchal chair, without some violation of canonical forms. It was quite necessary—if they proceeded against him at all—to proceed against him *in his absence*, without summoning and hearing him, and merely to confirm that prejudgment of the case which, with whatever vacillations and inconsistency, had been already made and acted upon from the first by the tsar and the boyars. 'He said in the cathedral that he was no more patriarch. We desired him to remain in his place; that is, to be content to administer the Church under us with humility. He would not do this. We therefore have taken him at his own word. He has abdicated, not only in his own qualified sense, but in ours; validly, absolutely, and irrevocably. He is no more patriarch of Moscow, nor patriarch at all, nor bishop, nor priest; for such abdication is of itself also a crime incurring deposition and degradation by the canons. He has gone away; and we will take care that he shall not return. He has disobeyed and maligned the tsar and the council; he is no better than a rebel; and he deserves to be punished as such with civil penalties.'

The tsar then, with his council, having convoked a synod of the Russian clergy for the 17th Feb., by no means intended that, either with or without Nicon's presence, it should examine freely into the cause and purport of his abdication and retirement, and suggest a remedy for the inconveniences thence resulting. On the contrary, it was intended that the synod should simply affirm the proposition *that Nicon had validly abdicated*, so that a successor might be appointed without his having any voice in that matter. With a view to this end, the tsar ordered certain boyars of the council to take in his name from those ecclesiastics who had been present in the cathedral on the 10th of July A.D. 1658, and from some lay persons besides, depositions, which, as appears from the depositions themselves, were to be confined, so far as possible, to the question: Whether, on that day, Nicon did or did not publicly declare that he was no longer patriarch? These depositions thus taken were by order of the tsar laid before the Muscovite synod of Feb. A.D. 1660, and again before another mixed synod presided over by two of the Eastern patriarchs in

Dec. A.D. 1666. They have been preserved in the patriarchal (now called the synodal) archives, together with other documents relating to the affair of Nicon, all gummed together, so as to make twelve very long rolls. The translations which—with some abridgment of set forms and titles—are now printed, are from two copies made from these rolls; the one of them above thirty-five years ago for M. A. N. Mouravieff, the other in A.D. 1861 and 1862 for the translator.

Account of the Convocation of the Tsar's Synod of A.D. 1660: *from Michaelofsky.*

In the mean time the affairs of the ecclesiastical administration got into the greatest disorder. All that Nicon had done for the true interest of the Church was now represented by superstitious people as an heretical Niconian tradition. The adverse fortune of Nicon was adverse fortune also for the schools which he had founded. Those who were zealous for enlightenment were subjected among the people to the reproach of having betrayed orthodoxy. The seditious teachers of schism openly began to rise up against the newly-corrected books, and at the same time against their enlightened correctors. Nicon's correction of the Church service-books, they said, threatens the subversion of the faith. The superstitious party now became so strong, that they succeeded in obtaining *permission for the protopope Abbakoum to return from Siberia to Moscow*, and Abbakoum *was received in the capital with honour*. At the same time they openly petitioned the tsar to depose Nicon; and they spread a report among the people that Nicon was in disgrace with the tsar *on account of his correction of the Church service-books*. The tsar repressed so far as he could the agitation of the superstitious party; he gave orders to apprehend those who disturbed the public tranquillity, and to punish them with severity. But these measures did not eradicate the *raskol*, nor even arrest its progress. On the other hand, the monastirski prikaz entered now upon the full administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and produced the greatest disorders in the Church (see the *Replies of Nicon*, xxiii. to xxvii.). Dispositions made previously by Nicon were now subjected to change in the monastirski prikaz. They even began to say that Nicon himself, as he was leaving Moscow, 'had referred himself to the will of the monastirski prikaz

for judgment, consenting that things should be as it pleased.' 'But *never, never*,' Nicon answered to this (*Replies*, &c. xxvi. p. 296), '*never* does Nicon either say or wish that anything should be done contrary to the divine commandments. The divine laws do not allow laymen either to dispose of property, movable or immovable, which has been dedicated to God, or to judge persons dedicated to him.' Lastly, the spiritualty themselves, which before the final withdrawal of Nicon to Voskresensk had been only silent spectators of his *misfortunes*,[1] now openly sided with the enemies of the patriarch.

Perhaps the clergy had long been discontented at the strictness of his requirements; but his own authority, and still more the power which he had with the tsar, prevented them from making any demonstration against him. Now the removal of Nicon to the Voskresensky monastery loosed, so to speak, their hands and their tongues. But before relating what they did against Nicon, we must first illustrate the causes of their discontent itself, keeping in view especially those individuals of the hierarchy who were nearest to the patriarch. Under the meek but feeble predecessor of Nicon, the aged Joseph, the heads of the spiritualty, like the boyars, did with ecclesiastical affairs what they themselves pleased. The patriarch existed only in name, and confirmed the dispositions of the bishops subject to him. It is proof enough of this, that the correctors of the church books corrected the books then according to their own sense and will, instead of doing it according to the pious wish and intention of the patriarch, and still less according to what the Church expected of them. Under Nicon there began a totally different time. Now it was Nicon only that acted; all the rest of the ecclesiastical authorities were only to listen to him, and to execute his will. By the energetic action of that powerful will, which would hear of no objection from any one, it was, that Nicon during the time of his actual primacy accomplished so much that was truly advantageous to the Church. But this same enterprising, determined, and unbending will of Nicon brought him into disagreeable relations with people who shared with him the burden of the government of the Church. We have seen that Nicon had met with some unpleasantness already in the time of the patriarch Joseph, on occasion of the corrections made by

[1] Rather, of the increasing difficulties of his struggle.

him in the order of the Church service and singing. Perhaps even he would then have been subjected to some censure from the patriarch, if he had not been supported by the tsar himself. Nicon became patriarch. Meanwhile some individuals are passed over who thought themselves worthy of this high office. Such men naturally say of Nicon: 'What right has he to magnify himself? We were priests before he was' (see *Replies*, &c. xxiii.). Nicon acts of his own will alone, as if he had not with him the rest of the bishops: and they are angry. Lastly, Nicon judges, condemns, and deposes a bishop (Paul of Kolomna), who persisted obstinately in schism: the rest of the bishops forming the standing council about the patriarch conceal in their minds at the time the thought that Nicon acts arbitrarily in the government of the Church. We say nothing of those of the spiritualty who themselves were secretly or openly partisans of the *raskol*, nor of the lower clergy, with whom the severe requirements of the patriarch could not be popular.

Nicon — so *through the boyar Simeon Streshneff* some complained in his time—humiliated the bishops also in his personal intercourse with them. In allusion to this accusation Nicon himself said (see his *Replies*, &c. xii.): 'They are all brethren; but still there are certain differences.' And he quoted those words of the Apostle: 'There is one glory of the sun, another of the moon, another of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory.' Hence, when he was occupying himself the eminence of the patriarchal chair, he did not lower himself [that is, he did not lower *it*] in his intercourse with the bishops subject to him [to *it*] to an *absolute* equality with them.[1] Acknowledging them for his brethren in Christ and fellow-ministers, Nicon at the same time made a difference between the ecclesiastical and civil importance of the authority of the patriarch and that of the bishops subject to him. Having been used under the *meek* predecessor of Nicon to share and share alike, so to speak, in honour with the patriarch, the more ambitious of the spiritualty wished to see the same consideration paid to themselves as individuals also by Nicon. Nicon did not answer to their expectations; and they gave out that he was not willing to call them his brethren, especially bishops whom he had himself consecrated, but treated them in a very humiliating way.

[1] See *Replies*, &c. xi. and MS. of the Roumantseff Mus., no. 376.

Lastly, some of the bishops had personal grudges of their own against Nicon. Those who appear as his fiercest enemies are Hilarion metropolitan of Riazan, Pitirim metropolitan of Kroutits, and Methodius bishop of Mstislaff and Orsha; also Paul archimandrite of the Choudoff, who succeeded Pitirim [by authority of the tsar and of Paisius Ligarides and their synod] when Pitirim was promoted to be metropolitan of Novgorod. Of these, Hilarion and Paul are mentioned by Paisius Ligarides in his *History* as the most eminent and intelligent of all the Russian bishops; and as seeking, after they had taken the lead in promoting Nicon's degradation, to make some sort of stand in favour of their own order against an unqualified state-supremacy. Hence we may collect that personal *envy*, and wounded pride or ambitious hopes, were *their* motives. Pitirim hoped to be rewarded for his services with the patriarchate; which he was, but not so soon as he hoped; for he was first made metropolitan of Novgorod; and when on the 7th July A.D. 1672 he at length obtained the patriarchate, he held it only till April 20th in the following year. Methodius had been made bishop by the tsar and Pitirim; and his consecration was one of the crimes for which Pitirim was publicly anathematised by Nicon. He was eventually degraded and anathematised also in Little Russia by authority of the patriarch of C.P., whose patriarchate he had invaded; and he died in disgrace and confinement at Moscow.

And so, we repeat, as soon as Nicon had withdrawn to the Voskresensky monastery, the boyars and the heads of the clergy, to speak the language of that age, rose up with united forces against him. '*Let us burst off from us his bonds, and cast off his yoke*,' they said within themselves (see *Replies*, &c. xxvi.). And so they, together with the boyars of the council, proposed to the tsar, under the pretence of anxiety for the welfare of the Church, to depose Nicon from the patriarchal chair by a synod of the native Russian bishops. Soltikoff and Troubetskoy, together with the metropolitan Pitirim, represented to the tsar that the Church was left without a primate, and that it was necessary on this account to elect a new patriarch. The tsar ordered the assembly of a synod (*Michael.* p. 197).

I.[3] *Depositions*[4] *respecting the departure of Nicon on the 10th July* A.D. 1658, *taken by order of the Tsar in the spring of* 1660.

From roll (*stolbetz*) I. *part* ii.

No. 1. *Deposition of Pitirim metropolitan of Krontits, taken 14th Feb.* A.D. 1660. The 10th July A.M. 7166 (A.D. 1658) was the festival of the Lord's Tunic; and they sounded the bells for the vigil service. The *vlasti* (*i.e.* the bishops and other heads of the clergy who were to concelebrate with the patriarch) assembled in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate. And they waited long for the patriarch to come out, and he came not out; but he sent word by his sacristan (*riznik*) the deacon Job, that they should go to the cathedral, and sing the vigil service: and so they did.

And at the third hour of the day they began to sound the bells for the liturgy; and the *vlasti* went to the krestovaia; and the patriarch bade his riznik Job bring him the staff of the metropolitan Peter the wonderworker; and he bade the subdeacons and the inferior clerks go first, vested in full tunicles (*sticharia*); and he said: They will go before me now for the last time. And the patriarch [took[5] the staff of Peter the wonderworker, and] went for the liturgy to the cathedral. And when he was come into the church he began to robe. And he bade them bring him the sakkos of Peter the wonderworker [and the omophorion of the Sixth œcumenical council, both of which were] at that time hanging up in the dry-room, in the house of the tsar Boris. And the subdeacons went to and fro repeatedly after the sakkos [and the omophorion], and they brought the wrong ones;[6] while the *vlasti* meantime were kept waiting. And when at length they had brought the sakkos of St. Peter [and

[3] To distinguish them from other matter which may be inserted between them, the documents given from the twelve rolls of the synodal archives are marked thus, with a small Roman numeral, I. II. III. &c.

[4] The more important of these depositions were taken on the 14th and 15th Feb.; others later, from the 19th Feb. to the 21st; and one was taken in *March*. This last is followed in the MS. (roll II.) by a minute dated 27th Feb. Hence it is plain that when any of these original documents, or contemporary and official copies of documents, are undated, or have dates no longer legible, the order in which they are now found gummed together, so as to make up the different rolls, is no sure indication of their true relative date and connection.

[5] The words bracketed are not in the deposition of the archbishop Joasaph of Tver.

[6] '*one*,' in the sing., in the deposition of the archbishop Joasaph.

the omophorion of the Sixth council] the patriarch robed, and celebrated.

And after the prayer behind the ambon, he went out from the altar to the ambon, and read an instruction from the *Apostolical Discourses* [St. John Chrys. on Rom.], viz. Moral Instruction xxix. And in his instruction he said, in words of his own: 'I have been negligent in teaching you, and I have been little worth; and through my negligence I have become scabby; and ye, seeing that I taught you not, have become scabby from me.' And he said with an oath: 'From this time *I will not* be your patriarch. [*If I think to be patriarch again, may I be anathema!*' And he put off from him the episcopal *dignity* (or robes, *san*), and said: '*I am no longer your pastor.*'] And in a body they all began to beseech him with tears, saying: 'To whom dost thou abandon us as orphans?' And the patriarch said: 'To him whom God and the most holy Mother of God shall please to give you.' And they brought to him a bag with a black habit (*i. e.* the common dress of a monk). But they all in a body took the bag away from him, and suffered him not to put on that black habit. And the patriarch went into the vestry, and (*putting off the stichárion*) took and put on there a mandya with stripes, and a black kloboak: but the staff of Peter the wonder-worker he set at the episcopal place (at the south-west central pier of the church): and he took a common walking-stick, and was going out of the church.

And all in a body they besought the patriarch; and they would not let him go out of the church. And they sent me the metropolitan Pitirim of Kroutits to tell the great hossoudar the tsar, &c. And he the great hossoudar sent to the church his boyar the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy. And the boyar, when he had come to the church, presented himself to the patriarch, asking his blessing. And the patriarch did not give his blessing to the boyar, but said: 'My blessing is past; *I am not worthy to be patriarch.*' And the boyar said to him: 'What is thine unworthiness? what hast thou done?' And the patriarch said to the boyar: 'If thou wishest it, I will make to thee *my confession.*' And the boyar said to the patriarch:[7] 'That is not my business; make not thy confession. What hast thou seen

[7] The deposition of the archbishop Joasaph inserts here the words: '*Make not thy confession to me.*'

on account of which thou fliest, and desertest thy chair? While thou livest, desert not thy chair: our great hossoudar is gracious towards thee, and is glad to have thee.' And the patriarch spoke to the boyar,[8] and gave him a letter, saying: 'Take this to the hossoudar; and I beg the hossoudar to be so gracious as to grant me a cell.' And the boyar did *not* take the letter from the patriarch, but said to the patriarch: 'Cells thou hast in numbers; in whichever of them thou wilt, there live.' And the patriarch went out from the cathedral to the podvorie of the Voskresensky monastery, *without having made the dismissal* (the ἀπόδοσις or ἀπόλυσις) *of the liturgy*.[9] This deposition I the metropolitan Pitirim have written with my own hand.

No. 2. *Dep. of Michael metropolitan of Servia, Feb.* 14. In the past year 7166, July 10, I concelebrated with the patriarch Nicon in the cathedral. And after the liturgy and after the dismissal, the patriarch Nicon himself read an instruction from the *Apostolical Discourses*. And when he had ended the instruction he began to say: 'I have sinned; I am unworthy of the priesthood.' And he put off from himself his robes, the sakkos and the omophorion; and they bade him not to cast off his dignity[10] (*san*). And the patriarch Nicon went in the stichárion only into the vestry, and put off there the stichárion, and put on a black klobouk and a black mandya; and he took a common walking-staff, and he went out from the sanctuary through the church. And they shut the doors of the cathedral, and would not let the patriarch Nicon go out of the church till they should have the orders of the tsar. And he, the metropolitan Michael, with the *elasti* went up to the great hossoudar to announce to him that the patriarch had renounced the patriarchate. And the great hossoudar sent *with the bishops* to the cathedral the boyar the prince Al. Nik. Troubetskoy. And when he was come into the cathedral with the bishops, he began to ask the patriarch for his blessing: but the patriarch did not give his blessing to the boyar, but *said that he was a common monk, and not patriarch*. And the boyar said: 'Wherefore dost thou abandon the

[8] In the deposition of the archbishop Joasaph: 'And the patriarch said to the boyar: "I beg only of the hossoudar to be so gracious as to allow me a cell." And the boyar said to the patriarch: "Thou hast cells in plenty: where thou pleasest, in them thou canst live." And the patriarch went out,' &c.

[9] Of the dismissal in the pontifical liturgy, see above, the note at p. 131.

[10] Of the ambiguity of the word *san* see note at p. 112. And comp. vol. i. p. 23.

episcopal chair?' And the patriarch Nicon said to the boyar: 'I petition the great hossoudar to be pleased to let me live in retirement (*in eremo*) in the monastery of Voskresensk.' And the boyar spoke to the patriarch, that he should be patriarch as before, and not desert the flock of his episcopate. And the patriarch said: '*Patriarch I will not be;* I will go into retirement (*in eremum*).' This is my deposition. Michael metropolitan of Servia to this his deposition has set his hand.

No. 3. *Dep. of Joasaph archbishop of Tver* in his own hand. [This is *word for word* like the deposition of the metropolitan Pitirim (No. 1), with the exceptions noted above; so that they must have settled the wording of their depositions together.]

No. 4. *Dep. of the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, Feb.* 15. In 7166, July 10, the great hossoudar the tsar Alexis Michaëlovich, &c. ordered me his slave to go to the cathedral, and to speak to the patriarch Nicon.

There had come to him the great hossoudar Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutits, saying: 'The patriarch Nicon is giving up the patriarchate, and wants to go out from the cathedral.'

And by command of the great hossoudar, &c. I asked the patriarch Nicon why he was giving up the patriarchate, without having first conferred with the great hossoudar? and on account of what persecution? and who is persecuting him? And I spoke to him, that he should not give up the patriarchate, but be patriarch as before. But the patriarch said: 'I have given up the patriarchate of myself, not [at the instance or by compulsion] of any other, nor from any persecution; and *there has been no wrath whatever of the hossoudar against me.* But about this I have already in time past made petition to the great hossoudar, and I told him that I would not be more than *three*[11] years in the patriarchate.' And he gave me a letter, and bade me carry it to the great hossoudar. And he gave me moreover a message, bidding me to petition for him the hossoudar to be graciously pleased to give him a cell. And I asked him for his blessing for myself. But he did not bless me, but said: 'What blessing have I to give thee? *I am not worthy to be patriarch. But*[12] if thou

[11] '*Six*' elsewhere. See vol. iii. p. 426, and comp. p. 432.

[12] Here he omits his own question: 'What is thine unworthiness?' without which Nicon's offer to make his confession to him has no point, and by way of connection puts in '*but*.'

wishest it, I will confess to thee my sins.' And I said to him: 'What business is that of mine, that I should hear thy confession? that is not my business.' And of this, with all the particulars, I informed the great hossoudar.

And the great hossoudar sent me to the patriarch a second time, and desired me to return to him the patriarch that letter, and bade me speak to him that he should not abandon the patriarchate, but be patriarch as before; and say that there were cells in the patriarchal residence in plenty, and he could live in whichever of them he pleased. And I gave back to him the letter. And the patriarch Nicon said: 'My word that I have spoken I will not revoke. *I have long made a vow about this, that I will not be patriarch.*'[13] And then he went out from the cathedral. To this deposition prince Al. Troubetskoy affixed his hand.

No. 5. *Dep. of Joseph archimandrite of the Novospass, Feb.* 14. He said, on his word as a priest: . . . I concelebrated with the patriarch Nicon in the cathedral. During the service, before the altar, the patriarch Nicon wrote on a piece of paper with his hand; but what he wrote I know not. And *after the divine liturgy*, he the patriarch read, standing on the ambon, an instruction. And when he had finished reading it, he said from his own lips to all the people in the cathedral: 'From this day I will not be your patriarch.' And his patriarchal staff he set in the patriarchal place in the cathedral. And he went into the sanctuary, and *began to unrobe*. He put on a black klobouk, and he was going to take likewise a black dress. That I did not see: but just then the *clasti* (who had concelebrated with him) took away from him the dress. But what clothing it was which they took away, I, in the confusion, did not see. And the patriarch took a staff with only one hook, and went out of the cathedral to the Voskresensky podvorie. This is my deposition. To this the archimandrite Joseph has affixed his hand.

No. 6. *Dep. of Dionysius archimandrite of the Andronieff, Feb.* 14. . . . I concelebrated: . . . And *after the service* in the cathedral he began to put off his robes; and the subdeacons began to receive the robes from him, and carried them into the

[13] Though Nicon did not utter such words as these, yet no doubt, ever since it became clear that the tsar and the council would no more keep the pledge given to him when he accepted the patriarchate, he had determined that he would not act as patriarch *under their supremacy*.

vestry. And the patriarch put on a striped mandya and a black klobouk.

Within the sanctuary he wrote [something] with his own hand: but what he wrote I know not. And *after writing thus, he made the dismissal*, and read an instruction to all the people. And when he had finished reading the instruction, he began to put off his robes. But *why* the patriarch put off his robes from him, that I know not. This is my deposition. Signed, &c.

No. 7. *Dep. of Cyprian archimandrite of the Theophany which is behind the market, Feb.* 14. . . He concelebrated: . . And after they had *finished* singing the divine liturgy, the patriarch Nicon read *on the ambon* in the church from the *Apostolical Discourses* an instruction to all the people. And after the instruction he put off from him the mitre, and the omophorion, and the sakkos, and said: 'From this time I shall not be your patriarch, nor be called a pastor.' And he set the pastoral staff in its place; and he went out from the cathedral, &c. Cyprian, &c. has set to his hand.

No. 8. *Dep. of Joseph hegoumen of the Znamensky, Feb.* 14. He concelebrated: . . . And *after the liturgy* the patriarch Nicon read, &c. And after the instruction, standing on the ambon, he began to bless the people, and said: 'I will not be your pastor, nor be called patriarch of Moscow.' And he *gave himself up to the subdeacons and clerks* to be unrobed. But more than this he, Joseph, does not remember. Signed, &c.

No. 9. *Dep. of Bogolep hegoumen of the Domovoi Dominsky monastery.* . . He concelebrated. . . . Whether the patriarch renounced the patriarchate or not, I did not hear. At that time I *was unrobing* myself. Signed, &c.

No. 10. *Dep. of Michael protopope of the cathedral.* . . . At the time of the communion the patriarch kissed all the bishops and other concelebrants *on the lips*. And after the prayer behind the ambon he went out from the altar on to the ambon, and read in the *Discourses*, sect. xxix. And after the instruction he began to say to the *vlasti*, and to all the people: 'From this time I will no more be a teacher, nor be called patriarch of Moscow.' And he put off from himself the panagia, and the omophorion, and the sakkos: and they brought to him at that time a black mandya and klobouk; and the *vlasti* would not let him put on that black mandya and klobouk: and he went into

the vestry vested only in a *riaska*, and there put on a mandya with stripes and a black klobouk. And when he came out from the altar, he put the staff in the patriarchal place, and took a common staff, and would have gone forth from the cathedral. But the *vlasti* all turned him back, and sent to the great hossoudar &c. Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutits, to inform him of this. And the great hossoudar sent to the cathedral to the patriarch Nicon his boyar the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy. But what the boyar said to the patriarch Nicon, and what the patriarch Nicon said to the boyar, that he, Michael, did not hear, because he was within the altar, &c. Signed, &c.

(Roll II.) No. 11. *Dep. of Misael hegoumen of the Zlatooustoff monastery, Feb.* 14. . . He concelebrated: . . And the patriarch, *after making the dismissal* of the liturgy, and after instructing the people, began to put off from himself *his klobouk and his mandya: and he spake* thus: 'I will be no more patriarch.' This is my deposition, and I have written it with my own hand. Signed, &c.

No. 12. *Dep. of Kondrat protopope of the sobor of the Archangel.* On his word as a priest: He concelebrated: . . And *after the liturgy* the patriarch began to read an instruction in the *Apostolical Discourses, How a bishop may leave his bishopric.*[11] And after the instruction he began to bless the people with his hand, standing on the ambon. And he began to say: 'Henceforth I will not be your pastor, nor will I be called patriarch of Moscow.' And he began to put off his robes, and to give them to the subdeacons. And the *vlasti* (*i. e.* here the *bishops*), and archimandrites, and protopopes began to entreat him to return, and not to abandon the catholic and apostolic Church. And the patriarch Nicon did not hearken to them, but said: 'I will not be any more your patriarch and pastor.' And he set his staff at the episcopal place: and instead of it he took a staff such as popes use to carry in their hands. But when there came from the hossoudar the boyar [Troubetskoy], what he said to the patriarch, and what the patriarch said to him, I cannot say; for I was standing at the ambon, and, perhaps on account of the thronging of the people, I did not hear a word. Signed, &c.

No. 13. *Dep. of Andrew protopope of the Sretensky.* He con-

[11] There is nothing really about this in Moral Instr. xxix. of St. John Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Romans.

celebrated. . . . How the patriarch left [his chair, and] for what cause, he knows not. . . . *After the divine liturgy*, the patriarch read an instruction on the ambon: and after the instruction he began to say: 'I cannot steer this great ship; I will not be patriarch of Moscow.' And then he blessed the people, and put off his pontifical *dignity* (*san*) *on the ambon*. But when the boyar &c. came from the tsar, what words the patriarch said to the boyar he heard not, for he was then within the altar unrobing. Signed, &c.

No. 14. *Dep. of Job Kluchar of the cathedral.* . . . And I at that time [during the celebration] was on one side [near the altar]: and after the communion, at the communion anthem, the patriarch Nicon called me to himself within the altar, and bade me set some one to keep watch at all the doors, and direct them *not to let the people go out* of the church, but *tell them* that he was going to give an instruction; but people coming into the church they should let pass. And after the prayer behind the ambon he read an instruction on the ambon from the *Discourses*. And after the instruction he said: 'Henceforth I will be no more your teacher, nor be called patriarch of Moscow.' And after this he began to put off from himself the panagia, and the omophorion, and the sakkos; and having put on other habits he went out from the altar, and set the staff in the [patriarchal] place, and was going out of the church. And he had come to the place (the platform) which stands in the midst of the church, when he was stopped. And he sat down on a step [of the platform]. And there came to him, by command of the great hossoudar, &c. the boyar prince Alexis N. Troubetskoy, &c. But what the patriarch Nicon said to him, or he the boyar said to the patriarch, I heard not, because I was then standing at the icon of our Lady of Vladimir. Signed, &c.

No. 15. *Dep. of the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy and of Lavrion Lopouchin, Feb.* 15. On the 12th of July in the past year A.M. 7166, the tsar, &c. commanded us his slaves to go to the patriarch Nicon to the monastery of Voskresensk, and to ask: For what cause, without advertising the great hossoudar, and without giving him the great hossoudar his blessing, he had gone away from Moscow precipitately? whereas, if only the great hossoudar had been informed, *he would have graciously ordered him to be escorted with honour:* and to ask that he, the patriarch

Nicon, should give his blessing to the great hossoudar, &c., and to the hossoudarina the tsaritsa and grand princess Maria Ilichna, and to the hossoudar the tsarevich and grand prince Alexis Al., and to the hossoudarinas the tsarevnas, &c.: and that he should give his blessing to whomsoever God and the most holy Mother of God may allow to be patriarch in his room: and that in the mean time the patriarch should give his blessing to Pitirim metropolitan of Kroutits to take care of the church and of the house of the holy Mother of God.

And the patriarch Nicon said that he prays the great hossoudar, &c., and the hossoudarina the tsaritsa, and [the rest of the tsar's family] to be *graciously pleased to forgive him:* and he the patriarch sends to them the great hossoudars *his blessing and forgiveness.* And to him whom God and the holy Mother of God shall allow, and whom the great hossoudar shall select, to be patriarch in his room, he the patriarch is ready to give his blessing. And he petitions the great hossoudar that the Church of God may not be left in widowhood without a pastor. And for the mean time, until there be a patriarch, he gives his blessing to Pitirim metropolitan of Kroutits, to take care of the church and of the house of the most holy Mother of God. But as touching his conduct in this, that he went away from Moscow hastily, without advertising the great hossoudar, he acknowledges that herein he was to blame in the sight of the great hossoudar: but he feared *lest disease should overtake him,* and *he should die still patriarch.* But for the future he desires to be no more patriarch. 'And if only I conceive the desire of being patriarch,' he said, '*may I be accursed, and be anathema!*' Also the patriarch Nicon sent his blessing and forgiveness to the boyars, and to the people of the council, and to all orthodox Christians. Signed by them both.[15]

No. 16. *Dep. of Procopius Eleazaroff, Feb.* 15. In the past year 7167, April 1, by oukaz of the tsar, &c. [as above at p. 167, where it is printed in connection with Nicon's letter to the tsar written on hearing that the ceremony of the procession on the ass on Palm Sunday in A.D. 1659 (the 27th March) had been performed, without any permission from himself, by Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutits].

[15] Conjoined with this deposition in the same roll is Nicon's letter to the tsar, given above at p. 164.

No. 17. *Dep. of the deacon Job kliuchar* [*riznik*] *of the patriarchal vestry, Feb.* 20, A.M. 7168. He said: On the 10th July A.M. 7166, . . . I was in the church vested; but I did not minister in the celebration of the liturgy. And after the prayer behind the ambon the patriarch Nicon read from the *Apostolical Discourses* an instruction. And after reading it, he spake other words from his own lips in the cathedral, saying: 'When I went with the hossoudar, the tsarevich and grand prince Alexis Al. to the Koliazin monastery, at that time at Moscow many people assembled at the Lobnoe Miesto (*i.e.* the Calvary), and called me an iconoclast, because I had taken from them and defaced many icons: and for that they wanted to kill me. But I had taken from them Latin icons, to which it is not proper to do reverence; an importation brought to you by Germans from Germany. And I pointed in the cathedral to the image of the Saviour painted in the Greek style, saying: It is right to trust in this, and to do reverence to this; I am no iconoclast. And again after that they called me an heretic, saying: He is giving out new books. And that was so for my sins. And I set before you much instruction, and testimony of the œcumenical patriarchs. And ye, in the disobedience and hardness of your hearts, wished to stone me. Now Christ indeed once redeemed us all by his blood: but if you were to kill me by stoning me, my blood would deliver nobody. And rather than that you should kill me by stoning me, or call me an heretic, I from this time will be no more your patriarch; but I commit you into the hands of the living God: may He feed you!' And he put off from himself his mitre, and his other robes; and he put on him a black mandya with stripes, made of cotton, and a black klobouk, and took a common staff; and, after making his reverences, he went out from the cathedral. But the staff of Peter the wonder-worker he set in the patriarchal place. Signed, &c.

No. 18. The same Job, Feb. 21, said that Nicon, after his reading of the instruction, said before the people, 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch:' but *no words whatever of any oath* from him the said patriarch Nicon did he Job hear. Thus the deacon Job said, and set to his hand.

No. 19. *Dep. of the monk Tichon Odonin, the patriarchal treasurer, Feb.* 22. He said, according to Christ's command, Yea, yea, and on his word as a monk, that . . . *before the dismissal*

Nicon read an instruction, after the prayer behind the ambon. But what he read was to me scarcely audible. I was standing near the west doors, and so heard but little of the most part of what he said: only I heard this: '*From whomsoever I have taken a field, let him take it back; or if I have bought any land at half-price or at a low price, let him return the low price to me, and take back his land; or if I have taken aught from any man by compulsion, or have pressed him to yield me anything, I ask his pardon.*' And after that he said: '*Henceforth I will not be called your patriarch.*' And he unrobed himself, *without making the dismissal* of the liturgy. And he wanted to put on a black mandya; and the bishops who had concelebrated with him would not suffer him: and he put on a black klobouk, and did not put on a panagia. And he himself put the staff of Peter (the wonderworker) at his episcopal place, before all the people. This his deposition he wrote with his own hand.

No. 20. *Dep. of Silas protopope of the Spass, Feb.* 15. He said, &c.: Yea, yea, &c., he did not concelebrate in the cathedral on that day, but celebrated in the Spasski sobor in the palace, and thence went home. Signed, &c.

No. 21. *Dep. of Jacob late deacon of the Spassky (now pope in the church of the Apostle Andronicus in the Fosse), Feb.* 19. . . . On the 10th July A.D. 1658, he served as deacon to the protopope Silas, &c. Signed, &c.

No. 22. *Dep. of the priest Porphyry.* . . . I made orally a deposition that when the patriarch Nicon had celebrated *and ended*[16] the liturgy, and showed his mind to quit the patriarchate, I was horrorstruck at such a thing, and went out quickly from the church, and heard no words whatever. These are my words; and I have written this deposition with my own hand. Signed, *Porphyry.*

No. 23. *Dep. of Theodore Terentieff, a priest of the cathedral, Feb.* 20. . . . After the prayer behind the ambon, the patriarch read an instruction, &c. And he called himself scabby (*krastoratim*) in teaching, and said: 'By my scabby teaching I have made you orthodox Christians to be scabby' (*okrastoval*). And having finished that instruction, he said before all the people: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' And, as he remem-

[16] These words, 'and ended,' which are in M. Mouravieff's copy, are omitted in the copy made from the synodal archives for the translator.

bers, he added also these words: 'If I think hereafter to be your patriarch, *may I be anathema!*' And *without making the dismissal* of the liturgy, he began to unrobe. And having unrobed, he went within the altar into the vestry; and he sat till they should bring him a dress. And they were bringing to him a black dress; and that dress the bishops did not suffer him to put on. And they gave that black dress to him Theodore; and he carried it into the sanctuary[17] of SS. Peter and Paul. And the patriarch Nicon put on another dress, and went out of the church to the Voskresensky podvorie. Signed, &c.

No. 24. *Dep. of Basil Theodoroff, a priest of the great church of the B. Virgin.* The patriarch Nicon in the liturgy, after the prayer behind the ambon, read from the *Apostolical Discourses* a moral instruction about pastors: That if a pastor be incompetent, and knows not how to feed his flock, he destroys his flock, and becomes scabby; and thence through him the sheep also become scabby. 'Thus,' he said, 'I also am not in any way competent to feed you; I have only destroyed you. I have been scabby myself, and have disturbed you, and have taught you nothing good. And for that cause I quit my flock of my own will; and henceforth I will not be your pastor and teacher: and for the future I will no more be called nor named patriarch. Signed, &c.

No. 25. *Dep. of Cyprian a priest of the cathedral.* He said: The patriarch Nicon quitted his flock. When he began to put off his mitre, he said: 'I will not be called patriarch of Moscow:' but no words of any *oath* were heard by me. Signed, &c.

No. 26. *Dep. of Marcian, a priest of the cathedral.* He was not celebrating, but only present in the cathedral. And after the prayer behind the ambon, &c., the patriarch Nicon read an instruction. And after the instruction he spake also words, saying: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' But the other words he did not hear, because there was a great crowd, and he was standing a long way off. Signed, &c.

No. 27. *Dep. of Michael deacon of the cathedral of the B. V.* . . . I was with him (*i.e.* in the liturgy, with the patriarch). And *after the liturgy* the patriarch read an instruction. And after the instruction he said: 'From this day I will not be your teacher, nor be called patriarch of Moscow.' And he began to give him-

[17] The left side apse, which is also a lesser sanctuary.

self to the subdeacons to unrobe. This deposition is written by me the deacon Michael with my own hand.

No. 28. *Dep. of Peter, a deacon of the cathedral.* The most holy Nicon during the service threw up the patriarchate, and said, after the instruction: '*Since I received the Church of God, I have been six years patriarch; and I have kept her pure in the Christian faith; and have done nothing without the counsel of the œcumenical patriarchs.* But now, on account of my sins before God, because I did not visit [betimes and heal] the servant that was sick and weak by the wayside, nor do other like good works, for this cause I will not be any more patriarch.' But more than this, of what was said in the cathedral, I declare, as before the Lord of the cherubim himself, that I know nothing, and remember nothing. I have written this, &c.

No. 29. *Dep. of Athanasius deacon of the cathedral, Feb.* 22. He had been sent to Toropetz.

No. 30. *Dep. of Boris Neledinsky [patriarchal boyar], Feb.* 20.... After the instruction the patriarch made the sign of the cross towards the people, and said in the church: 'I will not be your patriarch.' But the other words I could not hear, there being a great noise from the people in the church. And what he at that same time read from the book to the people I remember not either, because there was a great crowd and a press. Written by himself.

No. 31. *Dep. of Ivashko Kokoshiloff patriarchal diak,*[18] *Feb.* 21. He had been sent on the 6th of July 1658 down the Moskva. Signed, &c.

No. 32. *Dep. of Ivan Kalitin patriarchal diak, Feb.* 21.... After celebrating *and finishing* the service, he taught the people out of the divine scripture. And after the instruction, he said that he gave up the patriarchal chair: 'And henceforth,' he said, 'I will not be your patriarch.' And he put off from himself the episcopal robes, and put on an episcopal mandya, and a black klobouk: and he set the episcopal staff in the patriarchal place, and went out, &c. Signed, &c.

No. 33. *Dep. of Joseph Eremeyeff [Yartsoff] patriarchal diak.*

[18] These '*patriarchal diaks*' and *pod-diaks* which follow seem to be deacons and subdeacons, the short form 'diak' being used sometimes for '*diakon.*' A *lay* 'diak' is a secretary, and a pod-diak an under-secretary. The full term '*deacon*' too and its equivalents are ambiguous in the East, like our '*clerk.*'

. . . He said from the ambon to all the people: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' These words I heard from the patriarch Nicon. I have written this with my own hand.

No. 34. *Dep. of Denis Diakovsky patriarchal diak.* When the most holy patriarch Nicon quitted the chair I was not in the church, because the patriarch was displeased with me: but I heard from my brethren, the people of the patriarchal residence, that after the liturgy, and after the instruction, he gave up the patriarchal chair, and said to all the sacred synod who had been concelebrating with him, and to all the people: 'I am not your patriarch;' and 'Henceforth I will not be patriarch.' But he forgave me Denis his displeasure, as it seemed, in the Voskresensky podvorie. I, Denis, have signed, &c.

No. 35. *Dep. of Arsenius Ivanoff patriarchal diak* (i.e. *clerk of the patriarchal kazenni prikaz, or treasury court*). . . . After the liturgy he read an instruction. And after the instruction he said in the hearing of all: 'I quit the patriarchal chair; and henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' But no other words whatever did I hear. Signed, &c.

No. 36. *Dep. of Ivan Schepotkin* [*patriarchal diak*]. . . . After the service he read on the ambon from the *Apostolical Discourses* an instruction *About the importance of the great order of the episcopate, and of what character a bishop ought to be.* 'And for this cause,' he said, 'I also henceforth cannot bear on my shoulders such a burden: and henceforth I will not be called [lit., call myself] patriarch of Moscow.' And after that he unrobed, and went from the ambon. And after that he went forth from the cathedral to the Voskresensky podvorie. Signed, &c.

No. 37. *Dep. of Theodore* [*Nikitin*] *patriarchal pod-diak* [*pod-diakon*]. I was not there, but was in attendance at the great patriarchal treasury and vestry. Signed, &c.

No. 38. *Dep. of Nikita Nikitin patriarchal diak* [*pod-diakon*], *Feb.* 20. I was not at the service, because for my sins I was sick for a long time: and I did not either hear that he had renounced the patriarchate. Signed, &c.

No. 39. *Dep. of Peter Theodoroff of Novgorod patriarchal pod-diak* [*pod-diakon*], *Feb.* 20. . . . . After the liturgy the patriarch read an instruction. And I Peter at that time went out to the treasury of the vestry: but these words I heard at the end of the instruction of the patriarch: '*I took upon myself to*

steer a great ship, but I had not strength to steer it; the helm of the ship was rotten, and the vessel has been wrecked.' But that he abdicated the patriarchate I did not hear him say. Signed, &c.

No. 40. *Dep. of Ivan Basilieff patriarchal pod-diak* [*pod-diakon*]. He said: . . . While he was reading I was *arranging* in the treasury of the vestry *the sakkoses*, and all the episcopal robes. But as for what he, after the instruction or during the instruction, said, of that I heard nothing. Signed, &c.

No. 41. *Dep. of Matthew Kouzmin patriarchal pod-diak* [*pod-diakon*]. . . . After the liturgy he read an instruction: but while he was reading it I was within the altar, in the treasury of the vestry, weeping. But what words he spoke in the instruction I heard not, because I was in the vestry, weeping and *unrobing* myself. Signed, &c.

No. 42. *Dep. of Theodore Constantineff patriarchal choir-diak, Feb.* 20. . . . After the prayer behind the ambon, *without having made the dismissal of the liturgy*, he read, &c. And after the instruction he said: 'Henceforth I will no more be your teacher, nor will be called patriarch of Moscow.' And he began to put off from him the omophorion and the other sacred vestments. And he set the staff himself in the patriarchal place. Signed, &c.

No. 43. *Dep. of Ivan Treretin choir-diak.* . . He celebrated the divine liturgy, and afterwards read an instruction. And after the instruction he said: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' That I heard. These are my words. But what other words he said it was impossible at that time for any who were not close to hear, on account of the great crowd. Signed, &c.

No. 44. *Dep. of Nestorka Ivanoff choir-diak.* I was not present, and know nothing, nor heard anything: I was sick. Signed, &c.

No. 45. *Dep. of Denisko Theodoroff patriarchal choir-diak.* He said: . . The hossoudar the patriarch celebrated on that day, &c. And when he had finished the liturgy, he came out from the altar, and stood on the step which is in front of the royal doors, and began to read an instruction of the divine Scripture. And then afterwards he began to put off from himself the sakkos[19] with his own hands: and he spake thus himself, with his own lips: 'From this day I will be no more patriarch.' Signed, &c.

[19] In my MS. copy it is his *san* (office or dignity, *or* robes).

No. 46. *Dep. of Isaac Andronikoff patriarchal choir-diak.* He said: . . . After ending the liturgy he read an instruction. But I was at that time under penance, and stood not in the choir, but I was standing at the tomb of Jonah the wonder-worker. And after the instruction the patriarch began to put off from himself the episcopal vestments, and spake words to this effect: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' But no other words whatever did I hear. Signed, &c.

No. 47. *Dep. of Theodore Kosmin choir-diak.* . . . After the liturgy he began to put off from himself his episcopal sakkos; and the subdeacons received it from him. But *we* were standing in the choir. And of all the rest I know nothing: only I heard the words: 'Henceforth I will not be patriarch.' Signed, &c.

No. 48. *Dep. of Gabrilko diak.* . . . He taught the Christian people from the *Apostolical Epistles, commented by St. John Chrysostom in his Moral Instructions.* And when he came to that line of the discourse (disc. xxix.) where it is written thus, '*The helm became rotten, and the ship was wrecked*,'[20] he said to all the great church: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch;' and 'Call me not your patriarch.' That is my deposition; and I have written it with my own hand.

No. 49. *Dep. of Ignashko choir-diak.* . . . After the service he read: and after the instruction he said: 'Henceforth I will not be patriarch.' Signed, &c.

No. 50. *Dep. of Simeon Theodoroff patriarchal pod-diak.* . . I was present during the service. And after the liturgy, after the prayer behind the ambon, the patriarch read, &c. And having finished reading, he said: 'Henceforth I will not be patriarch.' But no other words whatever did I hear. Signed, &c.

No. 51. *Dep. of Ivan Theodoroff patriarchal pod-diak.* He heard nothing, and was not present.

No. 52. *Dep. of Demetrius of Yaroslaff, patriarchal pod-diak.* After the liturgy he read. And after that the patriarch Nicon said: 'And henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' Signed, &c.

No. 53. *Dep. of Vaska of Novgorod patr. pod-diak.* After the service he read, &c. But I was within the altar [in the *vestry*],

[20] But these words are not in the text of St. John Chrysostom; they are some of Nicon's own words, which he began to speak afterwards. See above, the deposition No. 39.

and only heard the last words: 'Henceforth I will not be patriarch.' And he began to put off his vestments. Signed, &c.

No. 54. *Dep. of Gregory Kyrikoff patriarchal pod-diak.* He was not present, but was in attendance at the great treasury and vestry in the dry-room, together with the pod-diakon Theodore Nikitin. Signed, &c.

No. 55. *Dep. of Savka Semenoff, labourer attached to the church of the Assumption, formerly a patriarchal pod-diak.* . . . I was in the church while the patriarch was reading the instruction; but I stood among the people in the crowd, and heard none of his words. But after the instruction he said: 'I will not be your patriarch;' and 'Call me not patriarch of Moscow.' But nothing more beyond that did I hear, because I stood among the people in the press. Signed, &c.

No. 56. *Dep. of Ivan Loginoff patriarchal pod-diak.* He said: The patriarch on the 10th July 1658 of himself renounced his dignity (*san*): . . And after the liturgy he made an instruction: he read, and [as he read] he wept much. And after the instruction he said: '*I have lived in the patriarchate six years; and living in it I have myself become scabby; and you I have not saved from scabbiness: and from henceforth I will not be your patriarch.*' And he began to put off from him his pontifical vestments. Signed, &c.

No. 57. *Dep. of Fedka Trophimoff pod-diak.* I pod-diak depose: When the patriarch Nicon gave up the patriarchate, after the instruction he said thus: 'I myself have grown scabby, and you from scabbiness I have not saved. I took the wool and the fat; but I cared not for the sheep.[21] And from henceforth *you have no patriarch.*' And he began, &c. Signed, &c.

No. 58. *Dep. of Greshko Ivanoff pod-diak.* I was with him, but I heard nothing, as I was then within the altar. Signed, &c.

No. 59. *Dep. of Paul Ivanoff pod-diak.* After ending the liturgy, and after reading an instruction, he spake himself thus: 'Henceforth I will not be patriarch.' Signed, &c.

No. 60. *Dep. of Sergushka Petroff pod-diak.* I was present at the liturgy: but when he began to read I *went out* of the church: and as to the manner in which he renounced the patriarchate, of that I heard nothing. Signed, &c.

[21] Making Nicon to quote and apply to himself what is really a quotation occurring in the moral instruction of St. John Chrysostom.

No. 61. *Dep. of Simeon Ivanoff patriarchal pod-diak.* After the instruction he said thus: 'I have myself become scabby to you, and I did not preserve you from scabbiness: I took the fleece from the sheep, but of your souls I did not take care.' And so he put off from himself the episcopal robes, and spake thus: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch: call me not patriarch.' But no other words whatever of any *oath* did I hear. Signed, &c.

No. 62. *Dep. of Alexis Sergeyeff pod-diak.* After celebrating the liturgy, and *after the dismissal*, the patriarch read an instruction, and renounced the patriarchate, saying: 'Call me not patriarch of Moscow;' and 'Henceforth I will not be called so.' Signed, &c.

No. 63. *Dep. of Philemon Maximoff patriarchal pod-diak.* He said: 'I will not any more be called patriarch.' Philemon Maximoff wrote this with his own hand.

No. 64. *Dep. of Matthew Stepanoff patriarchal pod-diak.* I was present. After the liturgy he read an instruction, and wept. And after the instruction he said: 'Henceforth I will not be your patriarch.' But no other words whatever from him did I hear. Signed, &c.

No. 65. *Dep. of Demetrius Leontieff patriarchal pod-diak.* After the prayer behind the ambon, &c. he read an instruction. And after the instruction he said: 'I have been patriarch six years: I have taken the wool from you, but for the flock I have not taken heed: and henceforth I will not be patriarch.' But other words I did not hear, because there was a press. Signed, &c.

No. 66. *Dep. of Kirushka Sergeyeff pod-diak.* I was in the vestry; within the altar: and when I came out the patriarch had gone out from the church: and I heard no words at all from him. Signed, &c.

No. 67. *Dep. of Irashko of Yaroslaff, pod-diak.* I was at the time in the treasury of the vestry, and did not hear the patriarch's instruction. Whether he swore or not I know not. Signed, &c.

No. 68. *Dep. of Basil Kononoff choir-diak.* When, after the liturgy, he read, I was standing behind the people on account of the press, and heard nothing of the instruction. Only I heard at the end of the instruction the most holy patriarch say: 'I will

not be your patriarch.' And he began to put off his vestments. Signed, &c.

No. 69. *Dep. of Paul Terentieff pod-diak.* He read an instruction: but *what* it all was I do not remember, so as to say exactly. And after the instruction he said of himself: 'Henceforth I will not be your teacher, nor will I be called patriarch of Moscow.' Signed, &c.

No. 70. A.M. 7168, Feb. 22. By oukaz of the hossoudar, &c. &c., countersigned by the secretary Alexander Douroff, an order was addressed to Tychon archimandrite of the Hypatieff-Troitsa monastery to examine Joseph ex-archimandrite of the Choudoff, and to take his deposition under his hand: Did he on the 10th of July (A.D. 1658) concelebrate with the ex-patriarch Nicon? and after what manner did Nicon on that day abandon the patriarchate, and refuse to remain in the chair? And in reply the archimandrite Joseph said on his word as a monk:

'I did concelebrate on that day: but as touching the question in what manner the patriarch Nicon abandoned the patriarchate and refused to remain in the chair, I heard from the patriarch Nicon these words: I give up the patriarchate of my own will.' Signed, &c.

Of the tsar's synod, and its proceedings.

On the 16th of Feb. 1660, the bishops and the archimandrites and hegoumens of different monasteries who, in obedience to summonses from the tsar, were now at Moscow, *were called together to the golden hall* (the *zolotaia palata*) *of the tsar's palace*, where the tsar declared to them that it was his will that they should occupy themselves with the settlement of the Church, which, in consequence of the withdrawal of the patriarch Nicon, was remaining so long without a pastor. On the following day, the 17th of Feb., the spiritualty met *in the krestovaia palata of the patriarchal palace*. The boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff laid before them from the tsar a number of written depositions, which the tsar had already caused to be taken expressly for this purpose, concerning the abdication of Nicon. Subbotine, *Dielo Nicona*, p. 35.

II. *First resolution of the synod, from roll* II. *of the patriarchal (now synodal) archives.*

'Feb. 17. The sacred synod heard the depositions[22] read. And it questioned each of the witnesses in the synod respecting his deposition.

'And the sacred synod, having heard the depositions, found *that the most holy Nicon left his patriarchal chair of his own will.* And they sent to report that their finding to the great hossoudar, &c. by the boyar Peter Michael. Soltikoff, and to ask for his commands.

'And the boyar came back, and said that the great hossoudar commands that the synod should make in writing extracts from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers touching the departure of the *late* patriarch Nicon.'

All this may have taken place on the same day, the 17th of Feb. But such depositions of witnesses as are dated from the 19th to the 22d inclusively must have been presented to the synod after the 22d of Feb. in a later session, when those later witnesses also no doubt appeared personally, like the earlier, and answered as to the truth of their depositions. But those two documents—for there are *two* preserved in the synodal archives—which exhibit a comparison and classification of certain depositions, and an account of the reëxamination of certain deponents on points on which there seemed to be some discrepancy, must both of them have been drawn up in their present form after the 22d of Feb., since they both refer to the depositions taken *after*, as well as to those taken before, the 17th.

III. *First comparison of depositions, and reëxamination of deponents before the synod.*

Referring to depositions No. 1 *and No.* 2 *above.* In the deposition of the metropolitan Pitirim it is written that the patriarch Nicon quitted the patriarchate, and at the same time said: '*May I be anathema if I be patriarch!*' But in the deposition of the metr. of Servia this is *not* written, that the patr. Nicon

[22] That is, *those* of the depositions, now all gummed together in the order in which they have been printed above, which had been taken on the 15th and 16th of February, and which were now laid before the synod.

uttered against himself an anathema. And the sacred synod questioned the metr. Michael, and he said: '*That I did not hear.*'

Also in the deposition of the metr. Pitirim it is written that *without making the dismissal* of the liturgy the patriarch went away. But in the deposition of the metr. Michael it is written that *after the liturgy* he went, &c. And the metr. Michael, being questioned of this, said that he did not remember exactly about that. Michael, metr. of Servia, has signed.

No. 3. In the deposition of Joasaph archbishop of Tver it is written: 'The patriarch said *with an oath* that he would not be patriarch:' but *in what terms* he swore that oath is not written. And the sacred synod of the bishops questioned the archbishop Joasaph: and the archbishop said: '*I do not remember.* The patriarch, *I think*, said thus: "If I return as a dog to his vomit;" but beyond this that he added an *anathema* I do not remember.' The archbishop Joasaph has signed.

No. 4. The deposition of the boyar Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy was read before the synod, agreeing in all points with the depositions of the metropolitans.

No. 5. In the deposition of Joseph, archimandrite of the Novospass, there is nothing written of an anathema. And, on being questioned, the archimandrite Joseph said: 'Whether the patriarch Nicon uttered any curse or not, that I did not hear, because I was at that time within the altar. And whether he went away after having made the dismissal, or without having made it, I do not remember. Signed by the archimandrite Joseph.

No. 6. In the deposition of Dionysius, archimandrite of the Spass-Andronieff, '*anathema*' is not written. Being questioned, he said that he did not hear from the patriarch Nicon the word '*anathema*;' *but* he was squeezed up by the crowd against the chapel of the Lord's tunic. In the deposition of the same archimandrite it is written that the patriarch Nicon went away *after the dismissal.* But on being questioned he said that he does not remember exactly about that. Signed, &c.

No. 7. In the deposition also of Cyprian, archimandrite of the Theophany, the '*anathema*' is not mentioned. Being questioned, he said that as for the anathema, he *heard it not*, [perhaps] *because* he was standing at a distance. And about the dismissal

also he said that he does not remember. He, Cyprian, has signed.

No. 10. In the deposition of Michael, protopope of the cathedral, likewise no mention is made of a curse. Being questioned, he said that he certainly heard no curse from the patriarch. But *dismissal to the liturgy on that day there was none.* The protopope Michael has signed.

No. 11. In the deposition of Misael, hegoumen of the Zlatooustoff monastery, no mention is made of any curse. Being questioned, he said that he heard no curse. In his deposition it is written that '*after the dismissal* the patriarch went,' &c. Being questioned, he said that he does not remember exactly. Also in his deposition it is said that the patriarch 'put off from himself his mandya and klobouk.' And for this the said hegoumen Misael excused himself, saying that he ought to have written 'his sakkos and mitre,' and what he wrote before was incorrect. Misael the hegoumen has signed.

No. 12. In the deposition of the protopope Kondrat no curse is mentioned. Being questioned, he said that he had not heard any curse: but the patriarch went away without having made the dismissal of the liturgy. The protopope Kondrat has signed.

No. 13. In the deposition of Andrew, protopope of the Sretensky, no mention is made of a curse. Being questioned, he said that he heard no curse; he was standing within the altar: but the patriarch Nicon went away without having made the dismissal to the liturgy. Signed, &c.

No. 14. In the deposition of Job, kliuchar of the cathedral, no curse is mentioned. Being questioned, he said that he heard none from the patriarch. Signed, &c.

No. 15. Another deposition of the boyar Alexis N. Troubetskoy, and of the secretary to the council Larion Lopouchin, was read.

No. 16. Also the deposition of the dvorianin of the council, Procopius Kouzmich Eleazaroff, was read.

No. 8. In the deposition of Joseph, hegoumen of the Znamensky, no curse is mentioned. Being questioned, he said that he heard none from the patriarch: but the patriarch went away without having made the dismissal of the liturgy. Signed, &c.

No. 20. Silas, protopope of the church of the Saviour in the palace, said that on that day he celebrated in his own church, of which fact his witnesses are Alexander and Theodore, priests of the same church. Signed, Silas.

No. 9. Bogolep also, hegoumen of the Novitsky, reasserts his former deposition. Signed, &c.

Nos. 17, 18. In the deposition of Job, hierodiakon [and *riznik*] of the patriarchal vestry, it is written: The patriarch Nicon said after the instruction in the cathedral, on that day on which he threw up the patriarchate, that 'when he the patriarch went with the hossoudar the tsarevich and grand prince Alexis Al. to the Koliazin monastery,' &c. [as above, p. 200]. And such words are not written in any other deposition. And the most reverend synod questioned the metropolitans Pitirim and Michael, and the archbishop Joasaph, and all of the sacerdotal order who had made depositions. And in their answers they all with one accord, and on their words, &c. said that certainly no one of them had heard any such words.

The hierodiakon Job of the patriarchal vestry said on the word of his hierodiaconate: 'I in my deposition said [on this wise], *as I remember*. But in another deposition of mine nothing of the above-mentioned is written, but briefly that the patriarch abandoned the patriarchate.' The said *riznik* Job also said: 'I gave in a second deposition because there came to me the *secretary* Alexander Douroff, and said: *They are not content* with thy deposition, because in no other deposition are there any such words. *Make them then a fresh deposition* as to what was done in the cathedral. So I gave a second deposition. And no one else moved me to give that second deposition: I Job myself worded that second deposition. But as for this, that many words in the former deposition of the two were written *superfluously*, I suppose the patriarch said these words on some other occasion: but whether he spoke them in that instruction or not, I do not remember exactly, because I soon after fell sick, and my head is still ailing and confused.' Signed, Job.

No. 19. The deposition of Tichon Odonin, the patriarchal treasurer. According to Christ's command, &c. [is repeated word for word as above at p. 200. That is, he insisted, when questioned, on its accuracy].

No. 23. Theodore Terentieff, priest of the cathedral, made

on his word as a priest a deposition that he wrote in his former deposition [exactly] what he heard.[23]

No. 22. The priest Porphyrius in his deposition wrote: 'I heard nothing.'

No. 28. The deacon Peter on his word as deacon said: 'I wrote the deposition so as I remember.'

No. 29. The deacon Athanasius said he was not there.

No. 30. The patriarchal boyar Boris N. Neledinsky said, according to Christ's command in the gospels: 'I wrote the deposition, yea, yea, exactly as I remember.'

No. 32. *Ivanoff* [above No. 32 is *Ivan Kalitin*], diak of the patriarchal house, said the same.

No. 33. *Joseph* [*Eremeyeff*] *Yartzoff*, diak of the patriarchal house, said the same.

No. 35. *Arsenius Ivanoff*, diak of the patriarchal treasury, said the same.

No. 36. The diak *Ivan Schepotkin* said the same.

No. 37. *The pod-diakon Theodore Nikitin* the same.

No. 38. *The pod-diakon Nikita Nikitin* the same.

No. 39. *The pod-diakon Peter Theodoroff* the same.

No. 40. *The pod-diakon Ivan Basilieff* the same.

No. 41. *The pod-diakon Matthew Kouznin* the same. In his deposition it is written that he heard no words from the patriarch. Afterwards he added by word of mouth that the pod-diakon [choir-diak] Ivan Tveretin told him that the patriarch is going to throw up the patriarchate. And this Ivan said to him in the cathedral during the liturgy: and the said Ivan himself had heard it as being with the patriarch when he was reading his office. For the patriarch Nicon sent the same Ivan to buy a staff.

No. 43. *The pod-diakon* [*choir-diak*] *Ivan Treretin* said that he had spoken to the pod-diakon Matthew of the departure of the patriarch Nicon from you; and that he had bought a staff for the patriarch.

No. 24, Basil priest of the cathedral; No. 25, Cyprian priest; No. 27, Michaelo deacon of the cathedral; the diaks, No. 42, Theodore Constantinoff; No. 43, Ivan Tveretinoff; No. 44, Nestor; No. 45, Denis; No. 46, Isaac; No. 47, Theodore Kos-

[23] But he wrote only thus: '*so far as I remember*, he added also these words: If I think hereafter to be your patriarch, may I be anathema!'

min; No. 48, Gabriclo; No. 49, Ignatius; and the pod-diaks, No. 50, Simon; No. 51, Ivan Theodoroff; No. 52, Dmitri of Yaroslaff; No. 53, Basil of Novgorod; No. 54, Gregory Kyrikoff; and No. 55, Sabba Semenoff, reaffirmed their depositions.

No. 57. The deposition of the pod-diak Theodore Trophimoff was written out fair.

No. 56. The deposition of the pod-diak Ivan Loginoff [which had marked upon it '*Gone away*'] was read and written out fair.

No. 58. The pod-diak Gregory Ivanoff deposed that he did hear from his brethren about the patriarch Nicon, that he meant to be patriarch no longer; but he wrote his former deposition hastily.

Others—viz. the pod-diaks, No. 58, Gregory Ivanoff; No. 59, Paul Ivanoff; No. 60, Sergius Petroff; No. 61, Simeon Ivanoff; No. 62, Alexis Sergeyeff; No. 63, Philemon Maximoff; No. 64, Matthew Stepanoff; No. 65, Dmitri Leontieff; No. 66, Cyril Sergeyeff; and No. 69—reaffirm their former depositions.

No. 70. In the deposition of Joseph, ex-archimandrite of the Choudoff, it is written that he heard the patriarch Nicon, when he concelebrated with him at the time of his leaving the patriarchate, say that he left the patriarchate of his own free will, and, 'Henceforth I will be no more patriarch.' *Signed, &c.* [Deposition sent from Kostroma.]

IV. *Resolution of the synod.*

The sacred synod of the bishops, having heard the depositions, recognised the fact *that the most holy patriarch Nicon left his chair of his own free will*, and sent[21] to report to this effect to the great hossoudar, &c, the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff, and to ask for his commands.

And the prince Peter came back and said to the synod that the great hossoudar commanded them to write out at full and to consider the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers, touching the departure of the *late* patriarch Nicon.

And the great hossoudar and the sacred synod of the bishops made order to write out from the canons, &c.: and they ap-

[21] As above on the 17th Feb., before the later depositions were taken, or the above comparison of them and reëxamination of deponents made and written down: and the same is recited, or it may have been *repeated* now on the 22d.

pointed to be over this work the most reverend Marcellus bishop of Vologda and Bielozersk, and the most reverend archbishops Hilarion of Riazan and Mourom, and Macarius of Pskoff and Izborsk, and Paul the archimandrite of the Choudoff, and Simon hegoumen of the Alexandro-Svirsk.

And from the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers there were written out extracts.

V. *Deposition taken after those given above.*

No. 71. A.M. 7168, March —. By command of the tsar, &c. Tichon, archimandrite of the Spass-Khoutinsk monastery at Novgorod, being examined, said: ... After the communion, sitting on a chair,[25] he *wrote* with his own hand: but *what* he wrote I *know not*. And after the prayer behind the ambon he went out from the altar (from the sanctuary) *without having made the dismissal of the liturgy*, and stood on the ambon, and read a discourse *about pastors*, and *shed tears*. And *many who saw this*, orthodox Christians, having in their hearts the fear of God, *shed tears also*, as they looked on him their patriarch. And after the instruction he began to renounce the patriarchate: and he spake thus: 'As when a ship is sailing on the sea, if the helm is rotten [and breaks], it is impossible to steer the ship; so I, unworthy that I am, am powerless to keep and feed the flock of Christ's rational sheep. ... As Abraham sent [or gave] his son Isaac to be a sacrifice to the Lord God, so whomsoever God and the holy Mother of God may give to her house [*i. e.* to the patriarchal cathedral of the Assumption] as pastor and teacher, let him be so; but I henceforth am not your pastor, nor your teacher. Yea, yea, henceforth I *will not be* patriarch!' (so he said *with an oath*):[26] 'And so I give you my peace, and blessing, and forgiveness. And I myself also ask forgiveness of you.' And he put off from his head the mitre, and he put off from him the omophorion and the sakkos, and demanded of the subdeacons other apparel, viz.

[25] *i. e.* within the sanctuary, between the back of the iconostase and the south-west corner of the holy table. Nicon may have written then either the heads of what he meant to say from the ambon, or the first part of the letter which he meant to send to the tsar, and which he afterwards finished and sent from the sacristy.

[26] Possibly Nicon made *some asseveration*, saying, '*Yea, yea*;' and the evangelical oath is made with 'Yea, yea!' But not every 'Yea, yea,' is therefore an oath; still less an imprecation.

a riasa, a mandya, and a klobouk. And the subdeacons did not bring him them. And he went alone within the altar into the vestry. And the metropolitan of Kroutits Pitirim would not that the patriarch should go into the vestry: but he tore himself violently away from him. And taking a black mandya with stripes he put it on, and a black klobouk. And he took a common wooden staff; and he went out from the altar,[27] and would have gone out from the church. But the orthodox Christian people of all ranks shut the doors of the cathedral, and would not let him go out: and he sat down behind his own place (*i. e.* behind the episcopal platform) in the middle of the church, on the lowest step, looking towards the western doors: and there he sat a long time. And at length there came down to the cathedral from the palace, from the great hossoudar, &c., the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy: and he came and spoke to the patriarch. But the words that he said he the same boyar has written in his own deposition. And after speaking those words he went up to the *righteous* hossoudar: and he came down again from above [from above the stairs] a *second* time, and spake to the patriarch that he should continue to be patriarch. And after those words he the patriarch went out from the cathedral. This is my deposition. Signed, &c. [and countersigned by '*Alexander Dourof*f"].

There follows next in the same roll of the synodal archives a second comparison and classification of the depositions, with mention of the reëxamination of deponents, varying from that already given above both in its wording and in the order in which the depositions are mentioned. Its chief differences are these: 1. That it throws together more frequently, as identical, several of the less important depositions, and notes their agreement and reaffirmation; and 2. That it enters into detail about the two depositions, No. 4 and No. 5, of the prince Troubetskoy, and the deposition No. 16 of the dvorianin Eleazaroff; whereas in the comparison already given above only the first of these is mentioned, and that very briefly, it being said only that it 'was read over before the synod, agreeing in all points with the depositions of the metropolitans.'

[27] *i. e.* from the space behind the iconostase, which is all called the '*altar*,' including the *prothesis* on the North side, and the *vestry* on the South.

VI. *Second comparison of the depositions, and reëxamination of the deponents.*

Referring to depositions No. 1 and No. 2. In the deposition of the metropolitan Pitirim it is written: . . . The *late* patriarch Nicon celebrated, &c. . . . And the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy said to the patriarch, &c. [all being rehearsed as given above]. In the deposition of the metropolitan Michael all the rest is written in the same way as in that of the metropolitan Pitirim; but nothing is written of any *oath* (or curse) in the deposition of the metropolitan Michael; but in his deposition it is written that the patriarch went out of the church '*after the liturgy*.'

And the sacred synod of the bishops questioned the metropolitan Michael whether there was any *oath* (or curse) uttered by the patriarch, and *whether he had made the dismissal of the liturgy, or did not make it.* And the metropolitan Michael said: '*Curse* I heard *none*; but whether he made or did not make the dismissal, I cannot exactly remember.'

No. 3. In the deposition of Joasaph archbishop of Tver all is written as in the depositions[28] of the metropolitans Pitirim of Kroutitsi and Michael of Servia, only the oath (or curse) is mentioned without precise details.

And the sacred synod questioned him: *What* curse did the patriarch Nicon utter? And the archbishop Joasaph said before the synod that he did not remember exactly with what oath or curse the patriarch Nicon swore. And the same archbishop before the synod said in addition to his written deposition: 'The patriarch Nicon said: If I return as a dog to his vomit.'

No. 4. In the deposition of the boyar prince Al. N. Troubetskoy it is written: . . . What blessing shouldest thou have from me? And [that] he was unworthy to be patriarch. And by command of the great hossoudar he spake to the patriarch a second time that he should not leave the patriarchate: and the patriarch said that he would not revoke his word: that he had long made a vow of this, that he would not be patriarch: and so he went out from the cathedral.

No. 70. In the deposition of Joseph, archimandrite of the

[28] Almost *word for word* as in the deposition of Pitirim.

Choudoff, it is written that he heard the patriarch say that he left the patriarchate of his own free will.

No. 5. In the deposition of Joseph, archimandrite of the Novospass, it is written as in those of the metropolitans and of the archbishop; only there is nothing about any curse. And the sacred synod questioned him whether the patriarch swore, or did not swear. And he answered on his word: 'I *heard* no oath.' And being questioned whether the patriarch went away after making the dismissal, or without having made it, he said: 'I do not remember.'

No. 6. In the deposition of Dionysius, archimandrite of the Spass-Andronikoff, it is written, '*after the dismissal*;' and there is no mention of any curse. Being questioned, he said: 'Curse I *heard* none; *but* I was squeezed up by the crowd of the people against the pillar which is near the Lord's tunic. Whether the patriarch went out after making the dismissal, or without having made it, I cannot remember.'

No. 7. In the deposition of Cyprian, archimandrite of the Theophany, there is no curse. Being questioned, he said: 'Curse I *heard* none, *for* I was standing a long way off.'

No. 8. In the deposition of Joseph, hegoumen of the Znamensky, there is no curse. Being questioned, he said: 'Curse I heard none: but he went out without having made the dismissal.'

No. 9. Bogolep, hegoumen of the Novinsky, was not there.

No. 11. Misael, hegoumen of the Zlatooustoff, excused himself for having written incorrectly 'mandya and klobouk,' for 'sakkos and mitre.'

No. 10. In the deposition of Michael, protopope of the cathedral, there is no curse. Being questioned, he said: 'Curse I *heard* none, *for* I was standing afar off: but that day there was no dismissal to the liturgy.'

Nos. 12, 13, and 14. Kondrat protopope of the Archangel, Andrew protopope of the Sretensky, and Job kliuchar of the cathedral, in their depositions, which they reaffirm, agree in all with Michael, the protopope of the cathedral.

Nos. 20, 29. Silas protopope of the Spassky, and Athanasius deacon of the cathedral, were absent.

Nos. 17, 18. In the deposition of Job, *riznik* of the patriarchal vestry, there are many words not found in any other de-

position. . . . [after which, given as above, there follows]: 'But I commit you into the hands of the living God: may he feed you!' And the patriarch himself put off the mitre and the other robes, and put on a black mandya with stripes, and a black klobouk: and he took a staff, and went out from the cathedral: but the staff of Peter the wonder-worker he set at his place.' And in another deposition of the same Job it is written that after the instruction the patriarch said before the people: 'Henceforth I will not be patriarch.'

And the sacred synod questioned the two metropolitans and the archbishop, and all those of the sacred order who had given in depositions, whether they had heard from the patriarch those superfluous words which the riznik had written. And they all with one consent replied that 'certainly no one of them had heard any such words.' And the sacred synod questioned Job why he had written those many words in his deposition, when there were no such words in any other deposition; and why he varied from himself in another later deposition? And he replied that he wrote his first deposition *to the best of his memory;* and that he wrote the second *because the secretary Alex. Douroff came to him, &c.* [as above].

No. 19. In the deposition of Tichon Odonin, the patriarchal treasurer (*kaznachey*), it is written that when the patriarch left his chair he said: 'From whomsoever I have taken a field,' &c.

No. 23. In the deposition of Theodore Terentieff, priest of the cathedral, all is like the deposition of the metropolitan Pitirim. Being questioned, he said on his word as a priest that in his deposition he had written the truth.[29]

Nos. 24, 25, 26, and 27, 28. In the depositions of the priests of the cathedral Basil, Cyprian, and Marcian, and in those of the deacons Michael and Peter, it is written as in those of the metropolitans; but no *curse* is mentioned. Being questioned, these all reaffirmed what they had written.

Nos. 30, 32, 33, 35, 36. The depositions of the patriarchal boyar Boris Neledinsky, and of the patriarchal diaks [diakons], agree with those of the archimandrites and popes, and are reaffirmed by them.

[29] He himself, however, in mentioning the *anathema*, added these words, '*so far as I remember;*' so showing that he was really seeking to agree with the metropolitan Pitirim.

Nos. 31, 34. The patriarchal diaks [diakons] Ivan Kokoshileff and Denis Diakofsky were not there.

Nos. 37, 38, 40. In the depositions of the pod-diaks [pod-diakons] Theodore and Nikita Ivanoff [and Ivan Basilieff], and the choir-diaks Nestor Ivanoff, Ivan Theodoroff, and Gregory Cyrilloff, there is contained the same.

No. 39. In the deposition of the pod-diak [pod-diakon] Peter of Novgorod there is written: How the patriarch renounced the patriarchate he heard not, because he went into the vestry. But the patriarch delivered an instruction. . . He 'had taken on himself a great ship, and could not steer it; and the rudder of the ship was rotten, and the ship was wrecked.' Reaffirmed.

Nos. 41 and 43. In the deposition[30] of [the pod-diakon] Matthew Kouznin it is written that he was told by Ivan Tveretin, &c. And the latter confirmed this. Reaffirmed.

Nos. 42 to 57 incl., 59, and 61 to 65 incl., 68, 69. In the depositions of the choir-diaks and pod-diaks, Fedor Constantinoff and twenty-three others, in all alike there is written that the patriarch Nicon said he would no more be patriarch. And this they reaffirmed.

No. 58. In the deposition of the pod-diak Gregory Ivanoff it is written that he heard nothing, because he was within the altar. But on being questioned, he said that he heard from his brethren that the patriarch Nicon will be no more patriarch; but he wrote his deposition hurriedly, and was confused.

Nos. 60, 66, 67. The pod-diaks Sergius Petroff, Cyril Sergeyeff, and Ivan of Yaroslaff, in their depositions say that they were not present at the instruction, and heard nothing from the patriarch.

No. 15. In the second deposition of the boyar prince Al. Nik. Troubetskoy, and of the secretary to the council Hilarion Lopouchin, it is written that they were sent to Voskresensk, and asked the patriarch why he had driven off from Moscow precipitately, without obtaining the consent of the great hossoudar, and without giving to him the great hossoudar his blessing. And the patriarch Nicon replied that he prayed the great hossoudar to be graciously pleased to forgive him: that he sent his blessing and forgiveness to the great hossoudar: and whomso-

[30] Not in his original deposition given at p. 205, but in the supplementary deposition at p. 214.

ever it may please God and the holy Mother of God, and whom the great hossoudar may designate, to be patriarch in his room, he gives him his blessing: and he prays the great hossoudar that the Church of God be not left in widowhood without a pastor. 'But for the future,' he said, 'I will not be patriarch. And if I so much as wish to be patriarch, *may I be anathema!*' And the patriarch gave his blessing and forgiveness to the boyars, and to the people of the council, and to all orthodox Christians.[31]

No. 16. In the deposition of Procopius Kuzmich Eleazaroff, dvorianin of the council, it is written: . . . When he and the secretary of the council, Almiaz Ivanoff, were sent to speak to the patriarch Nicon respecting the ceremony of Palm Sunday, he then said that he had abandoned the episcopal chair of his own will, not being persecuted [*i.e.* compelled, or thrust out] by any one: and the words that he sent to the great hossoudar by the boyar Al. N. Troubetskoy and the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff he holds to now without change: and that as for returning to his episcopal chair, he has not a thought of it: but as then, when he left his chair, he gave his blessing to him the great hossoudar and to all the sacred synod to choose a patriarch, whom God should please, so now also he confirms the same blessing. And to all those who were bound, to whom at his departure he gave absolution, so now also he gives his absolution and blessing.[32]

VII. *Synodal minute, serving as preamble, followed by 'Extracts from the Canons,' &c., made by command of the tsar between the 17th and 27th February,* A.D. 1660.

In A.M. 7168, A.D. 1660, by command of the tsar, &c., there assembled the most reverend metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, the archimandrites and hegoumens, and all the sacred synod. They assembled for this cause:

[31] N.B. Nothing is added here of these lay deponents being questioned, or of their reaffirming this their deposition or report, which is plainly mixed with falsehood.

[32] It may be noted that of the whole number of 72 deponents 3 are bishops, 8 archimandrites or hegoumens, 5 protopopes, 6 deacons, 1 monk, 5 priests, 6 patriarchal diaks [deacons and secretaries], 5 patriarchal pod-diaks [subdeacons], 29 choir-diaks and pod-diaks [*i.e.* singing clerks], and 3 laymen.

Whereas two years back, in A.M. 7166, A.D. 1658, the patriarch Nicon left his chair, in this present year on the 16th of February all the sacred synod stood before the face of the great hossoudar, and heard from his sacred lips how that he was in great anxiety because the catholic church (*i.e.* the patriarchal catholicon or cathedral) had not a pastor and bridegroom: and he desired that the sacred synod of the bishops should consider of this energetically, and unanimously, and righteously, without either ill-will or vain partiality, according to the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers; remembering each the awful judgment, and the recompense to be made to every man according to his works.

The sacred synod therefore, having heard the most wise command of the great hossoudar, &c., went to the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate; and on the morning of February 17, by oukaz of him the great hossoudar, &c., the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff brought to the synod certain written depositions.

And the sacred synod of the bishops received the depositions, and questioned each of the witnesses in the synod respecting his deposition, those of the sacerdotal order on their words as priests, and the rest according to Christ's holy commandment in the Gospel.

In the depositions of the most reverend Pitirim, metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and of the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, it was written that the patriarch Nicon renounced his patriarchate with an imprecation: but in all the other depositions it was written respecting his renunciation of his patriarchate—in all of them without any discrepancy—[only] that the patriarch renounced his patriarchate, and declared that he would be no longer patriarch.

And the sacred synod of the bishops, having heard the depositions, found *that the most holy patriarch Nicon left his patriarchal chair of his own will;* and sent [Feb. 17] to report that their finding to the great hossoudar, &c., by the boyar Peter M. Soltikoff, and to ask for his commands.

And the boyar Peter M. Soltikoff came back to the synod, and said that the great hossoudar, &c. commands that the sacred synod make in writing extracts from the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy Fathers touching the departure of the *late*

patriarch Nicon; and that the charge of making the extracts be committed to the most reverend archbishops Marcellus of Vologda and Bielozersk, Hilarion of Riazan and Mourom, and Macarius of Pskoff and Izborsk, together with Paul archimandrite of the Choudoff, and Simon hegoumen of the Alexandro-Svirsky monasteries.

And in pursuance of the oukaz of the great hossoudar, &c., the sacred synod of the bishops gave order accordingly to make extracts in writing, &c.; and ordered that the charge of making the extracts should be committed [to the persons above mentioned].

Extracts written out from the canons of the holy Fathers, and from the Kormchay.

Canon xvi. of the *First and Second Council*, held in the church of the holy Apostles, fol. 121: 'Under no circumstances whatever is any one to take a see the bishop of which is still living: for it is necessary that the guilt of him whom they wish to expel be first inquired into and proved, and then only after his deposition is it lawful to appoint another.'[33]

'If any bishop does not care to attend to his flock, and, not being detained by sickness or by command of the emperor or of the patriarch, absents himself from his church for more than six months, &c., he is to be stripped of the episcopal rank and honour.'[34] In the book of Matthew Blastar the monk this canon is thus written, § iv. fol. 87:

Canon lxxvi. [lxxxviii. in the *Kormchay* of 1834] of the *Council of Carthage* (fol. 153) forbids a bishop under accusation to be cast out from the episcopate till there has been a judgment passed upon him.

The same is also plainly enacted by canon xvi. of the *First and Second Council*, when it forbids to ordain any one to a church the bishop of which is still living, and has not been definitively degraded from his honour, even though he be accused by some of crimes, and of fear and pusillanimity should have given up his see: for this may cause parties and contention: but it behoves rather that the ecclesiastics, laying aside all ill-will,

[33] See the same in Nicon's *Replies*, p. 110, 507. [34] Ib. p. 4, 6, 594.

examine carefully, according to the canons, the case; and if from the depositions which are made it appear that the accusation is justified, then the abandonment of the episcopate holds, or, to speak more correctly, he is for his sin deposed, and another is then to be appointed to the episcopate in his room. But, moreover, if any one, however well established may be his reputation, will not feed his people, but leaves the flock for more than six months, without any need compelling him, he will rightly be put out from the chair of his episcopate.

In the same book, title v. § 28, fol. 110, from the *Letter of Cyril to Domnus of the abdication of bishops:* In this St. Cyril demonstrates (in ch. iii. of his epistle to Domnus) that for ministers in holy things to renounce their churches is not agreeable to the ecclesiastical constitutions: for if they are worthy to minister, they ought not to renounce; but if they are unworthy, they are not to go away by their own act of renunciation, but by a judgment pronounced against them for those sins of which they have been convicted. But if it occur that any one renounce his episcopate, and leave the flock intrusted to him, it is not right nor canonical that he should afterwards retain the exercise of his ministry. For it is unreasonable and inconsistent to renounce what is laborious and painful—that is, the presidency of teaching and improving the people, and as far as one can to preclude all annoyance of obloquy from them—and yet at the same time to retain and appropriate all that confers honour and distinction, after showing disregard to the principal thing, which is the care of souls.

It is shown also by canon xvi. of the *First and Second Council* abundantly how senseless is such an opinion, though it be held by many; since it shows that a bishop who renounces the episcopate cannot retain the priesthood. For this canon decrees that he who absents himself from his see for more than six months for any reason of his own, when there is nothing to prevent his returning to it, is to lose both the episcopate and the priesthood. But if he who has committed a less fault is thus condemned, how shall not he who has altogether renounced the episcopate and the care of his flock for all his life be punished much more? For him who, led away by his own will, has deserted the sacred flock committed to him by Christ the chief Shepherd, to be only left unpunished is contrary to the canons

and laws; but much more is it contrary to them for such a one to obtain the honour of the chief priesthood.

Of this canon x. of St. Dionysius also speaks: . . . . If the canons decree that he who is called to preside over the people, if he obeys not, is to be excommunicated, who that has any understanding can accept the causeless abdication of those who have been appointed bishops, and not rather punish such as severely as ever he can? And since the *name* of the episcopate is indicative of a *thing* and an *energy*, and it is plain that he who voluntarily casts off the energy loses also the name, and is no more to be called a bishop, how can he keep the priesthood? Or how can he be called an hierarch, that is, *a head of priests?* He who has no clergy under him cannot be a 'head of priests;' so he has not the name of *hierarch*, and much less ought he to have the function; for if any one has no part in the name, how much less in the thing itself? An abdication, then, is not to be received, unless any one confesses himself [by some crime] to be unworthy of the priesthood; but this being declared, he who abdicates loses also at the same time by his abdication all kind of sacerdotal dignity.

Of the [third] œcumenical synod, canon ix. fol. 91: 'It was the duty of Eustathius to endure manfully and continue in his episcopate; for this is the duty of every bishop. But he, turning his back in an unprofitable manner, renounced, and Theodore was appointed bishop in his room. But he [Eustathius] wept, and entreated and petitioned to be allowed to retain his honour, as being free from crime [and the synod allows him]. But he who ordained another in his room, having plainly his renunciation, is without sin.'

The gloss: 'This Eustathius was bishop of Pamphylia. Pamphylia is a province of Attalia. Being poor (of poor ability), and not competent to manage the affairs of the Church, nor to take proper care of it, and to govern it, he renounced the burden; that is, he gave up the see by a writing; and there was ordained in his place another, named Theodore. And afterwards he came before the Council of Ephesus, begging and weeping, not seeking to regain his see—for if he had asked to have his see restored to him, they would not have listened to him, after he had once renounced it and another had been appointed in his room—but asking to have the honour and com-

mmunion of a bishop. And he was satisfied in this by the sacred synod without any contradiction, and allowed to style himself bishop, and to have episcopal honour and a seat, and to celebrate, and to ordain priests and deacons; yet not of his own authority nor of his own will, where he pleased, but only when my brother bishop desired him to celebrate in his church, or to ordain any one upon request. And for the love of Christ, and of compassion, the fathers of this council added also this word to the synod of Pamphylia, saying: But if ye are prepared to do anything better for him, either now or hereafter, that is, to put him into a vacant church which has no bishop, or in any other way to help him by a grant [ye can do it].'

But in *the book of Matthew Blastar* the monk, § v. ch. 28, the same case is [commented upon] thus: 'But also from the epistle of the Third holy Œcumenical Council to the bishops of Pamphylia respecting a certain Eustathius this appears to them that consider rightly, that they who renounce their church fall at once from both the episcopate and the priesthood. And, besides this, it appears that for bishops to renounce their profession is not without sin. For this Eustathius, being a bishop of Pamphylia, fell into temptation, and being distressed by his own pusillanimity and inexperience, he by a writing renounced his episcopate, and another was appointed to it. And he came weeping before the holy council afterwards, not seeking back his church, nor complaining of anything against him who held it, but asking to have the name and honour of a bishop. But they felt compassion both for the tears and for the old age of Eustathius; and, fearing lest anything should happen to him from the excess of his grief, they allowed him to have the name and honour and communion of a bishop, that he should go within the altar to communicate, but they did not allow him either to celebrate or to ordain, unless, &c. These appointments, however, were not said by the holy fathers to be [strictly] canonical, but were made by them of economy and by an extraordinary condescension, as any one reading the epistle carefully will plainly see.'

Canon xviii. of the local *synod of Sardica*, fol. 114: 'Respecting the neglect [or non-residence] of bishops, priests, and deacons, let the canons already enacted be enforced.' Gloss: No bishop may leave his flock and remain in another city

above three weeks; and the same canon likewise enjoins on priests and deacons that they also leave not their churches for more than three weeks.'

Canon iii. of *Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria*, fol. 273: 'It is a thing not agreeable to the constitutions of the Church that some bishops by writing renounce their sees, and offer [to the local synod] such writings. For if they are worthy of the priesthood, they must serve; but if not, they are not to renounce, but being convicted of their evil deeds, they are by judgment to be deposed:' alluding to the way in which Proclus once, as it is said, from the straits he was in, and fear, and the threats of certain persons, renounced his see.

Canon lxxii. of the *Council of Carthage*, fol. 148: 'It is not right for any bishop (*i.e.* no bishop is allowed) to leave his proper seat and remove to another,[35] or, attending to his own private concerns, neglect his chair.' Gloss: 'Not only is it forbidden to a bishop by various canons to go about from city to city, but neither by this canon is it allowed him to leave his original episcopal residence, where was from the first the chair of his church, and remove (*i.e.* permanently) to another church within his province, transferring to it the honour of the former. Nor either does it allow him to busy himself overmuch about his own private matters, but forbids him to neglect the teaching of his people.'

Canon xvii. of *Basil the Great*, fol. 231: 'The priest Bianor, on account of some hard words, swore, and repented afterwards of that his oath.' Gloss: 'This priest Bianor being provoked by a certain man, and not being able to endure with patience that vexation, from the trouble of his mind swore that he would no longer serve (*i.e.* celebrate), but afterwards repenting, he wished to serve. And Basil the Great being questioned about this, whether he was to be received, decreed: If he repents of the curse, he is to be received; but he is not to serve in the chief churches, that he be not a scandal to many; but in a more private way (*i.e.* not in *con*celebrations) he may do sacerdotal acts.'

[35] *τῆς αὐθεντικῆς αὐτοῦ καθέδρας, πρός τινα ἐκκλησίαν ἐν διοικήσει καθεστῶσαν ἑαυτὸν ἀποφέρειν.* But this is so mistranslated in the Slavonic as to forbid Nicon to move even to Voskresensk, which was within his own *ἐπαρχία*: 'to leave the chief place of his chair and transfer himself to some other *church in his eparchy*.'

From the book of *Gregory the Divine*, the preface, p. 11: 'One hundred and fifty bishops, by command of the emperor Theodosius the Great, came from different provinces to C.P. against Macedonius, who fought against the Holy Ghost. Before they entered into discussion about him, they greatly admired Gregory the Divine for the sublimity of his theology and the purity of his life; and by common consent they confirmed to him the see of C.P., being scarcely moved thereto by many entreaties of the emperor. After this, when some of the Egyptian bishops were still jealous of him, and spoke against that designation of him, and called him a duplicate bishop,[36] he, perceiving their ill will, determined to withdraw, that there might not be between the other bishops and their race and the Egyptians any difference on his account. And so, making a pretext of his age and infirmities, and ignorance and inexperience, and other defects, he pronounced the present discourse; and having earnestly besought the emperor and the synod, he was with difficulty let go by them to his native country, after having ordained Nectarius in his room,' &c.

In the book of *Nicon of the Black Mountain*, ch. 21: 'Again it was decided that no bishop can properly leave the chair of his diocese and go off to any church of his government (διοικήσεως), or occupy himself unduly with his own matters for a long time, neglecting the care and occupancy of his chair.'

The *Council of Sardica*, in its canon xi.,[37] speaks of this subject: 'When any bishop goes from one city to another,' &c. And it says at the end of the canon: 'Ye remember that in time past our fathers have judged that if any secular person living in a city does not for three successive Sundays go to the church, he is to be cut off from communion. But if this is enacted concerning lay people, it certainly is not right nor fit nor profitable that a bishop, unless for some great need or difficult matter of business, be long away from his own church, and grieve the people committed to him. All the bishops said that this counsel is most proper; and we enact it.' So this canon admonishes such bishops as are separate (*i.e.* uncanonically absent) from their chairs, of their loss of communion, and

[36] '*Triplicate*' in the translator's copy.

[37] Of this canon there is in the printed Kormchay only a trace, forming part of its canon xiii.

of inquisition to be made about such absence, in time of peace, beyond what is allowed by the constitutions.

In like manner also the *civil law* says: 'Let no bishop remain absent from his church above a year. If he does so remain, and is admonished to return by the patriarch for the time being or the metropolitan, and does not return, let him be expelled from the episcopate, and let another be appointed.' And another enactment says that 'if a bishop remains absent any long time from his church, the econome is not to give him supplies, but is to let the revenues that should have gone to his needs go to some religious purposes of the church.'

Of these points more is said in detail afterwards in the enactments of the *Council of Constantinople*, held in the church of the Holy Apostles, in canon xvi., as is written in the great Codex, § lxiii., thus: 'To provide against the occurrence of any disputes and discord in the Church of God, this also was deemed to be necessary: that under no circumstances is any one to be appointed to a church, the ruler of which is still living and in possession of his honour, unless he himself voluntarily renounces his episcopate: for it is necessary that he who is to be deprived of his episcopate be first accused, and the charge against him canonically examined, and the examination brought to an end; and so, after his deposition, another may be raised to the episcopate in his stead. But if any bishop, being in possession of his honour, is not willing to resign, nor yet to feed his people, but goes away from his see for more than six months, going and living in another *place of his province*,[38] he is to be deprived of his honour and rank altogether. For he who takes not care of the flock intrusted to him, and remains in another place above six months, is by the decree of the holy synod to be altogether deprived of the episcopate for which he was ordained or set to be a pastor, and another bishop is to be appointed in his stead. However, as we have said above, it was in time of peace that the above-mentioned canons were made concerning bishops: but for times of oppression and tyrannical dominion of strangers the divine canons have another and different legislation.'

From *the same chapter*: 'It is related in a *book of histories*,

[38] These words are an interpolation and falsification of the canon, which has no such meaning, but by 'another place' or city it means certainly a place *out of* his own province or diocese, ἐπαρχίας.

as we have mentioned above, that from the days of Heraclius the Greek emperor, after the Saracens had taken Antioch (A.D. 636-676), the chair of Antioch remained forty years without any patriarch having access to it, as the Saracens would not allow it: but the patriarchs of Antioch after the capture of that city lived at Constantinople: and after forty years, they having become impoverished, the patriarchs by command of the Saracens ordered that a Christian from the Syrian countries[39] should be made patriarch; which also was so done until the Greeks retook the city. And when the Greeks took it, the first patriarch of Antioch of the Greeks (A.D. 969) was the blessed Kyr Theodore II., hegoumen of the monastery of Kyr Antony. To him the emperor John Tsimisces gave a charter sealed with the chrysobullon, and confirmed all his appointments. In like manner he made all the churches in Antioch and the monasteries in its environs to be under the jurisdiction of the patriarch, following herein the divine canon and the former laws, as they all enacted. And the emperor added a residence in Constantinople for the patriarchs of Antioch of the time being, viz. the monastery of the holy Mother of God the Instructress. And the most holy patriarch of C.P. Polyeuctes gave them a decretal letter, that the patriarchs of Antioch for the time being should both celebrate and ordain in their convents, and in the capital, and in all its environs, so far as the province extended, and have their names mentioned in the liturgy. At a later time Agapius,[40] patriarch of Antioch, renounced his chair, and instead of him there was appointed the blessed John. But Agapius soon repented of his abdication; and the blessed John, being alarmed, waited not to come to his chair and to be ordained by his metropolitans to the episcopate; but with haste gave up the prœminence of Antioch. And thenceforth it was ruled that they [the patriarchs of Antioch] should be appointed by the patriarch of C.P. But under the blessed patr. of Antioch Kyr Peter III. Christodulus (A.D. 1052-1057), a deacon of the most holy church of Antioch Eskio Stephani, having gone to C.P., was honoured with the κουβουκλίου by the most holy patriarch Kyr Michael,[41] and came to An-

[39] *i.e.* a subject of the Saracen rulers.

[40] Translated from the see of Seleucia by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and installed 23d Jan. A.D. 976.

[41] Cerularius, A.D. 1043-1059.

tioch, as having been honoured by the œcumenical patriarch. But Kyr Peter would not give up his rightful church, but expelled the deacon, and tore the writing, and wrote to the patriarch of C.P. with displeasure, saying rightly that the apostolical chair of Antioch is not under the authority of C.P., and further that the patriarchs of C.P. had taken and exercised the right of appointing the patriarchs of Antioch uncanonically, through the haste of the most holy John to give up the ecclesiastical pre-eminence. And the patriarch of C.P. wrote in reply asking pardon, as the writing was given [to that deacon] by the chartophylax without his own knowledge or bidding. And the patriarch after that forgave the deacon.' But in ch. 31 of the same book it is written that 'Agapetus [Agapius?] patr. of Antioch renounced his chair, in whose room the blessed John was chosen,' &c.; as has been written down of him above, and also of the deacon.

Of *the same book, Sermon* xxx. In the preface respecting abdication of the episcopate it is written, that 'the divine canons allow not this to be done by a writing, but prescribe that the person be examined; and that if he be worthy, he is to remain; but if unworthy, he is to be condemned and deposed.

'But of the abdications which now take place contrary to the canons, question and examination was made in the days of Kyr Theodosius (Theodosius III. A.D. 1047-1078) patriarch of Antioch. And in the book of the patriarchate it was found written thus: "Such a bishop is found to have sinned; and, not wishing to be openly deposed, to avoid the shame he feigns that he of his own will has abdicated. And hence this has become a custom, and has passed into a kind of rule; and another like custom has arisen, viz. that of abdicating for any other cause that there may happen to be, and giving at the same time a writing of abdication." And of simple abdication it is thus.

'But of a bishop giving up, while still living, his bishopric to another, or leaving it to pass as by inheritance on his death, there is now [here] not a word, but this is altogether unlawful, and therefore it is not done. However, St. Methodius of C.P. (A.D. 842-846) says orally, in his discourse to the brethren of the Studium, that a bishop cannot appoint another to be bishop in his own room, neither while he himself yet lives, nor [to be his successor] after his death,' &c.

VIII. *Resolution of the Synod, 27th Feb.*

And in the present year 7168, Feb. 27th, by oukaz of the great hossoudar, &c. the sacred synod of the bishops heard the extracts from the canons respecting the abdication of the most holy patriarch Nicon read, and considered of it according to the same extracts, fearing each one of them the judgment of God, and remembering that most wise injunction of the great hossoudar which has been mentioned above, to look to it most carefully that, whatever course is taken, nothing be done *uncanonically*.

They brought forward the request of the great hossoudar, &c. made to him the *late* patriarch Nicon through the boyar prince Alexis N. Troubetskoy; but he the *late* patriarch paid not the least attention to that request of the great hossoudar.

Farther, he also in like manner disregarded the entreaty of the metropolitans and archbishops and others who were present at his abdication of the patriarchate.

He did not tell the causes of his abdication to the great hossoudar,[42] nor to the bishops[43] who were there present; nor did he leave any writing addressed to the sacred synod collectively.[44] But following his own will, he imagined or pretended as a cause his own ignorance and his sins, and so abdicated and left his chair.

He set at naught the entreaty of the great hossoudar and of the most reverend bishops and a multitude of the sacred clergy; and, farther, he set at naught in like manner all the rest of the people who were present. And now the time that has passed since his abdication already amounts to one full year and seven months.

But all the witnesses having, in presence of the sacred synod of the bishops, been questioned according to Christ's command in the holy gospel, said all of them with the evangelical oath, Yea, yea, that their depositions were written according to the truth. But in their depositions it is said, in all alike, that the

[42] This is simply false; and if it had been true, it was needless that he should *tell* the tsar what the tsar knew well enough of himself from what had passed previously. [43] Neither is this true.

[44] He had written more than once to the tsar, with whom alone his controversy was; but the tsar laid nothing of all this before the synod, but only Nicon's subscription of himself as '*late* patriarch' in a letter.

patriarch Nicon renounced his patriarchate, and declared that he would be no more patriarch.

In addition, the great hossoudar &c. sent by his boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff to the sacred synod, as a testimony, a letter written to him the great hossoudar by the patriarch Nicon, in which the patriarch Nicon writes with his own hand thus: 'Nicon, *late patriarch*.'

And the sacred synod of the bishops having considered all these things, and especially having read attentively the extracts made from the canons, referred this matter to the canons of the holy fathers; since the canons of the holy fathers all with one accord and without any contradiction determine that 'if a bishop renounces his see, or goes away without any reasonable cause [lit., such a cause as may be blessed] for a longer time than six months, another is to be appointed bishop in his room.'

The first synodal resolutions of 17th and 22d Feb., based on the depositions, had merely affirmed the fact that Nicon had voluntarily quitted his chair; the resolution of the 27th Feb., based on the extracts written out from the canons, determined farther that another patriarch was to be appointed in his room; and this determination, it is to be observed, was made without waiting for the receipt of that written consent to the election of a new patriarch, to obtain which the stolnik Poushkin had been sent to Nicon to the Krestnoy monastery. It is clear, then, that the council had no sincere intention of treating with him as for an amicable arrangement, but desired only to obtain, if possible, such a written consent as might be used by them in their own sense; a consent unclogged by any conditions; much as before they had asked him to bless the metropolitan of Kroutits to administer the Church, meaning that he should administer it in complete independence of the patriarch and in complete subordination to themselves, or as if there had been an absolute vacancy. Still the resolution of the 27th of Feb. did not go so far as to assert that Nicon had lost his quality of bishop and even of priest, or was to be absolutely degraded and forbidden to celebrate, though the extracts written out from the canons were certainly made to point to this course. How, precisely, he was to be treated remained still a question.

But in the mean time—only a few days later—the stolnik

Poushkin returned from the Krestnoy monastery, and made to the tsar his report, which in the form of a deposition was also communicated by the tsar to the synod, as follows:

IX. *Deposition of the stolnik Matthew Stepanoff Poushkin, who had been sent to the Krestnoy monastery on the White Sea to Nicon, to obtain his consent to the election of a new patriarch; dated at Moscow on the 6th March* A.D. 1660.

I was sent to Nicon the patriarch. I came to him in the Krestnoy monastery on Friday the 24th Feb. A.D. 1660; was in his cell; inquired after his health, to which he replied with thanks. Then I said that when he the patriarch had voluntarily quitted his chair in Moscow, the tsar &c. then sent to him the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy, and that not once only, and bade him say that he should return to the patriarchal chair: but he the patriarch refused to the said boyar to do so, and did not return to the patriarchal chair; and he gave a blessing to the great hossoudar to choose a patriarch, whom he would. And after that there were sent to the same patriarch in the tsar's name members of the council, the dvorianin Procopius Kouzmich Eleazaroff and the secretary Almiaz Ivanoff. But the patriarch said to them, Procopius and Almiaz, the same; viz. that he would not sit any more in the patriarchal chair, and that he the patriarch would give his blessing for the election of a patriarch in his stead, whomsoever the Lord God and the holy Mother of God should please. And this he wrote to the great hossoudar the tsar.

And the patriarch Nicon said to him Matthew, that when the boyar Troubetskoy came to him to Voskresensk, he did *not* call him back to the patriarchal chair; but at Moscow, in the cathedral, he did say *something*[45] *of that sort*, of his returning to the patriarchal chair. And in like manner the dvorianin of the council Procopius did *not* desire him to return to the patriarchal chair, but only spoke as reprimanding him. To the great hossoudar he always gave his blessing (and as he said this he made the act of blessing with his hands); and it was impossible that a [faithful] subject should [do otherwise than] bless his hossoudar.

[45] That is, he desired him to remain or to return, so as to be content with such position as the tsar and the boyars might allow him, and so as to administer the Church under their supremacy.

But for such a proceeding as the creation of a new patriarch without his own participation, he would not give his blessing. Who was there who without him could institute a new patriarch, and put on him the mitre? because the mitre had been given to him by the œcumenical patriarchs. But for a metropolitan to put the mitre on to the head of a patriarch [*i.e.* while he the patriarch was still living] was impossible. And again, who should take from the patriarchal place the staff, and give it to the new patriarch? seeing that he the patriarch was still living, and had in him the grace of the Holy Ghost. That he had indeed left his chair, but he had no idea of throwing up his episcopate. And as regards this, the great hossoudar &c. knew that he had taken away with him a patriarchal sakkos and omophorion, and used them to that day to celebrate the liturgy, for the communion of the most holy Body and Blood of Christ our God, and to pray for them his great hossoudars. That he the patriarch had long given up [the idea of] living in the patriarchate at Moscow; but all the bishops have received their ordination from him: and at their appointment in the catholic and apostolic church (the cathedral of the Assumption), before the great hossoudar, and before him the patriarch, and before all the sacred synod, they all confessed [swore canonical obedience to him], and subscribed the same in writing with their own hands. And in that their confession and engagement they anathematised Gregory Simblak, because he, during the lifetime of his metropolitan, usurped the chair of the primacy. And the same bishops bound themselves afterwards not to desire any other patriarch. And how, then, can they without his concurrence institute any new patriarch who may be chosen?

Also the patriarch Nicon gave to him Matthew a written paper under his hand, and bade him deliver that writing to the great hossoudar.

And he said to him besides, that he the patriarch could not do otherwise [than as he had stated]; but that [this being understood], it might be as the great hossoudar pleased. And if it pleased the great hossoudar that he the patriarch should come to Moscow, he would be ready at his the great hossoudar's command to come and institute as a new patriarch him who should be elected: and so, having received gracious forgiveness from the great hossoudar, and having made all up with the bishops,

and having given his blessing to them all, he would retire into a monastery. But for the monasteries which he was founding, [he desired that] the great hossoudar should not command them to be taken from him; and that the great hossoudar should command a portion to be given to him from [the revenues of] the cathedral church, that he may have a maintenance.

To this *deposition* Matthew Step. Poushkin has affixed his signature, A.D. 1660, March 6.

X. *Written paper given by the patriarch Nicon to the stolnik Matthew Step. Poushkin to deliver to the great hossoudar, [and sent by the great hossoudar, together with the report or deposition of the stolnik, to the synod of the clergy. No. 37 of roll* II.]

If it is inquired how a patriarch may be elected without irregularity, rightfully and religiously, let our humility be invited in a friendly and honourable manner. And the matter, as a matter of religion, having been entered upon synodically and piously [that is, with prayer], let an election be made: and whomsoever the divine grace shall choose to the primacy, let him receive our blessing, as the peaceful rule of the holy Church requires. For as we have received grace from the holy apostles, transmitting it one to another, and as we ourselves also were ordained regularly to the same rank and received the divine grace, so having received we can, in consequence, likewise give. And as from one light another light is lighted, so from them that have the divine grace, grace goes forth to him who is elected, through the imposition of hands, and suffers in the first no diminution; as also a candle from which many other candles are lighted loses nothing of its own light. And so the newly-elected bishop shall incur no kind of sin, and the divine grace shall come upon him, and all the bishops shall be loosed from the bond of that oath which they sware at their election to the episcopate in the holy catholic and great church before the most religious tsar, and the primate, and all the sacred synod, and all the tsar's synclete, and all the people, to which also they subscribed with their hands, each of them, according to the old custom established in the Church. And no one is to think otherwise of that which is to be done than according to this precedent: 'Anoint,' God says, 'such a one to be prophet in thy room.' And again, 'He that entereth not by the door, but

climbeth up by some other way, the same is a thief and a robber; but he that entereth by the door is the shepherd of the sheep,' &c. ✠ Nicon, by the grace of God patriarch.

Nicon sent also herewith extracts from the canons, &c., respecting his exclusive right to take part in the election of a new patriarch.

But the synod had already, on the 27th Feb. A.D. 1660, decreed—so writes, in 1662, Paisius Ligarides—'that they considered Nicon to be no longer patriarch; and they decreed that none of the bishops should any more give him the name or title of patriarch, or kiss his hand according to the custom; and if any bishop should contravene this decree, that he should incur canonical censure and penalties; as may be seen in their synodical codex subscribed by the bishops and by the other heads of the clergy. The main point of this synodical determination itself was the fact of Nicon's own *voluntary* and *absolute* abdication' (vol. iii. p. 43). Paisius continues:

'But respecting the right of Nicon *to celebrate the liturgy* there was still much difference of opinion among the bishops then assembled; some affirming that he might, others [in accord with the boyars] strenuously denying this.

'The greater number, however, and especially *our Romaic bishops then at Moscow*, Parthenius of Thebes, Cyril of Andros, and Nectarius of Pogeniane, *as following more closely the holy canons*, said that Nicon ought by no means to touch the awful mysteries, nor venture to celebrate, as being no longer regularly capable, after he had once for all and absolutely abdicated and foresworn *his episcopal character*.' And Paisius argues himself to this effect from can. xvi. of the First and Second Council, ch. iii. of St. Cyril's Ep. to Domnus, can. iii. of Dionysius, and ch. xxviii. of Matt. Blastar, about abdication.

'But *the tsar* thought it necessary to use some condescension and economy; . . . and there was found a convenient precedent in the letter of the Third Œcumenical Council to the Pamphylians respecting the bishop Eustathius. . . . Wherefore the Russian bishops were disposed to allow Nicon to celebrate, and occasionally to ordain—only in his own monastery, in a simple way—till there should be created a new patriarch, which they then hoped and expected would be almost immediately' (ib. p. 49).

The above statements of Paisius Ligarides may serve as an

introduction to those documents connected with the farther proceedings of the tsar's synod which belong to different dates between February and September in A.D. 1660.

XI. *Opinion given, it is not stated by whom, but seemingly in the handwriting of Epiphanius Slavenetsky, to the tsar Alexis, with Answers to four Questions.*

Question i. Is it possible without a synodal deposition of Nicon to create a new patriarch?

ii. Is it possible to restore Nicon after he has renounced his chair?

iii. Or to depose Nicon, and to create another patriarch while Nicon still lives, without irregularity?

iv. If Nicon is deposed, is he to be deposed only from the patriarchal chair, or also at the same time from the episcopal dignity?

It is shown that in the room of Nicon, he having abandoned his chair, the *synod* has the right to elect a new patriarch, but not the right of also depriving Nicon of the episcopal and sacerdotal dignity.

'This is an act,' observes M. Mouravieff on his MS. copy of it, 'of much importance in the process of Nicon.' It did not, however, influence the decision of the synod, to which it seems to have been sent by the tsar before the synodal determination of the 27th February.

Opinion, and Answers to the above Questions.

After long observation I have never found any material creature keeping always its perfection in one and the same order, but all things I have found liable to change, O divinely-crowned sovereign, orthodox tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c. For I lifted up mine eyes on high, and saw the wide heaven perpetually moving from east to west, with its manifold varieties, with its luminaries and all its beauty. And I looked below, and behold all things are unstable and passing. Again, I looked to the elements, air, fire, earth, and water, and it was in all the same. The apostles once launched forth the ship from the safe shore in a calm, and when they had got out to a distance, a storm came upon them, and they were within a little

of perishing, when Christ the Saviour, the true steersman, seeing them labouring in distress, . . . came to them into the ship, and laid the wind, and so they were saved. What the Twelve then in the material vessel and on the literal sea suffered from contrary winds in the absence of Christ, we now, in the intellectual ship of the Russian Church, suffer on the sea of life from being left without a chief steersman. But, that there may not be something worse than what has happened already, it is by all means necessary that we should have a steersman and pilot within the ship: whom to find and to set up is a business requiring much care; because to the ship of the Russian Church there has happened a new and strange thing, viz. to be unsteered while yet there is a steersman; to the bride of Christ to be strangely widowed while the bridegroom (the patriarch) still lives, and to us to be left orphans while we have yet a father. A new thing, I say, and strange. For the most holy Nicon, archbishop of Moscow and patriarch of all Russia, not by death, but by voluntary abandonment of his chair, has brought us into our present difficulties; by an abandonment *not complete, as I understand from his conduct;* since he even still does episcopal acts, which, if he had truly abandoned his see, he would not have dared to do, as his conscience would have forbidden him. And he does not in writing renounce his chair, but only with his lips says that he will not be patriarch of Moscow. But this, whether it be from humility, or that he would alarm consciences and bring men to a sense [of their duty], and rather incline to humility those who oppose themselves to him and are displeased with him, or for whatever other causes it may be, time will show. But now the question to be considered is, whether he Nicon should be restored to his chair? or is it necessary that he should be set aside, and another elected? I, wishing to set aside all passion, and to declare, by God's help, to the best of my power, what my conscience and reason dictate, first of all entreat that no one be offended at the free expression of my understanding and my conscience; and, further, if any of the things said by my incapacity seem to any one to be disagreeable, that I may obtain his forgiveness.

In approaching a most momentous subject in the present circumstances of the abandonment of the chair, and wishing to provide that it be not empty for the future, we must consider:

first, Is it possible, without deposing Nicon, to set up another? *secondly*, Is it possible, after Nicon has renounced his chair, to call him back again to it? *thirdly*, Is it possible to depose Nicon and to raise another to the chair, while he still lives, without irregularity? *fourthly*, If Nicon be deposed, it must be considered whether it ought to be only from the particular chair, or also, at the same time, from the episcopate?

On the first point my judgment is this: that unless Nicon be first deposed synodically, another cannot be raised to the chair. Some one may say that Nicon has deposed himself, and renounced his chair. To this I answer, that he renounced it only in word, *that they who were not obedient to him might become obedient*, but *not in deed*, because it was without any act in writing, and not done synodically. Besides which, by the overruling of divine providence [though he of himself would have done otherwise[16]], he went out wearing the episcopal mandya, and to this day he does episcopal acts. But suppose that he had renounced not only in word but in deed, this would not be according to the law of the Church. For, according to St. Cyril archbishop of Alexandria, though a man have renounced *even in writing*, yet if he is worthy he is to serve (*i.e.* to celebrate), but, if he is *not* worthy, then he is not to be allowed to resign, but he is to be tried, and convicted, and deposed. But without conviction he cannot by any means be divested of his chair. Therefore the abdication of Nicon is nothing; and if he has no canonical unworthiness, he *is to celebrate*; but if he has any canonical unworthiness, he ought to be synodically tried for this, and, after being found guilty, deposed. Thus we are taught by canon xvi. of the œcumenical council called the First and Second, which says: 'Let no one, under any circumstances whatever, take an episcopal chair the bishop of which is still living; for a crime *must first be proved*; and then, after he has been deposed, another may be appointed.' And so it seems to me to be impossible for us to elect another while Nicon is still living. Nicon, even though he have abdicated, may be restored again, according to St. Cyril, who says: '*If he be worthy, let him celebrate.*' And this is enough also for the second head.

Some one may say, 'He would be acceptable to nobody: so

[16] These words are not in my MS. copy; but they seem to be based upon some of the depositions laid before the synod. See above, Nos. 1, 5, 10, pp. 192-196.

he should not be restored.' To this I answer: A physician ought not to flatter the will of his patient; but he ought to do what he knows by the rules of his art to be profitable. So, too, ought a pastor to do, that we may be saved. He has not the pastoral staff for nothing. A father who loves his son spares not the rod; and a dutifully obedient son ought to say with the royal prophet: 'Thy rod and thy staff have comforted me.' And Paul the chosen vessel says: 'If ye suffer correction, then ye are sons.' Therefore I think that the most holy Nicon, having often read what befell Eli, the high-priest of the Old Testament, for not correcting his sons, has been anxiously on his guard lest anything of the same kind should be suffered by himself. And if Nicon was *not easy to be borne* by all, he does not on that account deserve to be degraded; but rather with filial submission and love we should entreat him to *correct himself in his manner.* But as for judging him, who of us can do it? and how? since, according to canon ix. of Chalcedon, 'If bishops have anything against their metropolitan, let them notify it to the patriarch of C.P., who has [power even] to judge bishops who are under the other patriarchs.' But here the affair is with one higher than any metropolitan; for it is with the patriarch of all Russia, with the father of fathers and pastor of pastors. But what son shall presume to judge his father? or what sheep to judge its shepherd? In my judgment it is utterly impossible. The only thing which can be done is to refer it to the patriarch of C.P. And so in these words the third point is decided, that it is *not* competent for us, *according to the canons*, to judge Nicon and depose him: nor, consequently, to raise another to the chair while he is still living.

But since not only the canons of the holy fathers, but also the precedents of former cases not blamed in the synods, are to us as a mirror, by looking into which we may direct our conduct, we have certain precedents of sees abandoned by their pastors, to which the holy fathers elected and appointed others while the bishop who had quitted his chair was still living. So St. Gregory Naz. left his chair, and another was raised to it in his stead; and so again, when Eustathius had left his see, another was placed in his chair. And these appointments of new bishops were not condemned by the œcumenical councils, nor many other similar ones. Therefore it is possible, according to these prece-

dents, in the present case, after the abandonment of his chair by the most holy Nicon in the cathedral, before the most reverend bishops and the most venerable archimandrites, in the presence of many of the clergy and before the orthodox people—it is possible, I say, while Nicon still lives (for he also swore[47] that he did not think of returning to his chair), to raise to the chair another. Only as Gregory, after quitting the chair, was not divested of the episcopal dignity, and as Eustathius was not forbidden to retain the honour and ministry of a bishop, so also Nicon ought not to be divested of the episcopal honour and ministry, though he be without a see. And that thus it should be seems to me pleasing to God, and for him who has quitted his chair not dishonourable, and for us without sin, and satisfactory for all the people. If Nicon, being left in honour, were to think to cause any confusion, he would by any such act at once deserve to lose the episcopal honour and ministry. In this way considering the fourth head, and bringing to a conclusion my remarks, if I have fallen into any errors I hope to be pardoned for them, and I *commit all* to the most eminent judgment *of thy most illustrious imperial majesty*, and to all the sacred synod of the bishops, without opposing or contradicting anybody.

On the 23d of April (which was Easter Monday) the tsar consulted some Greek bishops then at Moscow as to the deprivation of Nicon, and as to the form in which a synodal act for his deprivation ought to be drawn up.

XII. '*Translation* [*into Slavonic*] *of a paper written in Greek.*' *Copied for M. Mouravieff from the archives of the Foreign Office.*

"A strong trap for a man are his own lips; and he shall be taken by the words of his mouth. He who is bound by the utterance of his own lips cannot free himself, so as not to stand and abide by all that he has uttered; no, not by any means. And when such a one is convicted as an offender, his offence incurs its just punishment, from which he cannot escape. Wherefore, considering that Kyr Nicon—when in time past he was our primate, living in his see unhindered and unharmed, honoured and loved by our most religious, most mild, and God-crowned tsar Alexis,

[47] See above, at pp. 132, 216, 'Yea, yea!'

&c., and loved by us and by the people, who were all obedient to his potent rule—of himself, being under no restraint nor compulsion, but convicted by his own conscience, having come on the 10th day of July, A.M. 7166 (A.D. 1658), into the cathedral, confessed before the people his unworthiness, and renounced his chair; and not merely so, but he bound himself also by a curse, imprecating on himself an anathema if he were ever to change his mind so as to seek to return to it; and thereupon he forthwith left his chair and the rational sheep of Christ, and went away —we, on this account, having been convoked by command of the tsar, &c., having sat in council many times, and having carefully searched the divine and sacred canons of the apostles and the councils, viz. canons xiv. xxv. xxxiv. and xxxv. of the Apostles; xxv. of the Fourth Œcum. Council; xvi. of the Council called the First and Second, and other imperial laws and canons of the fathers, have found him guilty, and destitute of all title to the chair, and unworthy of it, because he pronounced judgment against himself (not as if he had sought any trial or decision), renouncing the chair with his own lips in the cathedral before a multitude of people of his own free will, no man persecuting him nor compelling him, abandoning it, and living afterwards first in one place and then in another during so long a time. Therefore we have judged that he is rightly and canonically to be [regarded as] deposed and as fallen from the episcopal dignity, and separated from it altogether, and that another is to be ordained in his place, as right requires that the rational flock of Christ should not remain without pastoral care and superintendence. For this cause we write and confirm by common definition:

"That Nicon, heretofore our patriarch, be deposed and stripped of all episcopal dignity and grace; that he have no power whatever derived from the chair or from the place formerly given him, nor to put on episcopal robes or perform any episcopal act or service. Therefore also [this his sentence of] deposition has been written in the year 7168 [A.D. 1660], in this month of ——."

'Having been asked by thy majesty, with respect to the offences of the patriarch, how the document will have finally to be worded, we have set down the present draft, *observing* that *if* it is the judgment *of thy majesty and of the synod* that he is to be utterly deprived (degraded), *this* is the form in which the act of his deposition (or degradation) will have to be written. But in case

it should be the thought and intention of thy majesty *and of the synod* that he should be only deprived of the chair, but not altogether cast out (degraded), we have made also another draft to suit such a purpose. But this is not as if we now cast him out, or utter any definition; but only, having been asked, we answer to the question put to us. And so, again, let it be as shall seem good to thy sacred majesty and to the holy synod.'

It may be inferred from the words used by Epiphanius Slavenetsky in his Retractation, that this draft was actually adopted by the synod between the 10th and the 25th of May, and that with the presence and concurrence of the Greeks, since he was overborne, and induced to assent to the synodal act for the complete degradation of Nicon, *by the Greeks present*, who read out from their books, as if forming part of can. xvi. of the First and Second Council, these words: 'It is absurd for one renouncing the episcopate to claim to retain the priesthood.' And we see that the canon in question is in fact quoted, and in this sense, in the draft or project for a synodal decree printed above.

XIII. *Voice or opinion of the very honourable hospodin Ignatius, father archimandrite of the Borisoglebsk and hegoumen of the Theophany monastery at Polotsk, in the synod held at Moscow in the affair of the patriarch Nicon*, A.D. 1660, *May* 10.

Orthodox and Christian tsar, most sacred metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, all ye most excellent members of the synclete of the tsar's majesty, and ye archimandrites, hegoumens, and protopopes, and all the sacred synod!

In this momentous and extraordinary business, when, at the command of thy most illustrious imperial majesty and with the blessing of all the sacred synod, I would say something, I recoil from the attempt. For though in truth this is not the first instance of a bishop having left his chair, still, as it seems to me, according to my poor understanding, any instance of this kind, whenever it has occurred, has always been something perplexing and extraordinary. And when we consider that this has now occurred here in this capital of Moscow; that he who was here the chief pastor and father of fathers, the most holy Nicon archbishop of Moscow and patriarch of all Russia, left his chair and renounced his primatial authority before all the bishops, archi-

mandrites, hegoumens, protopopes, monastic and secular priests, and deacons and other clerks, and before all the laity who were present at the time in the cathedral of the Assumption, on the festival of the Holy Tunic of our Lord, and left us orphans; and that, after his having thus quitted the chair of his primacy, the cathedral church remains without her bridegroom, he being yet living, and is in widowhood now one full year and ten months,—it is impossible for us (that is, for any one who has depth of understanding and clearness of spiritual sight to consider aright this momentous and, in our parts, unprecedented occurrence) not to feel the deepest distress and sorrow of heart on account of it. For if this has not happened to us without more or less of faction and strife, if it has certainly not been altogether without fault on our side, I cannot but think that it has happened because of our sins. There are pastors who have left not only their episcopal chairs, but also their episcopal dignity, either of themselves publicly confessing their sins or being accused of others, and for their unworthiness being degraded. But even of a case of this sort, wherever it may have happened, I must ask: Is it not on account of our sins that it is permitted to happen? Others there are that of force and compulsion leave their episcopal chairs, but not at the same time their episcopal dignity, which they do not renounce, either for persecution or for the fear of persecution, as was the case with St. Athanasius of Alexandria; or because, though they were the very champions of the truth, they do not wish to strive or contend, but condescend to the rebellious people who will not obey the truth, and so depart from their own cities, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, for a time, under temporary compulsion of their adversaries and persecutors, into other cities, and there tarry till they may obtain some pacification and a change of that which offended or wronged them. Thus did St. Gregory the Divine, who, on account of the disagreement of some Egyptian bishops at the time of the Second Œcumenical Council, of his own will left his episcopal throne and went into retirement, and lived without his diocese or chair. So was it with St. John Chrysostom, who was persecuted by certain persons, and driven from his chair; but by the providence of God he was again restored to it. The same holy bishop again the second time—through the instigation, as I suppose, of the envier of all virtue, and the author of all evil, the enemy of the human race,

the devil—having many enemies, was driven from his chair into exile, and died in exile. And many other bishops there have been in the countries of the Greeks who, having left their chairs and pastoral dioceses, have some of them afterwards, on the entreaty of the clergy and all the people, returned to them again, being such as fed well the rational flock committed to them; and others sometimes [who had deserved to lose their chairs], when by their repentance and earnest supplication they had obtained indulgence from a synod after leaving their chairs, have been received back to them; while others again have remained to the end of their lives without ever returning. Many have either ceased to perform their episcopal functions on account of age and infirmities, or without that or any other cause have withdrawn into retirement and humbled themselves for the salvation of their own souls. But all these different kinds, wheresoever they may occur, occur not without some fault or unworthiness on the part of us the flock, whether we are deprived of pastors worthy of their rank and chair, as being undeserving of such; or even of unworthy pastors, as being unworthy of having a pastor at all; or whether for our sins, by the permission of God, and by his secret dispensations and just judgment, we are visited with unworthy and altogether unedifying pastors. Is not this also here now by the permission of God, that we see the spiritual Israel of Russia all scattered, as it were, on the hills throughout all their coasts, as sheep having no chief shepherd, no father, I mean, of fathers? And for this cause, O orthodox tsar and grand prince, &c., the successors of the Apostles, the most sacred metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and other authorities subordinate to them, having *by command of thy majesty* come together from all parts, and having united themselves into one assembly with the local clergy here who belong to the patriarchal diocese, all synodically have recourse to thy imperial majesty, as to another Constantine, and cast themselves at your feet, knowing your zeal for religion, and seek of you counsel and help, that the flock may not be left longer destitute of a chief bishop; and that by the care and godly zeal of thy imperial majesty, as of a super-superlatively-supremest provider and orthodox hossoudar, they beholding again in the catholic apostolic (*i.e.* in the great cathedral) church our pastor, and seeing all things done under him according to former custom and in due order, may rejoice and give thanks joyfully to Almighty

God, who disposes all for our good, crying out with one voice in our hearts, 'Who is so great a god as our God? Thou art the God that doest wonders!'

However, as this business now before this present synod is most momentous, and one which, as being extraordinary, needs all possible caution and accuracy (for great and new matters are not to be settled successfully except by long and repeated consideration and much counsel), it ought not to be attempted summarily and merely by our own sense to decide definitively this present matter; but whatever is done should be strengthened as with an impregnable fence on all sides by the authority of the canons of the holy Apostles, of the seven holy Œcumenical Councils and the rest, and of the holy fathers, that it may stand unquestioned from generation to generation. And though it be irregular for a bishop to leave his chair, and for a time also his episcopal dignity [which Nicon was asserted by some to have done], and to renounce them of his own will without any necessity of canonical unworthiness (though in many countries they do not so absolutely condemn this, yet let this be granted); still, after the chair has been left, since there are two different ways open by which the bishop who has quitted it may be restored to it again, viz. either on the request of all the council in consideration of his virtues, or on his repentance and humble supplication to the synod, if any agreement can be come to, let him be received back. But if it be found, after all, either that his chair will not be accepted by the virtuous bishop who has left it, or that the bishop who has canonically deserved to lose it will not come to repentance, it will then be not impossible canonically to elect, and set in his stead in the chair, another.

But this cannot be done while the original pastor is still living, without asking him the reasons for which he left his chair, or arranging the matter, if it be possible, with his consent, so as by paying him due honour as a father, and considering his feelings with delicacy, they may obtain his permission and blessing, according to the ancient customs of the sacred synod [of C.P.] for the unopposed election and consecration of another. Thus, I think, it will be best in this case also to proceed, and in this way to raise to the chair whom it may please Almighty God; but not in any discreditable manner, nor, still less, so as to risk causing divisions. Which by God's help, and by the prudence

of thy imperial majesty, *and by the blessing too of the most holy patriarchs of the four great Orthodox sees*, I would hope to see done soon. And your blessing and earnest entreaty, O all ye of this sacred synod, may hereunto contribute not a little.

Should, however, the sacred synod, for whatever reasons, consider this course to be unadvisable and out of the question, then let the ex-primate at any rate first be summoned to the synod, or questioned, through deputies sent to him, as to the causes of his quitting the patriarchal chair; and then perhaps, after carefully considering all consequences to be apprehended for the future, and searching to the bottom of the existing state of things, such counsel as this may allowably be given by all the most excellent counsellors of thy imperial majesty in this assembly, in order that this extraordinary and most momentous business may be brought without mischief to a termination.

And now I, the lowest of thy slaves, and thy unworthy beadsman, who ought rather to have been silent in this matter than to have dared to speak before the brightness of the countenance of thy imperial majesty, were it not to avoid being disobedient to the command of thy imperial majesty and of all the sacred synod, which is that each should in this matter, according to his ability, offer his counsel—will say briefly in conclusion, that in every doubtful matter the final decision should be come to with great deliberation and circumspection; and with the knowledge and the concurrence *of the superior council*. And since, after such an abandonment as this which we are considering of the primatial dignity, *and that too not a complete but only a partial abandonment*, to raise another to the chair while its occupant is still living, is certainly a questionable proceeding (for to find any clear canons to justify the raising of another to the chair, without demanding in a synod of the original occupant his reasons for quitting it, is, I think, impossible), therefore—lest there arise hence any blame or scandal in time to come, from generation to generation, and lest another doing this (*i.e.* making a precedent of this and doing the like) cause confusion in the Church, and bring in all manner of faction and division, and lest this other who has caused some agitation in the Church bring upon it all manner of faction and division by his censures from time to time both now and hereafter—I think that it would be best to obtain and to add to the counsel of this sacred synod *the asso-*

ciated and concurrent superior counsel of the great church of Constantinople, New Rome, and of the œcumenical patriarchs. For if any bishop or clerk, having a difference with his metropolitan, may without contravening the canons go for judgment, passing over his own patriarch, to the patriarch of C.P., how much more is it becoming that we in a doubtful, momentous, and here unprecedented business, should secure ourselves by consulting with the catholic church of C.P., from which also the pastoral chair, by the providence of God, the care of orthodox tsars, and the prayer of all the synod of the Russian clergy, was here blessed and established. And if beyond all question the less is blessed by the greater, then certainly not only is it out of the question, *except in case of heresy*, for the father to be judged by his sons, the supreme pastor by his rational sheep, but even if any fault of his were manifest to us, still it would not be proper to withdraw from communion with him or cease to pray to God for him before all the bishops of that region (that is, of that patriarchate) have taken cognisance of the case. Nor is it possible in my opinion for any judicature or synod to determine definitively respecting him canonically, *except it is with the concurrence of the greater synod of the great church of Constantinople*, and with that of the œcumenical patriarchs.

However, having now uttered somewhat of the opinion of my unworthiness, if in anything I have spoken amiss I humbly beg pardon, and submit myself, falling down at your feet, to the discretion and supreme revision of thy imperial majesty, who art our orthodox tsar and the Lord's anointed, and to that of the most sacred metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and of the most excellent synclete of thy imperial majesty, and of all the sacred synod; I submit, and tender my unworthy and most lowly counsel.

But instead of following this opinion of the hegoumen Ignatius, or that previously given in the like sense by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, the synod seems to have passed a decree or resolution in the words, or at least in the sense, of the Greek project for the degradation of Nicon printed above (No. XII. at p. 243).

As the tsar, however, did not at once give effect to the synodal resolution for Nicon's complete degradation, nor to that passed before with a view to the election of another patriarch in his

stead, the Greeks, who were now clearly serving the boyars as Paisius Ligarides served them later, followed up the synodal resolution by addressing to the tsar a memorial pressing for the election of a new patriarch.

XIV. *Translation of a Greek writing addressed to the tsar Alexis respecting the right of the Graeco-Russian Church, after the deposition of Nicon, to elect a new patriarch, provided that he fully preserves orthodoxy, and is deserving by his life of this rank; also of the precedence over him belonging to the four œcumenical Eastern patriarchs, with an explanation of the reasons on which this precedence is based; and of the impropriety of electing a new patriarch by lot, as had been done before in Rŭssia; and of permission to the sovereign to select one out of three persons chosen before by the synod.*

To the most religious, &c. Kyr Kyr Alexis, &c., life and victory from God. Holy hossoudar and autocrat, great tsar (βασιλεῦ) and grand prince, autocrat of Moscow and of all Great, Little, and White Russia, we Greek bishops, thy beadsmen, do our reverence to thy great empire, and, trusting in the bowels of goodness and compassion of thy sacred empire, pray earnestly thy most pious and good bowels of compassion, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shed his most precious blood, &c., that the new patriarch to be elected and ordained before the command of thy sacred empire, be carefully examined by the sacred synod of thy empire, so that there may be elected and nominated one not only pleasing to men, but also pleasing to God; for a bishop, according to the apostle, ought to be the steward of God, &c. Whoever by God's good pleasure is elected should be very superlatively religious in all the dogmas of the apostles and fathers, and conscientiously zealous and obedient in all that the apostles and the fathers of the seven œcumenical and of the local councils have ordained, and in all that has been taught and handed down from them in the holy *Eastern* Church of Christ by writings and by unwritten tradition, . . not respecting nor following any vain traditions and fables of foolish men. Because, if it be thus, there will ensue a state of peace and quiet and concord in the holy Church of Christ which is in the country of thy holy empire; and so God will be glorified, and the Holy Spirit will rest in men as in the angels. But if the new primate be of another sort, only

pleasing certain men and not God, and is an opponent of the apostolical and patristic doctrines and traditions, &c. of the holy Eastern Church of Christ, then the latter things will be worse than the first; there will not be a state of peace and quiet and concord; and God will be offended against all. And since thy holy empire has now preserved itself in the first instance free from sin and guiltless, when thou didst command the sacred synod in the fear of God carefully to search the divine laws and canons with respect to the late patriarch Kyr Nicon, whether, on searching with the fear of God the divine canons, it be found proper and void of sin that there should be ordained another instead of him; and, accordingly, the sacred synod, having fully examined the sacred canons and laws during such a time, found that it is without sin, and a proposal which may be blessed, to have another ordained, and thereby neither thy holy empire will contract any sin, nor any man else whatever; and thy holy empire gave command and inquired also of us strangers, thy beadsmen, who are here, and we found ourselves, the Holy Spirit working with us, to be in agreement with [the sense put upon] those canons and with the same answer; and since by that command of thy holy empire the offence was carefully examined, and thy holy empire remained without sin, how much more now is there need of the command of thy holy empire that there be made the most careful examination possible of the new patriarch that is to be elected and ordained, that he may be found to be of good life and sound faith, and zealous for the apostolic and patristic dogmas and traditions of the holy *Eastern* Church of Christ, and that he be pleasing to God, and not only to men. And if such a one be elected and ordained, he will have union and concord and consent with the holy *Eastern* Church of Christ, which is pure and undefiled, and shines above the sun, and it will be as fitness and truth require; that there should not be nor be named *a number of separate Churches degenerating by degrees into conventicles*, but that all the religious and orthodox Christians everywhere under the sun should be and should be named only one Church under one head, Christ. And he must be subject to and acknowledge as the four pillars and lights of the world the four œcumenical patriarchs, and honour them above himself, as his elder brethren and fathers. And if it shall be thus, then thy holy empire will

again be blameless and pure from all sin, and great will be thy reward, treasured up for thee in heaven; and thou shalt receive from all the world great honour, glory, and thanks. And the new patriarch that is ordained shall be confirmed in the chair for many years in peace and quietness, receiving from the four œcumenical patriarchs prayers and blessing and confirmation. And so the Holy Ghost shall rest in thy great empire and on the new patriarch, and God shall be glorified before all. And let it not be in any other way; lest so we suffer like the man who, flying from a wolf, fell into the jaws of fierce bears, or as he who, in avoiding a small ditch, fell into another and far worse pit; that is, that we may not, after having kept ourselves blameless from one sin, fall into another greater. For this cause we name those four patriarchs of the *Eastern* Church lights and pillars and fathers of all the universe, because from the beginning those four patriarchs have laboured and contended much for the Church of Christ, even unto blood. They held the seven holy œcumenical councils, and the local councils. They established and they confirmed the faith. They suffered for the faith and for the Church of Christ even to blood, and became martyrs and confessors; as the holy patriarch of Antioch Ignatius Theophorus, and SS. Mark, Peter, and Dionysius, patriarchs of Alexandria, and Athanasius the Great, and Cyril, and Chrysostom, and Gregory the Divine, and others without number. And why speak of the ancients? Let us speak of the present patriarchs of the *Eastern* Church, who suffer daily from the ungodly Hagarenes persecutions without number, and from day to day expect an end to be put to their lives; and especially the patriarch of Jerusalem, who has every day to suffer trials, attacks, and calamities, not only from the Hagarenes, but also from the heretics, the Armenians. But they are always true pastors, and not hirelings; they suffer all and lay down their lives for the love of Christ and for his Church and for the sheep; and they are, even though they shed not their blood, true martyrs. But even unto blood and unto death in our own times there have been four patriarchs of C.P. literally martyrs, two named Cyril,[48] and two named Parthenius. But the rest of the bishops also suffer daily many trials for the love of Christ and of his Church; and in spite of all these they aban-

[48] Of whom the calvinising Cyril Lucar was one.

don not their chairs and their sees; but as good and valiant warriors of Christ they stand and fight manfully with the enemies of the Church; and Christ aids them; and they are always conquerors. And how we suffer trials and persecutions in our countries we are not ashamed to declare. They are our honour and glory and crown; and we trust that for them Christ will give us our great reward in heaven.

But, O holy tsar, as regards electing by lots, as thy holy empire has commanded us to state our judgment, there is according to the canons no such order; for there may so be an intervention of the devil, and the lot may fall on one unfit and evil. But the correct way is, without any lots, to examine first according to the canons, and then let there be chosen from all those three who are the best and most worthy in all respects, as we have above told thy great empire. Then from the three let thy sacred empire choose him whom thou shalt command, and whom thou knowest to be most religious. For no one else can be found in preference to thy holy empire to distinguish those who are good and worthy of such a rank as this. For the heart of the king is both said to be in the hand of God, and is believed by us to be so indeed. These things we notify to thy holy empire, trusting confidently in thy affectionate compassion; and we shall not seem presumptuous in this. And may the holy God, who governs all, and is almighty, and the father of lights, enlighten thy holy and great empire and the sacred synod to perfect that which is begun to the greatest good, in such wise as may be agreeable to God and may bring joy to men, and quiet and rest and concord and consent in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

XV. '*Translation of another Greek letter*,' *written by Cyril archbishop* (i.e. *ex-archbishop*) *of Andros, now of the convent of Kobbi in Scio, and dated* 14*th May*, A.D. 1660.

Most serene, most autocratic tsar, Kyr Kyr Alexis, &c., life and victory be to thee from God for length of days!

The Lord of all and our God created man in his own image and likeness, and honoured him above all the creatures, and adorned him with many gifts. But the enemy of truth, the devil, not enduring to see such great honours given by God to man,

took the form of the serpent, and deceived man, and caused him to transgress the commandment of God: he ate of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and immediately became naked of grace and of the gifts of God, and was driven out from Paradise: and it was commanded him by God in the sweat of his brow to eat his bread: 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.' From that time, O most mighty tsar, human nature became weak and corrupt and prone to sin. This the prophet and king David understanding wrote, saying: 'Every man is a liar.' And the wise Solomon says: 'There is not a just man upon the earth who doeth good, and sinneth not:' that is, every man is corrupt in this world, and easily drawn aside to corruption, and it is not possible for the most righteous man upon earth to avoid being deceived and sinning. It appears in the Old Testament and in the New, that there were about kings together with good men also bad; men of evil intention and of pride, who often deceived kings by flattery, and sometimes instigated them to murders and to most lawless deeds, sometimes *to their own unbecoming honour;* and they dared *to speak to the dishonour of the king;* as is seen in the time of the king Artaxerxes, when one of his first princes, Haman by name, deceived the king, so that he gave command to destroy all the devout people of God of that time. But God, not enduring such iniquity and pride of that Haman, made known to the king *through his queen Esther* that his iniquity and pride; and forthwith the king did not maintain in force that his decree, but instead of it made another decree to destroy that proud Haman.

With this pride, as it appears, O most mighty tsar, hospodin Nicon also was exceedingly overcome; and he asked of thy empire most lawless favours for his own unsuitable exaltation; and your great empire, as faithful and righteous in the faith, gave to him, as being the chief representative of the faith, with a simple and pure heart, whatever he asked. However, thy great autocracy did not in any way damage itself, but rather grew, and crowned itself with a crown of humility. He who was lifted up in his heart began to be a transgressor of the law and to be cut off by the laws; and, what is worst, while teaching others he taught not himself, nor imitated his Lord Christ, the first patriarch, and God, nor listened to Him, for whom he was set to teach, saying: 'He that is greatest among you, let him be your min-

ister;' and, 'Whosoever wishes to be first among you, let him be your servant.' He listened not to Him saying: 'He that exalteth himself shall be abased;' and, 'If ye do not humble yourselves and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' He listened not to Paul saying: 'Be not vainglorious.' And again: 'In humility preferring one another.' Nor to the wise Solomon saying: 'He that is lifted up in his heart is an abomination in the sight of the Lord.' He hearkened not again to the Lord Christ saying: 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart.' He hearkened not to Solomon saying: 'The heart of the king is in the hand of God;' nor to Gregory the Divine saying: 'That the heart of the king is in the hand of God is both said and is believed.' But he sought to deceive the tsar, not understanding that he who deceives the tsar is opposing himself to God. He was not made to fear by those words of Solomon: 'Be not proud before the king, nor pretend to be wise before him;' nor by these: 'The rebuke of the king is like the roaring of a lion.' He listened not to Chrysostom saying: 'He who obeys not the emperor fights against God.' And again: 'Nothing so much angers God as to be vainglorious.' But he was blinded by pride: for he loved the glory of men more than the glory of God. For all his works he did to be seen of men. He loved the first seat in banquets, and to be called of men, 'Rabbi, Rabbi.' The Lord Christ taught his disciples humility, but he taught arrogance. Christ taught not to remember injuries, but he taught revenge. Christ shed his blood for us; he endured not even a word of coldness. Christ taught that men should be subject to kings; he opposed himself to the tsar. For he was blinded by his own malice. For this cause he has received according to his works: 'His mischief,' as it is said, 'has returned upon him, and his iniquity has come down on his own head' (Ps. vii. 16). He insists upon the sacred (*i. e.* imperial) letters given to him. But those letters which thy great empire gave are to be accounted as nothing, and do not come into consideration [lit., into measure, or competency]. For whatever purports (*vini*, causes) are established and effectuated without observance of the law of careful examination and revision, such acts or documents neither law, nor time, nor custom can make good. But what has been judged or done without reason will with reason be reversed and an-

nulled. And thy great empire will rejoice, and will increase in its piety, and will be strengthened, and will appoint another lawful and catholic (or synodical) patriarch, who will *in the fear of God* bless and sanctify thee and thy people, the people of Christ; and God will be duly glorified on account of you; for to Him is due glory for ever. Amen.

Written in the year 7168, May 14. Cyril archbishop [ex-archbishop of Andros], now of the holy and imperial convent of Kobbi in Scio, the headsman and servant of thy great empire.

XVI. *A paper written by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, and given in to the tsar in consequence of the tsar's having ordered him to draw up a synodal act in the sense of the draft No.* XII. *and of a synodal resolution to the same effect* (*See above, p.* 243).

The Greeks in the synod read from their own book in Greek these words, '*For it is absurd to renounce the episcopate, but to retain the priesthood;*' and they said that these words belong to canon xvi. of the First and Second Council. And I, supposing that this was really in the canon of the First and Second Council, did not dare to contradict, and gave my consent to the degradation of Nicon late patriarch. But I did this because I was deceived by that Greek clause, which is not really to be found either in the Slavonic or the Greek canons. Therefore, now that I have examined the genuine Greek canon, and have not found in it these words, '*For it is absurd to renounce the episcopate, but to retain the priesthood,*' I revoke my consent to the degradation of Nicon late patriarch, as uncanonical and unjust, and I repent of having given it. And since he who repents is pardoned, I repent of that my uncanonical consent, and humbly beg pardon of your most illustrious majesty: and now I say that

The new patriarch, when made, has power either to bless Nicon the late patriarch to act as a bishop in the monastery in which, by command of your most illustrious majesty, he is to live, or to inhibit him from acting as a bishop: also he has power to degrade him, if any crimes worthy of degradation be found in him. If he does not respect the newly-appointed patriarch, but presumes without his blessing to act as a bishop, he may be inhibited by him; and if he disregards the inhibition, he may be degraded.

There is an order of your most illustrious majesty that I should draw up the synodal act: and I am ready to do this for the election and appointment of a new patriarch; for this is just, expedient, and canonical. But of the degradation of Nicon the late patriarch I dare not write, for this reason—that I have not found any such canon as degrades and deprives of the high-priesthood (or pontificate) a high-priest (*i.e.* a bishop) who leaves his chair, but does not renounce the high-priesthood (the pontificate).

Also I petition your most illustrious majesty to make order that they should give me a synodal act for the composition of the synodal manifesto.

[To this paper Epiphanius appended his own translation of canon xvi. of the First and Second Council, as follows:]

Canon xvi. *of the First and Second Council, translated from the Greek into Slavonic.*

'To guard against contentiousness and factions which may otherwise occur in the Church of God, this also is needful to enact—that under no circumstances whatever is a bishop to be appointed to a church, the bishop of which is still living and is in possession of his honour, unless of his own will he renounces the episcopate, &c. For it is proper that first the delinquency of the bishop who is to be expelled be canonically examined into, and the trial be concluded; and then so, upon his deposition, another instead of him be raised to the episcopate. But if any one of the bishops, being in possession of his honour, will neither resign nor teach his people, but goes away from his see for more than six months, and stays in some other place, being neither kept by the emperor nor serving his own patriarch with any service, nor straitened and kept by any sickness which altogether prevents his moving, such a one, who is not prevented by any one of these causes above mentioned from returning to his see, and remains absent from it more than six months, and lives in another place, is to be altogether stripped of the episcopal honour and dignity.' To this he has set-to his hand.

XVII. A.M. 7168, May 26 [A.D. 1660], the hieromonach Epiphanius [Slavenetsky] said: 'Of the decision that the late

patriarch Nicon is to be stripped of the episcopate and the priesthood,[49] I not only dare not write,[50] but I dare not even speak; first, that I may not be cursed by him from whom I have received a blessing; secondly, because I fear lest for such an uncanonical writing and speech my soul should go down to hell. For I have not found any such canons as go to deprive of the episcopate and the priesthood a bishop who has voluntarily left his chair, but has not renounced the episcopate.' To this he has set his hand.

This is followed immediately by another longer document in the same sense, which is now gummed to it in the same roll.

XVIII. And A.M. 7168, June 15, the same monk Epiphanius said: 'Matthew Blastar teaches that a child, in a case of necessity, when no priest is to be had, cannot be baptised by a layman; and that such baptism, if given, is not valid. This doctrine of his is contrary to that of the Greek writers. First, it is contrary to that of Gabriel of Philadelphia; secondly, to that of Nicholas Cabasilas; thirdly, to that of St. Nicephorus patriarch of C.P., who in his canon xvi. says thus: "If there be no priest, a common monk baptises; and if he is not to be found, the father baptises his own child."' But respecting Matthew Blastar's book, he the same Epiphanius said: 'What in it agrees with the canons of the holy fathers, with the Greek, that I receive; but what does not agree with them, that I do not receive.

'But as regards the appointment of a new patriarch, according to the canons of the œcumenical and local synods, when a patriarch abdicates his chair, a new one is to be raised to it; and then the newly-made patriarch, as holding the chair, has all the authority of the former.' And if the former patriarch does not submit to him, and without his blessing does episcopal acts, he can inhibit him, and bind and loose him according to the canons of the fathers.

'But the canon about Eustathius is applicable also to the

[49] A resolution which at this date had been synodically passed, and to which Epiphanius himself had reluctantly assented, on the strength of a clause read out by the Greeks as if from canon xvi. of the First and Second Council. See above, pp. 225, 244, 257.

[50] An order having already been given him from the tsar to draw-up at length a synodal act in this sense.

case of the late patriarch Nicon. And if the late patriarch Nicon asks from the new patriarch a blessing to do episcopal acts, this blessing should be given to him, as it was given to Eustathius. But if he shall not submit himself, he may be inhibited, according to the canons of the holy fathers. For canon xvi. of the First and Second Council says of a bishop who, retaining his honour, goes away and tends not his flock for a longer time than six months, that he is from that time to be deprived of his honour and rank. But the late patriarch Nicon does not retain his patriarchal honour, for he threw it up:[51] nor is it now his duty to take care of the flock which he deserted: and that canon xvi. does not apply to the person here concerned.'

XIX. *Translation of a Greek writing showing that it would be improper to follow in Russia the custom existing in the Eastern Church, of giving to patriarchs expelled from their chairs by Turkish persecution inferior sees, with the right of being present in synods.*

Most religious autocrat, great tsar, and sacred synod! There are some,[52] either moved by friendship for the former patriarch Kyr Nicon, or from misconception of that which needs to be rightly understood, are displeased at his rejection (that is, at his having been *for some time past cut off from his priesthood*), which the sacred synod, in conformity with the direction of the sacred laws and canons, unanimously pronounced, to last till such time as the said Kyr Nicon humble himself, and seek again imploringly from the new patriarch that shall be consecrated, and from the sacred synod, [permission to execute the functions of] his priesthood, as in the Third holy Œcumenical Council was done by Eustathius bishop of Pamphylia. However, such persons as these, who do not rightly understand the sacred canons, murmur that it is not right to depose him *and to degrade him from the priesthood;* and exciting a dispute, they try

[51] This is a misrepresentation of the canon, in which an honourable reputation, free from crime or imputation of crime, is spoken of as being enjoyed and retained by the bishop absenting himself, not the honour or possession of the episcopal chair.

[52] Alluding chiefly to Epiphanius Slavenetsky and Ignatius of Polotsk, and to their *opinions* given above.

to prove what they say by alleging the example of the patriarchate of Constantinople, where those who are dispossessed of their chairs retain their priesthood, and officiate and ordain. And they argue thus because they are not well informed respecting the causes, nor understand why it is reasonable that it should be so as it now is under the holy chair of C.P. But let those who thus stir up controversy listen attentively, and they shall understand that it is not altogether unlawfully that such [ex-patriarchs or bishops] retain the priesthood while dispossessed of their chairs, and yet that it is not either by any law or canon, but by a certain economy and condescension which is practised. For they are most unlawfully displaced and driven out from their chairs by the impious Hagarenes, and they do not voluntarily abandon their chairs and sees; nor is it while under accusation from any, or under condemnation or deprivation by the synod, that they officiate; but in the absence of all accusation, and without any synodical judgment against them, and without any deposition, and without any voluntary abandonment; but through compulsion only and violence of the ungodly Hagarenes who expel them; or on account of the great sums of money which the Turks demand of them; and they, being unable to pay these, quit that great chair, or any other that it may happen to be; and on this account, when things have become quiet again, the synod, with a due consideration, grants them a retirement, by an economy, for the better government of the Church of Christ. For the Turks regard the faith and law of God as money, and are used in this way to exact often sums of money from the patriarchate and from the other bishops. And when they desire to exact money, whether it be the sultan himself or the grand vizir, or any one of the great pashas, first they say to him that he has committed some delinquency, or that they have heard so and so of him; and if, they say, thou canst manage to send in such a sum of money, say 10,000 or 15,000 gold pieces, we will arrange the matter; but if not, great mischief is before thee. When the patriarch hears this, what else can he do than send the money, if he can raise it, by proper persons, to stop the mouths of the enemies of the faith? But if it so be that he cannot command the required sum, what remains for him but to give place to wrath?[53] And

[53] These words Nicon also used.

so he secretly hides himself, and flees whither he can. Then the Turks, seeing that they have not obtained what they wanted, are enraged against the patriarch who has fled, and proclaim him an enemy to their empire, and bid the synod of the bishops then at C.P., and the archons, and the logothetes of the great church, with great curses and threats, to institute another patriarch. And this the Turks do, not as caring for the patriarchate, but because it is customary that a new patriarch on his institution makes to the sultan a present of so many thousand gold pieces, to the grand vizir in like manner so many, to another great pasha so much, and to each pasha after such a rate as they have ordered it, and as is the custom. And for this cause, using violence and compulsion, they command that another patriarch be immediately appointed, thinking that if they did not succeed in obtaining the money which they wanted from the first, they shall now, at any rate, take from the new one what it is their custom to take. And what else can the synod do, and the logothetes (*λογοθέται*) and archons (*ἄρχοντες*), except this—if it is possible, try to get rid of the accusation [by raising the money necessary], so that the original patriarch may reappear from his retirement and resume his chair without danger? But if they see that the anger of the Turks is great, then, that they may not appear to be rebellious against the empire, and that the great church of Christ may not be entirely destroyed, submitting themselves to the empire, and governing for the best the Church of Christ, they choose from among those who happen to be bishops at the time and in the way some one, and raise him to the patriarchal chair; and the appointed presents are then made to the sultan and to the other pashas. So their lord is pacified. Then, when their wrath ceases, the former patriarch who had fled reappears from his retreat, and calls together the synod of the bishops, archons, wardens, and logothetes (*ἄρχοντας, ἐπιτρόπους, καὶ λογοθέτας*), and says: 'Holy and sacred synod, ye yourselves know well that I neither renounced nor left voluntarily my chair, nor did your episcopate depose me; but the force and violence of our rulers compelled both me to leave my chair, and your episcopate to raise another to it. And now, since by the grace of Christ their anger is appeased, exercise, as beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, judgment and discretion. Either give me back my

chair, or give me for my retirement some other chair, that I may have a maintenance.' And so the synod and the new patriarch all by common consent give him for his retirement such a see as may be agreed upon for him to hold and govern, and to officiate in it and ordain, and to perform all episcopal functions, with the title of ex-patriarch of Constantinople, and the holder of such metropolitan see as it may happen; as they gave the metropolitan see of Broussa to the ex-patriarch Athanasius Patellarius of blessed memory, and as they gave that of Ephesus to Kyr Paisius, who had before been patriarch, and Paronakea and Thermia to Kyr Joannicius, who had in like manner been patriarch; and these celebrate and ordain, and perform all episcopal functions: in particular, Kyr Paisius goes often to C.P. and meets the present patriarch. And many times they have heard and judged causes together, and many times they have concelebrated together. Nevertheless, these things, which are now so done in Constantinople, are not so done according to any laws or canons; nor yet do they do these things altogether unlawfully and contrary to the canons, arbitrarily, of their own will: but they do these things thus at the present time as governing with a certain economy the holy and great church of Christ in this calamitous time, and mitigating the unspeakable violence of our ungodly rulers; because, if they did not thus use economy, the wrath of the infidels would burn more fiercely still against the Church of Christ. For all know what happened some time back to the patriarch Kyr Parthenius, who met with so unjust and dishonourable a death. What else was the cause but only this, that the pashas demanded from him money, and he had not the money to give them; and knowing himself to be innocent of any fault, he did not retire. So the pashas, seeing that he stood firm in his chair, slandered him to the sultan, that he was an enemy to his empire, and that by his letters he was stirring up wars and armies, exciting the Christians against the Turks. And at length (25 March, A.D. 1657) they hanged him; and he was most truly a martyr. In this way the bishops suffer in our country, being often subjected to such persecutions and slanderous accusations. And if they quit their chairs, then the infidels desist from such compulsion and persecution of them. And for this cause they also lawfully and rightfully exercise the priest-

hood wherever they may be, and celebrate and ordain, and do all episcopal acts, having again blessing and authority to do the same from the synod and from the patriarch.

But these things and such a fashion as this in this country of Russia, where there is a Christian tsar, and where Christianity is dominant, are unsuitable, and ought neither to exist, nor be thought of nor heard of; because, by the grace of almighty God, those persecutions which we have described above neither have been exercised in the countries of their Christian empire nor are now, nor, God grant, ever shall be. And piety and Christianity being here established, it is not fit to imitate what is done in our countries at the present day by economy and as of necessity. Because there they know well the sacred laws and canons; but the times do not admit of their following them in all things. But here, by the grace of God, the times are such as to leave perfect freedom to consider what the sacred canons enjoin; and so everything should be done and observed according to the laws and canons, and that custom should be held to which the canons enjoin. But respecting renunciation of a see and deposition, and separation from the priesthood, as we have said before, so we may say again: there is a perfect precedent for this in the sacred canons in the case of Eustathius[51] bishop of Pamphylia, who was judged in the Third holy Œcumenical Council. Whoever has understanding and a sound mind, let him examine this case, and he will see clearly how the missive of the Third holy Œcumenical Council to those in Pamphylia contains an injunction that Eustathius, after the renunciation he had made of his see, was to remain deprived. It is manifest that he was not deprived by himself, but he was deprived by the synod, and forbidden the priesthood. For if he had not been deprived by the council and forbidden the exercise of the priesthood (and not only so, but forbidden to have even the name of a bishop), it would not have been necessary nor suitable for him to betake himself as a suppliant to the Third holy and Œcumenical Council, and to petition with many tears and much entreaty for the name and honour of a bishop. 'And on his supplication,' it is written, 'in consideration of his tears and his great age and his

[51] So they say nothing here of that interpolation of canon xvi. of the First and Second Council, by which they overbore at first Epiphanius Slavenetsky, but which he afterwards detected and exposed.

humiliation of himself, they had compassion on him, and allowed him to have the name and honour of a bishop,' but not to officiate or ordain where he pleased of himself, but only when invited or bidden by his brother and fellow-minister the local bishop. Yet this was so decreed by the holy fathers not as being strictly right, but by a certain economy and condescension. Of what sin or what other delinquency, tell me, O ye very wise men, had this Eustathius been guilty, that he was thus deprived and punished? It is plain that it was for no other sin than this, that he had renounced his chair. And who deprived him? and who again on his petition granted him indulgence? It is quite plain that it was the Third holy Œcumenical Council. Do ye wish to have still another council greater than this? Do ye wish for a canon greater or more notorious than this? or for a more complete precedent than this of Eustathius? or for a judgment and decision more notorious than this of the Third holy Œcumenical Council? Who among men is to be found more holy and more wise than those holy fathers of that same holy council, to make a better and wiser judgment and decision? Wherefore, brethren, wake up, I beseech you, from those misconceptions on this matter which now disturb your minds, and understand that the sacred synod now by the grace of God assembled has judged and determined no otherwise than after the exact precedent of the Third holy Œcumenical Council, having all with one consent judged and given sentence that in the present case all should be without any variation, as was decided in the case of Eustathius. Ye wish, brethren and friends, to show assistance and friendship [to Nicon], and ye do not well consider my thoughts, according to the canons. However, cease from disputing and from blaming, and let us have your forgiveness.

Countersigned by *Alexander Douroff*.

XX. *A paper given in to the tsar Alexis, &c. by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, in answer to the opinions of the Greeks, respecting the synod of* A.D. 1660.

There is a *double* resolution of the synod now assembled by the grace of God.

The *first* resolution [that of the 27th February] is to this effect: That according to the canons of the holy apostles, and

of the councils, and of the holy fathers, by the favourable co-operation of the chief shepherd, Christ our God, there shall be elected and promoted to the patriarchal chair a new patriarch of Moscow. This is well-pleasing to God, agreeable to the canons, and expedient, both in order that the richly-beautiful bride of Christ, the catholic and apostolic church (*i.e.* the patriarchal cathedral), now widowed, may be betrothed to a visible husband, to a new most-holy patriarch, that the patriarchal chair may be filled and Christ's flock fed, &c.; and also because in many cases when Greek patriarchs have voluntarily abandoned their chairs, others have been and now are synodically elected and appointed, and raised to the patriarchal chair, as also the roll[53] written by me before, by the provident order of the emperor's most illustrious majesty, shows.

But for the second point which the synod has resolved [between May 10 and May 26], that Nicon the late patriarch is to be degraded and deprived of the episcopate, and not only of the episcopate, but also of the priesthood—this resolution of the synod is to my weak mind inadmissible.

First, because the Second holy Œcumenical Council, when St. Gregory the Divine had of his own will renounced his chair of C.P., did not depose (degrade) him, did not divest him of the priesthood, did not deprive him of the episcopal dignity, and did not take away from him the power of doing episcopal acts. For St. Gregory the Divine, after having of his own will renounced the chair of C.P., having gone to Nazianzum, did there episcopal acts, ordained a religious man named Eulalius, and made him bishop, as Gregory the presbyter, who wrote his life, testifies.

Secondly, because both the abandonment of the chair and also the renunciation of the episcopate are uncanonical. For if any one on account of his own soul-destroying sins renounce the episcopate, such a one even before his renouncing was unworthy to do episcopal acts. But if any one of humility, for the good of his soul, relinquishes his episcopate, such a one even after his abdication is still worthy, and ought to [be allowed, or even required, to] perform episcopal functions, according to canon ii. of St. Cyril of Alexandria, who in his epistle to Domnus speaks thus: 'It is contrary to the constitutions of the Church, when

[53] See above, p. 239.

some of the ministers in sacred things offer libels of abdication. For if they are worthy, let them serve (*i.e.* celebrate the liturgy); but if they are *not*, let them not be allowed to resign, but let them be condemned and put out.'

On this account Theodulus bishop of Mauricia, when he had by a writing renounced his episcopal rank, and his renunciation, having been read, appeared to be not on account of any sin, but of humility, was judged by Michael Anchialus patriarch of C.P. worthy to enjoy the episcopal rank, to do episcopal acts, and to continue a bishop; as Armenopulus witnesses in his first book.

For this cause the bishop Eustathius, when he had by a writing renounced his episcopate, was accounted worthy to obtain from the Third holy Œcumenical Council as follows: first, that he should enjoy the episcopal honour; secondly, that with the permission of the local bishop he might ordain deacons and priests, and perform all other episcopal functions; thirdly, that he might be raised to any church which was in widowhood and had no bishop filling the chair; as is shown by the epistle of the Third Œcumenical Council addressed to the synod of Pamphylia.

On this account the priest Bianor, who had renounced the priesthood, was again allowed to do priestly acts by the holy and wise Basil the Great.

Thirdly, because bishops cannot depose a bishop without their primate, according to canon ix. of the synod of Antioch, which runs thus: 'Without their primate let the bishops do nothing.' How, then, can metropolitans depose their patriarch without the primate-patriarch or his exarch? For it is not fit that sons should deprive their father of his honour, that the sheep should despoil their shepherd of his pastoral authority, or that subordinate bishops should depose their primate, and even divest him both of the episcopate and of the priesthood. But if a bishop, having a difference with his metropolitan, is to have his cause judged before the patriarch of Constantinople, by canon ix. of the Fourth Œcumenical Council, which says thus: 'If any bishop or clerk have a difference with his metropolitan, let his case be judged before the patriarch of C.P.;' how much more is it necessary that metropolitans, having a difference with their patriarch, and wishing even to depose him, should have

their cause tried before the patriarch of C.P., and seek from him a judgment, and canonical sentence for the deposition of their patriarch?

But some one will object, that the hieromonach Matthew Blastar says: 'The name without the thing has no place: so if any one has abandoned the episcopate, he is no bishop, nor consequently either a chief priest.' To this sentence of Matthew I answer thus: That the episcopate (supervision) is one thing; the chief priesthood (or pontificate) another.

First, because every bishop is a chief priest, but not every chief priest is a bishop. An archbishop is a chief priest, but not every chief priest is a bishop. An archbishop and a metropolitan is a chief priest, but he is not a bishop, for he is a metropolitan. A patriarch is a chief priest, but he is not a bishop, for he is a patriarch. For the episcopate is one thing, and the chief priesthood another.

Secondly, because the episcopal power varies in degree. For the power of a bishop is less; for to it only priests are subject. The power of an archbishop is greater, and that of the metropolitan; for to these not only priests, but even bishops themselves are subordinate. Greatest of all is the power of the patriarch; for to it not only priests and bishops, but even metropolitans themselves are subject. But the power of a chief priest is not divisible. For all chief priests in respect of their chief priesthood are equal. For a bishop is equally a chief priest with an archbishop, and an archbishop equally with a metropolitan, and a metropolitan equally with a patriarch.

Thirdly, because both the thing itself and the work of chief priesthood are double. The first [of its offices] is to censure, to separate from communion, to degrade, and to feed the flock committed to one; and this work is done by the bishop in virtue of his being bishop. The second office is to perform sacred functions, to ordain deacons, and to appoint priests; and this work is done by the bishop as chief priest. For since the episcopate is one thing, and the chief priesthood another, a chief priest may abandon the episcopate and his first work, and yet keep the chief priesthood, and perform his second work which belongs to it.

Fourthly, because the sentence of Matthew Blastar adduced not only is unworthy of a blessing, but it is altogether weak, since it is not supported by any single canon or synodal act.

This I have written, not as contradicting the sacred *divinely-elected* synod, *canonically* by the grace of the Holy Ghost making a synodal act. For me it becomes rather to be submissively silent than in a disorderly way and in a sense of contradiction to speak without being questioned. Nor do I pretend to censure the writing written by the most reverend Greek bishops and the divinely-wise archimandrite Dionysius. For whoso censures other people's writings, he will be censured himself. But this I write to declare my own opinion, proceeding from my poor understanding: which if it seem fit to be blessed in the eyes of the sacred synod, let it be received; but if not, let it be rejected. Also from them that have power to forgive, I humbly crave forgiveness.

XXI. *The synodal act drawn up by Epiphanius Slavenetsky [by order of the tsar and of the synod, which so receded from its former resolution for the complete degradation of Nicon] between the 15th June and the 14th August*, A.D. 1660.

The useful order carefully preserved in the apostolic Church of God provides conveniently that some should feed and others be fed, to the benefit, edification, and salvation both of him that feeds and of him that is fed, according to the divine gift given to them both. For there is order also in the churches, as the great saint Gregory the Divine says in his Serm. xxvi., of good order in diversities of tongues and speech, &c. For it makes some to be a certain flock, some to be shepherds; some to rule, others to be ruled; one part to be the head, another the hands, another the eye, another some other member of the body; to the good articulation of the whole, to the benefit both of those members which excel and of those which are excelled. But that in the apostolic Church of God some may excel and others may be excelled, some may feed and others may be fed—of this divine and beautiful order in the Church *whose* office specially is it to take care? since the distribution of order is as it were royalty, as St. Dionysius the Areopagite says (ch. ii. of *Divine Names*): 'Royalty is the distribution of all rule and beauty, and law and order.' So the divinely-crowned emperor, especially if he be religious, orthodox, and a lover of Christ, is the orderly distributor of order. He, as the orderly distributor of order, ought always to take diligent care and thought for the good

order and divinely-suitable administration and direction of the orthodox apostolic Church. This was carefully done by the divinely-crowned, pious, and orthodox emperors Arcadius and Honorius, brightly beaming with the rays of the true faith, who, in their letter to Flavian the devout bishop of Antioch, speak thus (in the Life of St. John Chrysostom, by George bishop of Alexandria): 'Nothing is so near to our heart as the care of the holy churches, and the firm maintenance without scandal of the faith in Christ, by which we are saved, and by which the peoples of the barbarians are subjected to us.' For since, as the civil law says (Code of Basil, Constantine, and Leo, tit. i. c. ix.), 'the emperor is legitimate government, a common good for all his subjects, neither benefiting any of mere partiality, nor hurting any from personal disfavour:' to *him*, as the common good of all, it belongs not only himself to take diligent care for the good order of the Church, but also, for the common good of orthodox souls to be saved, on proper ecclesiastical occasions to call together, in a way pleasing to God, the sacred synod.

The First Œcumenical Synod of the CCCXVIII. holy fathers assembled at Nice, which condemned the heresy of Arius, &c., by whom was it convoked? By the religious and apostle-like emperor Constantine the Great, as Rufinus testifies (*Hist.* lib. iii. ch. i.). The Second Œcumenical Synod of C.P., in which the CL. holy fathers &c. condemned the heresies of Macedonius, by whom was it convoked? By the emperor Theodosius the Great, as Theodoret testifies (*Hist.* lib. v. ch. ix.). The Third, in which the CC. condemned Nestorius, &c., by whom? By Theodosius the Younger, as Evagrius testifies (lib. i. ch. ii.). Following piously in the steps of these above named and of the other orthodox Christian emperors, who for the common good of the holy catholic and apostolic Church convoked sacred synods, the divinely-crowned, religious, and orthodox tsar of Moscow also, the Christ-loving Alexis Michaelovich, &c., ennobled by the precious diadem of piety, crowned with the gold-beaming crown of orthodoxy, clad in the rich purple of justice, and studded over with the honourable pearls of all godly royal virtues, as he who is ever watching and caring for the good order and becoming administration and development of the orthodox apostolic Church, has now &c. convoked in Moscow a sacred synod.

But for what cause? In truth for this, that the rational

sheep &c. may be well fed by a primate, of whom hitherto for a long time past they have been destitute, &c. For the pious lips of his majesty, when the sacred synod by the grace of the Holy Ghost had assembled, and had entered into the golden hall of the tsar, addressed to them the following wise words:

'O most reverend Christ-loving metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, and all ye sacred synod, to whom it is known that the patriarchal chair has been abandoned by the pious Nicon patriarch of Moscow, for this cause ye are now convoked in this capital city of Moscow; that not according to any soul-destroying *envy*, by which death first entered into the world, as Solomon says (Wisdom iii. 2): "But by envy of the devil death entered into the world;" nor according to *hatred*, which warps the judgment, which excites contention, as is said in the Proverbs (ch. i.): "Envy excites contention, but love covereth all differences;" nor according to a weak *ambition of preëminence* condemned by Christ our God, who says (Matt. ch. xx.): "He who would be first among you, let him be your servant;" but according to the fear of God, which whoso has rooted in his heart, he has the beginning of wisdom, as it is said (Eccles. ch. i.): "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God;" and walking in this matter with one accord, in the love of God and in the love of all the brethren, ye may rightly and canonically take counsel that the patriarchal chair may again be ruled by a divinely-inspired primate, for the direct soul-saving good of those subject to it; that again the divinely-built ship of the orthodox Russian Church may be steered by the helm of evangelical doctrine, in a manner pleasing to God, by a supreme helmsman; that again the rational flock of Christ may be well fed by a chosen pastor, &c.; that again the gloriously-adorned bride of Christ, now widowed, that is, the catholic church [or the chief cathedral] of Russia, may be betrothed with rejoicing to a godly-wise bridegroom, a most holy patriarch of Moscow, and joyfully become his bride by a spiritual wedding.'

The sacred synod having heard these godly-wise words flowing from the religious lips of the tsar, and having imprinted them on the adamantine tables of their god-loving hearts, replied with great joy:

'O our divinely-crowned and orthodox and religious tsar, since now thy most bright majesty is a light-bearing firmament

of piety, the unshaken pillar of orthodoxy, the inexpugnable shield of faith, the divinely-built bulwark of the new Sion of the orthodox Church of Russia, to thy most bright majesty it is given in charge from on high to take care that piety may shine like a golden-rayed sun on thy pious empire; that orthodoxy may blossom like a fragrant lily; that the right apostolical faith, like a fruitful olive-tree, may everywhere bear in the souls of men very sweet spiritual fruits: and that the orthodox Church of Russia may abide in peace, good order, and good government. Thy imperial care, &c., by which, to the great good of the orthodox Church of Russia, this sacred synod has been assembled, we all extol as agreeable to the all-working God, the Lord of all things, as acceptable to the holy angels of God, as profitable to all the orthodox and pious people of Russia, as worthy of praise: we all promise to execute canonically that which has been proposed to us by thy imperial and religious lips: we all heartily desire that thy most bright imperial majesty may ever be protected by the name of the God of Jacob, may ever by the all-working God be assisted in every good work, may ever be abundantly watered with the heavenly dew of the grace of the Holy Ghost, may ever illuminate thy empire with the light-darting rays of thy imperial virtues, and, for the happiness of thy subjects, may shine brightly for many years.'

Having made this address, the sacred synod went out with reverence from before the most bright countenance of the tsar [*i.e.* from the *Zolotaia palata* in the palace].

And when all the sacred synod had entered into the patriarchal hall (the *Krestóvaia palata*), they began discreetly and canonically to consult about the orderly betrothing of the orthodox Russian Church, now in widowhood.

Then, by the provident command of the tsar, &c., the boyar and member of the council Peter Mich. Soltikoff came and respectfully laid before all the sacred synod a number of written depositions of persons both of the laity and of the clergy, conscientiously given, respecting this fact, that the pious Nicon patriarch of Moscow of his own will abandoned the patriarchal chair, all testifying to this with one accord so as to deserve credence.

But who of the secular order gave these trustworthy testimonies? Besides many other true and trustworthy men, one witness was the imperial councillor the prince Alexis Nik. Trou-

betskoy, who, by the provident command of the tsar's majesty, went to the holy cathedral in the most honourable name of the tsar, and besought the pious Nicon patriarch of Moscow, when he was of his own will renouncing his chair, speaking to him thus: 'The divinely-crowned Christ-loving tsar, &c. with all his most excellent synclete pray thy holiness that you will be pleased to preside *piously* as a Christ-loving primate on the patriarchal throne; that thou wilt not *uncanonically*[56] divorce thyself from thy divinely-chosen bride the Orthodox Russian Church, in spiritual wedlock canonically united to thee: that thou, as a spiritual father,[57] wilt not leave *thy spiritual children orphans*; that thou wilt feed the rational sheep of Christ with the heaven-bedewed herbage of the word of God,[58] and give heed to the flock of Christ intrusted to thy charge, remembering as a shepherd what is said to the shepherds by that good shepherd the divine Apostle Paul (Acts, ch. xx. 28), 'Give heed to yourselves, and to all the flock in which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers, to feed the Church of God.' But the pious Nicon to all that was said replied: 'From this time[59] I will not tend the rational flock of Christ, but I will attend only to myself; I will not feed as a shepherd Christ's sheep, but I will be fed as a sheep; I will not take care of the Orthodox Russian Church, but of my own soul; I will not be a physician of the wounds of other men's sins, but the wounds of my own sins I wish to heal, that it may not be said to me, in the words of the divine Scripture, 'Physician, heal thyself' (Luke, ch. iv. 23).

But who of the ecclesiastical order? In truth, many pious men worthy of credence, inflamed with the heavenly flame of *the love of God*, and moved by *the fear of God* to speak the *truth*, of whom some are most reverend bishops, as the Christ-loving Pitirim metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, the humble and wise Michael metropolitan of Servia, the divinely-inspired Joasaph archbishop of Tver; others are religious hieromonachs, as Joseph archimandrite of the Choudoff, Dionysius archim. of the Andronikoff monastery, Joseph archim. of the Novospass, Cyprian archim. of the Theophany, Joseph hegoumen of the

[56] insist on our respecting the canons,

[57] Since *they*, *i.e.* especially the tsar and the boyars, sincerely honour and obey thee as a father.

[58] Which they sincerely hearken to, and obey.

[59] You remaining as you are, and acting as you now act.

Znamensky; others all-honourable protopopes, as Michael protopope of the church of the Assumption, and Kondrat of that of the Archangel; with the rest, honourable priests, deacons beloved by God, and pious clerks, who were present in the cathedral when the patr. Nicon of his own will renounced his chair; who all witnessed in perfect agreement with one another that the pious patr. Nicon of his own will left his patriarchal chair, of his own will renounced the patriarchal authority, of his own will refused to feed the rational flock of Christ, of his own will refused to be primate, fearing, may be, that alarming threat which issued from the inspired lips of the prophet Ezechiel, by which the Almighty God, the Lord of all, threatens the shepherds, saying: 'Behold, I am against the shepherds; and I will require my sheep at their hands.'

These written depositions, as genuine, and as made by trustworthy persons, the sacred synod received as worthy of belief. Still, as they wished to inform themselves more scrupulously of the affair before them, they spake thus: 'Since,' they said, 'we know this, that a false witness sins trebly—first, against God, against whom he does not fear to lie; secondly, against the judge, whom by his lie he seeks to deceive; and thirdly, against the innocent party, whom by his false testimony he wrongs (Isidore, *Of the Summum Bonum*, lib. iii.)—we now say synodically to you, O most reverend Pitirim &c., Michael &c., and Joseph &c., repeat &c. truly from your episcopal lips those words which with your holy ears you heard spoken by the pious Nicon when he was giving up his patriarchal chair in the cathedral.' And they, the above-mentioned bishops, full of the love of God and of the fear of the Lord, concordantly said: 'We heard the religious Nicon, after having celebrated the divine liturgy, abandoning of his own will his patriarchal chair, utter in an instruction to the people these words: "Henceforth on the patriarchal chair, on account of its too great exaltation and my own earthly depression, I will not sit; henceforth the elect flock of Christ on account of my ignorance I will not feed; henceforth I will not be chief pastor, feeding the rational sheep of Christ, but for my scabbiness I will be myself called a sheep to be fed; henceforth I desire no longer to enjoy high honour, but I heartily desire that grace of God which is given to the humble, as the prince of the apostles Peter says (1 Pet. v. 5), to be poured out

on my sinful soul from the heavenly fountain of the Holy Ghost. Nor will I, on account of my unworthiness, be called any more patriarch of Moscow:" ' as neither does he style himself, but fulfils his own words: for in his letter written to the divinely-crowned tsar, &c., which by the tsar's benevolent command the senator of his illustrious imperial majesty Peter Mich. Soltikoff has exhibited to the sacred synod, he has written with his own hand 'Nicon *late* patriarch.'

O religious Nicon! who degraded thy pontificate from being *actual* patriarch to be '*late* patriarch,' or rather to be no patriarch at all? For he who of his own will renounces his patriarchate thenceforth is not called patriarch.[60] Was it true spiritual internal philosophy? For then, then it is that we show ourselves philosophers and lovers of God, when, being able to raise ourselves to heights, we flee from them without turning back, says the divine John Climax (Disc. xxv.). Was it indeed deep humility? without which all virtues perish, according to the ecclesiastical doctor St. John Chrysostom, who says thus: 'If thou fast, if thou pray, if thou give alms, if thou do any other good thing without humility, they all melt away and perish.' (Serm. xv. on Matt. iv.) Was it great and warm love of God? This last it was by no means. For Christ our Saviour himself said to the apostle Peter, who loved him: 'Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? He said to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him, Feed my sheep.' But whether it was the first or the second motive of those named above, he who did this act knows, and the following discourse concerning his departure from the cathedral will show.

As, when St. Paul was departing from Miletus, all the pious Christians who were there gathered together shed abundant streams of tears from their eyes—as the scripture says: 'And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him' (Acts xx. 37)—so all the pious people who had come together into the cathedral when Nicon of his own will left his patriarchal chair and went away, lamented and groaned, and wept pitifully; and some cried out, 'We are thy sheep, thou art our shepherd; why dost thou refuse to feed us with the salutary food of God's

[60] This is not true in strictness: 'for if he is worthy, let him serve:' nor according to custom; for if he retires without *crime*, he keeps his honour and a portion for his maintenance.

word?' and others cried, 'We are thy children, thou art our father; why dost thou leave us orphans?' others cried with a loud voice, 'We are members of the mystical body of the Church of God; thou art our sacred head; why dost thou separate thyself from us the members of the Church?' and all, bowing down their heads and faces to the ground, and kissing his honourable hands, earnestly besought him that he would not abandon his patriarchal chair; that he would not &c. make the Orthodox Church of Russia a widow, but would still feed the rational flock of Christ committed to him, and with the pastoral rod of spiritual *rule* guide it into the right path of salvation. But he—what did he? Causes such as might be allowed and blessed for his departure, he *gave none*. He disregarded the entreaty not only of all the people, not only of the priests, not only of the bishops, but that also of the tsar's majesty[61] (for he who has buried in the ashes of forgetfulness the love of him who much loved him, will also disregard the entreaty of him that loved him). If from disregard this was so done, he who did it knows. Certainly he disregarded himself, when, *binding himself by the bond of an anathema* to be no more patriarch of Moscow, he with a loud voice renounced the patriarchal authority, and set the patriarchal staff at the patriarchal place; and, acting upon his own previous wilful determination, went out from the cathedral. But what as he went out did he say to the most reverend Christ-loving bishops his fellow ministers and loving brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ (we dare not any longer say his spiritual children)? He said, with the chosen vessel of the all-holy Spirit, the divine Paul: 'And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified' (Acts xx. 32).

These things being so, the sacred synod said: 'Since the pious Nicon, renouncing the patriarchal rank given him of God, was not willing either to salt with the healthy salt of God's word the intellectual earth of the hearts of men, nor laboriously to preside over the new Sion of the Orthodox Russian Church, founded by the chief architect Christ our God on the living foundation of the apostolic faith; nor to feed the rational flock of Christ committed to him with the heaven-bedewed herbage

[61] His most dutiful and obedient spiritual son.

of *meek* tendance; nor to shine as a radiant candle on the candlestick of the Church, but chose to lie under a bushel as if for humility, and to live a retired, quiet, and peaceful life,—we, the synod, rightly deliberate and rightly provide that another godly chief ruler for the salvation of those that are to be ruled &c., that another expert chief shepherd &c., that another virtuous primate &c. may by the grace of the Holy Ghost be elected.

Since it is ordained by the canons that the woman most wonderfully adorned (Apoc. xii.), who is clothed with the sun and has the moon under her feet, and has on her head the crown of twelve stars, be not left more than three months in widowhood, but that within this time she be betrothed and married to a godly husband elected by the grace of the Holy Ghost, that is, to a religious bishop; and canon xxv. of the Fourth holy Œcumenical Council commands this to be done, saying: 'And beyond three months let not the Church remain in widowhood, but within this time let a bishop be ordained;' therefore, since the gloriously-adorned woman and divinely-elected bride the Orthodox Russian Church has now been in widowhood not three months only, but two years,[62] that she remain not in widowhood longer, that she be yoked without delay to a godly man skilled in the law of the Lord, that she may become with happy result the bride of a divinely-elected bridegroom walking in the straight way of the Lord's commandments, it behoves us, the sacred synod, according to the above-cited holy canon, forthwith to elect some pious man to be primate of the now widowed Orthodox Church of Russia and most holy patriarch of Moscow. And if any will not, according to his duty, concur in this, such a one is censured according to the above-mentioned council, which says thus: 'But whoever will not ordain is to be suspended.' Also, since, when a bishop in possession of his see of himself renounces his rank, then into the place of him who has renounced another bishop is to be canonically elected, ordained, and raised to the episcopal chair, according to canon xvi. of the First and Second Council, which runs thus: 'Under no circumstances whatever is a bishop to take a church the ruler of which is still living and in possession of his proper honour, unless first he of himself renounces his episcopate;' and so, if the bishop in the chair of

[62] So the date at which Epiphanius was ordered to draw up this act was after the 10th of July, A.D. 1660.

himself first renounces the episcopate, then by the above-named canon another bishop *is* to be canonically elected and ordained and raised to the chair in the room of him who has renounced—But what did the pious Nicon, late patriarch of Moscow? Did he not himself of his own will refuse to be any longer chief pastor? Did he not &c.? Did he not &c.? Yes; he himself of his own will renounced the patriarchate, as the trustworthy depositions above produced make clear—therefore, according to canon xvi. above recited of the First and Second Council, we, the sacred synod, ought in the place of the pious Nicon, who has renounced the patriarchate, to elect, consecrate, and raise to the patriarchal chair another good pastor, capable of feeding well the rational sheep of Christ as supreme bishop and most holy patriarch of Moscow. For the same thing has been done synodically on former occasions, to the great advantage of the Orthodox Apostolic Church.

For when &c. St. Gregory the Divine &c. had of his own will abandoned his chair of C.P., another, viz. Nectarius, was chosen by the œcumenical synod of Constantinople, ordained, and raised to the patriarchal chair, as Gregory the presbyter in his Life of St. Gregory the Divine testifies, saying: 'While he was still present in the capital, there was appointed as bishop to his church by the synod a certain Nectarius, who was from Tarsus in Cilicia.'

When Agapetus II. patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 976-994) had renounced his patriarchate, another pious bishop, the blessed John, was elected by the synod, consecrated, and raised to the patriarchal chair, as blessed Nicon testifies (ch. 31).

When the pious bishop Eustathius, overburdened by the weight of the cares pressing on him, had by a writing renounced the episcopate, another pious bishop, viz. the Christ-loving Theodorus, was synodically elected, ordained, and raised to the episcopal chair, as the missive of the Third Œcumenical Council to the synod of Pamphylia testifies, saying: 'A certain bishop Eustathius, having from his incapacity felt overburdened, and unable to support the cares laid upon him, renounced by a writing the episcopate, and Theodore was ordained to the same.'

When the wise and good patriarch of Constantinople Gennadius had voluntarily renounced the patriarchate (A.D. 1458), another pious bishop, the divinely-inspired Isidore, was by the

synod elected patriarch of C.P. in his room &c., as Theodosius Zygomalas, the patriarchal protonotary, in his Ecclesiastical History testifies, saying: 'The most holy patriarch Gennadius having been patriarch five years, and having during these fed well the Lord's people, afterwards, affectionately saluting retirement, convoked a synod of bishops, and made his abdication; and there was raised to the patriarchal chair Kyr Isidore, a holy spiritual man, whom they called in the city "Our common[63] good father."'

How many synodal acts are there of this kind! For there are as many such synodical elections and elevations to the episcopal chair as there have been abdications of the episcopate or archiepiscopate or patriarchate. But of what nature is the abdication? Is it a lawful thing, canonical and regular? According to St. Cyril of Alexandria it is by no means so. For in his second [third] canon, in his epistle to Domnus, he says thus: 'It is contrary to the rules of the Church that some of the priests offer libels of resignation: for if they are worthy, let them minister; but if not, let them not resign, but let them as by a judicial condemnation go out.' Consequently, as regards the pious Nicon, who renounced the patriarchate, if he knew himself to be worthy to be patriarch, he had no right to abdicate; but if he knew himself to be unworthy, then, without renouncing it, he ought to go out from it as one condemned. For he who, knowing his sin to be sufficient to cause his deposition, condemns and deposes himself, does well, and finds pardon and grace with God, according to St. J. Chrysostom, who writes thus (*Of the Priesthood*, ii.): 'If it ever happen that he commit a sin worthy of degradation, and anticipating conviction he puts off from himself his authority, he will so deservedly draw upon himself the mercy of God; but to hold to his dignity contrary to what is seemly is to deprive himself of all pardon.'

These things being so, the sacred synod said that in order that the divinely-elect bride the Orthodox Russian Church now in widowhood &c. may be immediately married to a much-desired bridegroom, that the rational sheep of Christ may be committed to a good pastor, who may feed them well; that the divinely-planted vineyard of the Orthodox Russian Church &c. may be watered with the heavenly waters of evangelical doctrine and spiritual direction; we all, being by the grace of the

[63] He having been the grand penitentiary.

Holy Ghost assembled in the capital city of Moscow, following both the sacred canons and the acts of the councils, judge and proclaim that it is right and expedient and canonical that in the room of the pious Nicon, who has renounced the patriarchate, another primate, another chief pastor &c., another most holy patriarch of Moscow &c. be elected, consecrated, and raised to the patriarchal chair.

O divinely-elected and sacred synod,[61] at this thy righteous, expedient, and canonical declaration who now does not rejoice? who now does not exult? who does not clap his hands? who is not filled with great consolation? who does not sing with joy? The new Israel rejoices that the government is to be committed *in meekness* to a new Aaron. The divinely-elected spouse the Orthodox Russian Church, hitherto widowed, rejoices that, clad in the garment of gladness, she is to be betrothed to the much-desired bridegroom. The rational sheep of Christ clap their hands, because they will now again be fed by a good pastor with the healthy food of God's word.[62] The divinely-built ark of the Russian Church is filled with great comfort, because by a wise Noah she is to be steered by the right helm of spiritual direction. All the choir of the Orthodox children spiritually born from their Orthodox mother the Catholic Russian Church joyfully sing, because a loving father, that is, a most holy patriarch of Moscow, is to be given to them.

As the sacred synod knows that the prince of the apostles Peter has said (1 Pet. v. 2): 'Feed the flock of God which is among you, giving heed to it; not of compulsion, but voluntarily; nor for filthy lucre, but zealously; nor as being lords over the clergy, but as patterns to the flock;' and the golden trumpet of the Holy Ghost, the divine Apostle Paul, proclaims thus (Tit. i. 7): 'A bishop ought to be blameless, as a steward of God, not proud, not passionate, not a drinker, not a striker, not a seeker of filthy lucre, but a lover of strangers, a lover of what is good, prudent, just, pious, temperate,'—the sacred synod, guided by the grace of the Holy Ghost, has determined, according to the divine doctrine of the holy apostles, to choose by God's help and ordain to be most holy patriarch of Moscow, and to raise to

[61] Here Epiphanius' Pegasus runs or flies away with him, and he makes the synod apostrophise itself.

[62] With the unhealthy food of the tsar's word, or of the word of the secular power. See Nicon's *Replies*, &c. p. 142.

the most exalted patriarchal chair, a man temperate, devout, just, and discreet, a lover of what is good, a lover of strangers, not proud, not a seeker of filthy lucre, one who will feed the flock of Christ not as of compulsion, but willingly: for whom, for his praiseworthy and blameless life, the divinely-crowned tsar himself &c. with his most excellent synclete &c. shall have given his wise and most essential permission; and to commit to him the rational sheep of Christ, that he may feed them well, and that they may be well fed, and that all together, by the help of the almighty chief pastor Christ our God, may be settled in the heavenly fold, and find the unwithering pasture of everlasting bliss.

This is the synodal act of the sacred synod which by the provident care of the divinely-crowned tsar &c. has for this end been assembled in the capital city of Moscow, that instead of the pious Nicon late patriarch of Moscow, who has of his own will quitted his patriarchal chair, another most holy patriarch of Moscow may canonically, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, be elected, ordained, and raised to the chair, for the spiritual benefit of all the Russian people. And in order that this synodal act may be firm, strong, and irrefragable, for this cause we all the sacred synod, in the holy catholic and apostolic church (*i. e.* in the chief catholicon) of the honourable and glorious Assumption of the immaculate Mother of God, have with one accord subscribed it with our hands, in the year from the creation of the world 7168, from the Incarnation 1660, Aug. 14.

[On the other side of the roll, that is, of the original roll of this document (now only part of a much larger roll), there follow the subscriptions, thus]:

The humble Macarius[68] by the mercy of God metropolitan of Great Novgorod and Veliki Louki. [And then, with the same style to each, the names of]

[68] But in the copy made for the translator at Moscow, as if in mockery, the subscription of *Pitirim* with the title of *metropolitan of Novgorod*—he really was made metropolitan of Novgorod in A.D. 1664—is made to head the list, and is given *twice over*, thus: 'The humble Pitirim, by the mercy of God metr. of Great Novgorod and *Veliki Louki*, has subscribed with his own hand.' 'The humble Pitirim,' &c. [as before]. And then, before all the other signatures of bishops &c., the signature of the composer of this synodal act, Epiphanius Slavenetsky, is given *six times over*, thus: 'The monk Epiphanius has set to his hand.' 'The monk Epiphanius,' &c., six times. And then 'Macarius metropolitan of Novgorod,' &c., and the other names after him, as in the text printed above.

Laurentius metr. of Kazan and Sviajsk.

Jonah metr. of Rostoff and Yaroslaff.

Pitirim metr. of Sarai and Podonsk.

Ὁ ταπεινὸς Μιχαὴλ ἐλέει Θεοῦ μητροπολίτης Κολόσσης καὶ Κρακοβίας τῆς Σερβίας.

Ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης Θηβῶν Παρθένιος.

Marcellus archbishop of Vologda and Bielozersk.

Philaret archbishop of Smolensk and Mstislaff.

Stephen archbishop of Souzdal and Torouss.

Hilarion archbishop of Riazan and Mourom.

Joasaph archbishop of Tver and Kashira.

Macarius archbishop of Pskoff and Izborsk.

Ὁ ταπεινὸς Κύριλλος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας βασιλικῆς μάνης ἐν Χίῳ Τίχονος Ηεγζάτα [ex-archbishop of Andros].

Ὁ ταπεινὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νεκτάριος [elsewhere Ηωγωνιανῆς].

Callistus bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk.

Alexander bishop of Viatka and Veliko-Perm.

Joasaph archim. of the Troitsa monastery of St. Sergius.

Philaret archim. of the Nativity (*Rojdestvenni*) at Vladimir.

Paul archim. of the Choudoff.

Joseph archim. of the Novospass.

Prochorus archim. of the Simonoff.

Antonius archim. of the Bogoroditsky at Sviajsk.

Dionysius archim. of the Andronikoff.

Cyril archim. of the Preobrajensky at Kazan.

Tychon archim. of the Hypatieff at Kostroma.

Tychon archim. of the Khoutinsk at Novgorod.

Abramius archim. of the Cyrilloff at Bielozersk.

Theodosius archim. of the Goritsky at Pereyaslaff.

Jonah archim. of the Loujetsky at Mojaisk.

Dionysius archim. of the Bogoyavlensky at Rostoff.

Gerasimus hegoumen of the Bogoyavlensky at Kostroma.

Cyprian archim. of the Bogoyavlensky Za Torgou (*'behind the market'*).

Joseph hegoumen of the Znamensky.

Sabbatius archim. of the Spassky at Yaroslaff.

Dorotheus hegoumen of the Paphnutieff at Borofsk.

Abramius archim. of the Spass-Euthymieff at Souzdal.

Macarius archim. of the monastery of St. Antony the Roman at Great Novgorod.

Zosimus archim. of the Pechersky at Pskoff.
Bartholomew archim. of the Solovetsky.
Paphnutius hegoumen of the Yourieff (Macarieff).
Bogolep archim. of the Spass at Riazan.
Euphrosynus archim. of the Kamensky at Vologda.
Nikita archim. of the Troitsa-Daniloff at Pereyaslafl'-Zaliesky.
Ephrem heg. of the Borisoglebsky at Rostoff.
Jonah archim. of the Priloutsky at Vologda.
Sergius archim. of the mon. of St. Macarius of Koliazin.
Elia archim. of the Nicolaiefsky at Great Novgorod.
Cyprian archim. of the Douchoff at Great Novgorod.
George (in my MS. copy Joseph) hegoumen of the Pauloff monastery at Vologda.
Gerasimus heg. of the Nikitsky at Pereyaslafl'-Zaliesky.
Tychon heg. of the mon. of St. Nicholas the Hungarian.
Ignatius archim. of the Borisoglebsk at Polotsk.
Διονύσιος ἀρχιμανδρίτης Οὐγροσίας (from Mount Athos).
Joseph heg. of the Vosdvijensky.
Dionysius heg. of the Novinsky.
Misael heg. of the Zlatooustoff (of St. John Chrysostom).
Hilary (in my copy Alexis) heg. of the Alexandro-Svirsky.
Ἐπιφάνιος [Slavenetsky] *ἱερομόναχος*.
Joseph heg. of the Daniloff.
Michael protopope of the cathedral.
Kondrat protopope of the Archangel.
Job kliuchar of the cathedral.
Silas protopope of the Spassky.
Andrew protopope of the Sretensky.

XXII. *Minute from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Moscow.*

On the 6th Oct. A.M. 7169 (A.D. 1660), the tsar &c. Alexis Mich. ordered the boyar prince Peter Michael. Soltikoff and the secretary of the council Alexander Douroff to give up the documents relating to the abdication of the late patriarch Nicon to the *posolski prikaz*, to the secretary of the council [president of that prikaz] Almiaz Ivanoff, to be kept there under his the tsar's imperial seal. This is the list:

i. *Depositions* (the originals), sealed with the seal of the boyar prince Peter Mich. Soltikoff.

ii. *Exposition against the patriarch Nicon, that he is not to be again patriarch*, under the hands of the bishops; and a *Letter or writing of the patriarch Nicon* brought by the stolnik Poushkin; also sealed by the boyar.

iii. *Extracts from the Depositions* above mentioned.

iv. *Extracts from the canons of the holy Fathers.*

v. Names of the spiritual dignitaries (*clasti*) present in the synod.

vi. Deposition of Matt. Step. Poushkin under his hand, of his being with the patriarch [Nicon in the Krestnoy monastery].

vii. Three folios (*i.e.* leaves, not rolls) of Greek writings, with the translations of them.

viii. Extracts from the canons of the holy Fathers, in the handwriting of Epiphanius Slavenetsky.

ix. Extracts, also from the canons of the holy Fathers.

x. Three depositions of the hieromonach [lit., 'the elder'] Epiphanius, under his hand.

xi. Letter of the bishop Callistus of Polotsk.

xii. Deposition of Greek bishops (*clasti*) as to how, after the deposition of the patriarch, the synodal act should be subscribed.

xiii. A *copy* from the *Exposition against the patriarch Nicon* &c. in five cahiers.

xiv. Four cahiers of rough draft of extracts from the canons of the holy Fathers.

xv. Two letters of Nicon to Joasaph archbishop of Tver.

xvi. Affair of the archbishop of Souzdal [Joseph] in consequence of the information[67] made against him by the pope Nikita, under seal of the boyar.

xvii. Synodal exposition against the same archbishop of Souzdal, that he is to be quartered and maintained in the monastery of the archangel St. Michael: and that was not to his mind: and he wilfully went away. And for that he was degraded, and sent to Rostoff, to the Borisoglebsky monastery.

xviii. A writing from the constitutions of the holy Fathers concerning the keeping of the holy canons, presented to the tsar

[67] Owing to which, and to his 'not being received by the citizens,' the tsar ordered Pitirim, the metr. of Kroutits, to administer also the diocese of Souzdal.

by the archbishop of Riazan 15th Aug. A.M. 7170 [seemingly 7168, in A.D. 1660].

'The original of the above note' (writes prince K. M. Obolensky, in the *Russki Archiv* of 1859, No. 5, p. 1-9), 'written in columns on two leaves by a contemporary quick-writer, is kept in Moscow at the Chief-Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (concerning Spiritual Russian Affairs), where also it was seen by the translator.

'But Nicon,' Paisius Ligarides writes in his History, 'contemptuously rejected the acts of this synod, as no better than the dirt-houses built by children on the sand: and he was wont to call it a synagogue or conciliabulum. The things in it with which he found fault were three; viz. *first*, that he himself was condemned unheard, in his absence; *secondly*, that he was so condemned by his own [suffragans] whom he had himself consecrated, or, as he might say, by his own children; *thirdly*, that this synod, contrary to the canons, was convoked by the emperor *alone*, and not by any *patriarch*. For these reasons he continued freely to ordain, and publicly celebrated the liturgy, and did all just as he had done before, as openly *warring with the emperor*,' &c. Vol. iii. p. 46.

And in A.D. 1662, in a letter written to Nicon himself, he mentions the same synod ironically thus: 'But thou wilt say, "There has been convened against me a local synod, in spite of my disallowance of it, to spin an unjust deposition, and to weave together what cannot be woven together, like Penelope, unravelling the web of the divine canons." What then? Was not *Athanasius* also condemned? Was not *Chrysostom* calumniated? Shouldest thou not rather sing thanksgivings to God that thou hast *nothing else* to charge against that synod *but the length of time, of six months* [that it sat, without doing anything to any purpose]?' Ib. p. 63.

CHAPTER IV.

OF VARIOUS OCCURRENCES BETWEEN THE END OF JULY A.D. 1659 AND THE FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT, FEB. 16, A.D. 1662.

§ i. As that first 'beginning of skirmishing' which had been made in July A.D. 1658, and the treatment of Nicon's withdrawal to Voskresensk as a *crime*, had been followed by the death of one of the tsar's children, and by the disaster of Konotop in the spring of 1659, so also during the sessions of the pseudo-synod of 1660, and after its termination, there occurred reverses calculated to agitate and to sadden the tsar, and to increase any misgivings he might feel as to those proceedings against Nicon to which he had now fully committed himself, though neither he nor his synod, after sitting more than six months, had made that decree for Nicon's absolute degradation without which the boyars thought it unsafe to proceed to the election of another patriarch.

Meanwhile the war with Poland had been renewed; and no peace had as yet been concluded with Sweden. A truce for three years had, it is true, been negociated by Nashchokin on the 20th Dec. 1658, and on terms which greatly pleased the tsar; but the Swedes, having in May 1660 made a peace with Poland (the peace of Oliva), were thereby enabled to exact their own conditions from Russia; and they did so in the following year 1661 (June 21), when the tsar, in order to convert the truce into a peace, was obliged to restore all that he had taken in the war. The Kozaks of Little Russia were unfriendly to the tsar's voivodes: some of them had already made terms with the Poles; and the rest were not to be depended upon.

On the 18th of June 1660, Iv. Nik. Khovianskoy, one of the two voivodes commanding in White Russia, was defeated with great loss at Volona, and with difficulty escaped to Polotsk, and his camp at Liachovichi was taken: and the other voivode, Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, though on the 3d Oct. he reported that he had obtained successes on the 24th and 25th Sept., and again on

the 10th Oct. that he had repulsed an attack made on his camp, yet in truth on this last occasion had suffered a heavy loss; and he had to take refuge in Mohileff; while his colleague Khovianskoy and his brother Peter Alex. Dolgorouky both of them suffered fresh defeats from the Poles.

'In Southern Russia things went still worse. There in Volhynia, at Liubar, on the 5th Sept. the boyar Basil Bas. Sheremetieff found himself attacked by an army of 30,000 Poles and 60,000 Tatars, from whom he could not escape: the Kozaks too, who should have coöperated with him, when they came up, went over to the enemy: and on the 23d Oct. at Choudnovo he was forced to surrender with all his army, and was carried away himself as a prisoner to the Crimea, where he was still in 1669. This blow was felt at Moscow even more than that of Konotop. At Konotop a *part* of the army there, and young commanders, were lost: now it was a *whole army*, the hope of the tsar's cause in Little Russia; and a boyar voivode of whom they were justly proud was taken away into a humiliating captivity. If the enemies moved on Moscow in the winter (though Choudnovo was farther off than Konotop), there was no army to oppose to them: and the Lithuanian army which had defeated Khovianskoy and Dolgorouky might march upon Moscow. The Swedes too might take the opportunity to fall upon us'—so writes Solovieff—'from a third quarter, as before they fell upon Poland. Again they began to prepare at the court, as if the tsar might retire to Yaroslaff or Nijny. And now, in addition to all this, there came bad news from the Don.' But let us return to Nicon.

Attacks made on Nicon's monasteries through the prikazes and voivodes.

§ ii. He had been successful in foiling his enemies when they thought they were going to shut him up as a state prisoner at Koliazin; and all that they could do now, since the tsar would not go all lengths with them, was to use the imperial authority, through the prikazes and voivodes, to curtail as much as possible that limited independence and liberty which Nicon still maintained in his own monasteries: and while the tsar, with what they no doubt, when they knew of it, blamed as a weak and regrettable inconsistency, would send him secretly, through the prikaz of secret service, 2000 rubles at a time—taken from his own re-

venues of the patriarchate—to enable him to continue building his monastery at Voskresensk, or to remove to a distance from the council to the shores of the White Sea, they encouraged the voivodes, even in those distant regions, and the monastirski prikaz to disregard the exemptions and immunities granted to his monasteries by the tsar himself, so as either to cut off their resources, or to bring him into a multiplicity of collisions with the tsar's own courts and governors, and with decrees issued through them, more or less in ignorance no doubt, by the tsar himself. They also encouraged individuals to encroach upon the estates and rights of his monasteries; or it may be individuals, without any such prompting, began of themselves to make encroachments, knowing well that they would be encouraged and supported.

Attempt to get rid of Nicon by poison.

§ iii. But there was another way of getting rid of him besides that of shutting him up as a state prisoner, or that of degrading him from the episcopate and the priesthood as a criminal; a way which would vacate the patriarchate beyond all doubt, and bring about the immediate election of a successor, without risk of complications arising from any future weakness of the tsar. This way was that Nicon should vacate the patriarchate by death. And, strangely enough, it so happened that that very journey of his to Moscow by which he defeated the design of shutting him up, brought upon him this other danger, which was all the greater because secret and unsuspected. On one of those few days that he was at Moscow in the podvorie of his Voskresensky monastery, there came to him an hierodiacon named Theodosius, who had been about the person of the metropolitan of Kroutits Pitirim, the chief vicar and instrument of the tsar's ecclesiastical supremacy; and he represented that he had been ill-treated by this metropolitan for his attachment to Nicon. Nicon believed him, admitted him to be about his own person, and took him away with him to Voskresensk, and thence not long afterwards to the Iversky and the Krestnoy monasteries. 'But at the Krestnoy the behaviour of this Theodosius,' so writes Michaelofsky, 'rendered him an object of suspicion.' A cup with poison in it was actually drunk off by Nicon. But the Lord, who had preserved him unharmed from a similar danger in his childhood, did not suffer him either now to be made away with by his enemies. How-

ever, he wrote of himself to the boyar Zinzin, in letters dated June 29th and Dec. 14th of A.D. 1660, that he had suffered and was still suffering severely from the effects of that poison: and as late as July in A.D. 1662 he had not yet got over it; for he wrote then in his letter to Paisius Ligarides (printed in vol. iii. p. 51-57): 'We are in great pain and suffering. The justice of God preserved us from being poisoned to death; but for my sins God allowed that poison to get into my system, and in consequence I suffer pain from that wicked *enchantment*, and I think that my life will be shortened by it' (lit. 'will not be for long'). But to return: the deacon Theodosius was taken up and examined; and under examination he confessed that he had been sent by the metropolitan of Kroutits Pitirim and by Paul the archimandrite of the Choudoff on purpose to poison the patriarch. Nicon sent him as a prisoner to Moscow to the tsar, with a letter respecting the attempt made upon his life. The tsar ordered that he should be examined by the blijni boyar the prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy—whom we have seen above playing a chief part on the 10th July A.D. 1658, and soon afterwards (at p. 162) acting in the patriarchal rozriad for the tsar when the tsar was absolving in Nicon's name clerks whom Nicon had suspended (from A.D. 1647 to 1663 he was president of the Sibirski prikaz) —and by the doumni dvorianin Procopius Kouzmich Eleazaroff (who from A.D. 1657 to 1677 was president of the Zemski dvor or police prikaz), and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, president of the Posolsky prikaz, under which was then also the Novogorodsky chetvert. The examination[1] of the two prisoners sent was held in the Posolsky prikaz on the 5th Sept.; and in consequence of something said by one of them, a third man was sent for and brought from Kargopol, who was also examined on the 31st of Dec. Theodosius, when thus examined at Moscow, according to those minutes which have been published, seems *to have retracted his own confession* made at the Krestnoy, saying 'that he had written that petition (his confession), owning himself guilty, *under dictation*, and unwillingly; that he had been beaten with *plitts* nine times; and he had set his hand to his replies made under examination also unwillingly, by compulsion; and the answers to the questions of that examination were read over to him after he had already so set his hand to them:

[1] *Part* of the documents will be found in the Appendices.

and that in truth, *even though* the great hossoudar should make order to have him confronted with the metropolitan and the archimandrite, he knew nothing whatever of the crime imputed to him.' However, he answered lamely to the allegation of the other man, that he had given his confession to the patriarch *before* he had received any blows: he admitted that he *had* given a confession *before;* but said that it was *about something else.* The tsar ordered the two prisoners to be remanded, and examined again, first with the threat of torture, and afterwards with actual torture. One of them, Timoshka, was hauled up and tortured: he received twelve blows, and was scorched with fire: and while being hauled up and struck and scorched with fire, he *repeated* his confession *made already at the sight of the rack*,[2] that he had been suborned and bidden to say all that he had said against the deacon, and that there was not a word of truth in it. And the deacon in like manner, *in presence of the torture*, said that the metropolitan and the archimandrite had never sent him; that he had left the *Chudoff* monastery in consequence of a personal quarrel with a hieromonach there; and that he had written the petition (or confession) owning himself guilty under fear and dictation, copying what had been written down for him to confess by a poddiak named Vaska Larionoff and by Nicon's foreigner the Pole Nicholas Olshevsky. And together with the same Nicholas there came also the sotnik of streltsi (sent by the tsar for the protection of Nicon's person), Osip Michaeloff, and beat him. But *after that petition owning himself guilty* [had been written], the sotnik wrote the answers given by him under examination, and beat him: and they forced him to set his hand to those answers made under examination: and he, not being able to stand out against the violence used with him, set-to his hand against his will. And the deacon being hauled up, and tortured *sharply*, received fifteen blows, and was scorched with fire. And while being hauled up and struck and scorched, he repeated the same confession [in which no doubt he would have persisted *even if* the hossoudar *had* ordered him to be *confronted* with the metropolitan and the archimandrite, which was now unnecessary].

Both Michaelofsky and Subbotine relate as a simple fact that Theodosius had attempted to poison Nicon; and Michaelofsky

[2] Perhaps then suggested to him, *if he did not wish to be tortured too violently.*

writes, but without naming his authority for this assertion, that 'afterwards he openly acknowledged that he was guilty of that which Nicon had written against him.' Subbotine writes: 'It appeared that there were a number of persons implicated, and among them even the metropolitan of Kroutits Pitirim, and the archimandrite of the Choudoff Paul. However, from the examinations nothing definite was made out; and this dark affair remained a mystery,' p. 47.

Solovieff, after having related how Nicon accused the deacon Theodosius and others, and how the inquest ordered by the tsar ended in nothing, dismisses the whole as a '*scandalous affair*,' which, when Nicon returned to Voskresensk at the close of A.D. 1660, had served 'only to exasperate *both parties*.'

But the reader must bear in mind that this inquest, though made by command of the tsar, and in his name, was conducted by Nicon's enemies, by men who were seeking by all means to get rid of him; who even told him to his face, that if the tsar would only speak the word, they were quite ready to kill him. And though no one of them without proof is to be charged with complicity in any murderous design, it is plain that they were interested to suppress rather than to prove the fact that personal malice against the patriarch ran so high as to endanger even his life, and to inspire individuals with the hope of obtaining favour and protection by making away with him. The tsar too, who, whatever was his own sin and weakness, was not wanting in discernment, in spite of the ostensible result of the inquest, regarded the culprit Theodosius as guilty—so writes Michaelofsky—and 'gave him up absolutely to Nicon, to be punished as he should determine.' Whatever this might mean, Nicon thanked the tsar, but replied that in his own cause he could not act as judge nor punish; nor did he wish or ask for any evil against his enemies. Solovieff tells us nothing about this; nor does he mention that the tsar, when Nicon had declined to ask for any punishment, banished the deacon Theodosius to Siberia.

That an attempt had really been made to poison Nicon—who was a man of herculean stature and strength, robust and laborious, and not one to counterfeit pain or sickness—no one at the time seems to have either denied or doubted. Nor has Solovieff himself ventured to *deny* it even now, though he seems to *insinuate* that it was a story trumped up by one of two *parties* against the

other. Subbotine, who most humbly and respectfully questions the entire impartiality of Solovieff, and yet to a great extent follows him, in this instance is absolutely amusing: 'While Nicon was in the Krestnoy,' he writes flippantly, 'one of the monks who were with him, named Theodosius, made *an attempt to poison* him. Nicon took *the necessary measures*, and the *affair* ended in *some slight symptoms*. [Nicon himself writes very differently of them.] *Nevertheless*, [*though* the emetic or the purge had averted all danger] Nicon sent information of this to Moscow'! Truly Subbotine would have done better to have copied out what Solovieff had written than to improve upon it in this style.

Paisius Ligarides, an unexceptionable witness for men of his own views—and for others too on this point—is ready enough to accuse Nicon of having trumped up calumnious accusations against himself; but about this affair of the deacon Theodosius he wrote in 1663 to the tsar, not that it was a calumny trumped up against the metropolitan Pitirim and the archimandrite Paul, but that rumour, not only in Russia, but even among foreigners, beyond the frontier, implicated in the design not Pitirim and Paul only, but all the council, and even the tsar himself; so that it was incumbent on him, for his good fame, and to rebut so foul an imputation, to bring his controversy with Nicon to a speedy and public issue.

Shusherin, after relating that the tsar ordered his chief boyar Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy and others to examine the deacon Theodosius, and that Theodosius in that first examination denied all—adds, that when they had made their report to that effect, the tsar ordered him to be sent to the city criminal prikaz, where they examine *with a will* all criminals, and to be examined there. And *there* he, Theodosius, again confessed all the truth, as he had before confessed it in the Krestnoy monastery.

And when the tsar knew that Nicon had returned from the Krestnoy to Voskresensk, he sent to him his *blijni* Rodion Streshneff, and let him know that that Theodosius had confessed, and asked, 'What will thy holiness have done with him? Shall that ex-deacon be punished with death, as a warning to others, or sent into distant exile, or set at liberty?' And the patriarch thanked the tsar for his grace, that he had made inquiry and ascertained the truth in that matter, and said: 'Let the tsar do what he himself thinks proper. Since the power of God has preserved me

from being harmed by the plot of that deacon and his suborners, I am not a prosecutor, seeking punishment for that: only I have made manifest to the great hossoudar what designs are formed against me by the metropolitan of Kroutits and Paul the archimandrite of the Choudoff. But as for that deacon, let the tsar make such order as he pleases,' p. 65.

With regard to the original authors of the attempt, Michaelofsky writes: 'Of whom this man was the instrument, is what the inquest did not discover.' Nicon himself was fully persuaded from first to last that it was really the metropolitan of Kroutits who had suborned that wicked deacon of his to compass his death, and so put an end to all difficulties. And the circumstances no doubt were suspicious. When once Theodosius had named them, it was natural enough that Nicon, who was vehement and credulous, and had no reason certainly to think well of Pitirim, nor of Paul either, should believe the assertion without further proof. But, on the other hand, Theodosius alone is certainly not a trustworthy witness: and though he had come from Pitirim and from the Choudoff to Nicon, he *may* have devised of himself, of his own wicked and selfish speculation, to serve the interest and wish of Pitirim and Paul and of all Nicon's enemies by attempting to rid them of him: and he may have expected—without any distinct engagement—to be rewarded afterwards in some way or other, and through some influence or other of Nicon's enemies, if he succeeded. Thus much must be granted: he certainly did not intend to run such a risk and to attempt such a crime *for nothing*.

Letter from Nicon to the boyar Ziuzin.

There is a letter from Nicon to the boyar Ziuzin and his wife, written from the Krestnoy monastery and dated 28th June, A.D. 1660, as follows:

Nicon &c. Ye write to me, my dear friends, from first to last grieving for me, and for my many personal wrongs. But the Lord comforts me who weep now with the thought of the future good which he promises to them that love him. And now I have to write of myself nothing else besides sufferings and many afflictions. I am alive, and that is all, in my sufferings. The metropolitan of Kroutits and the archimandrite of the Choudoff sent here a deacon named Theodosius, who had lived with the

metropolitan of Kroutits, with much sorcery, to poison me: and he would have poisoned me—it was the mercy of the Lord which only just saved me—with *bezouem*-stone and powder of *indrog* (*hydrarg-yron*). And other four monks he attempted to poison together with me. . . I lay a long time insensible, and was very near dying: and the other monks lay sick about three days, having drunk the same poison with myself. And now I suffer great pains in the stomach, and I know not what is to be the end of it, whether I shall continue long in this state, or whether I shall ever get over it. Of all this I have written to the great hossoudar to Moscow; and he [the deacon Theodosius] has been sent to Kargopol. Keep well, and do not forget us in all that we suffer for the Lord's sake. Written in the Krestnoy monastery, June 28. On the other side: 'To Nikita Alex. Ziuzin.' It is an autograph, with the seal still attached.

Petitions of Nicon from the Krestnoy.

§ iv. *A second petition* of Nicon to the tsar from the Krestnoy sets forth that in 7166 he the tsar had bidden or authorised him Nicon to annex to the Krestnoy the Pechensky monastery at Kola; and the voivode at Kola, Boris Blagoi, in obedience to a letter from the tsar, had registered that annexation: and the books of the change of registration or transfer were sent to the tsar to Moscow, to the Novogorodski chetvert; and a letter in accordance with the same books, or registration, was issued thence to the Krestnoy monastery.

'And in 7167' (A.D. 1659), he says, 'I ordered the hegoumen to send from the Krestnoy, because we ourselves and the monastery were scarce of fish, two barks to sea, to the Pechensky monastery, to get some. And on board those barks there was sent an elder of the Krestnoy, Seleucus, with some servants. And we ordered him to take from the Pechensky monastery for disorderly conduct the hieromonach Simeon; because he had been suspended by us from the priesthood by our judgment long before, when we were metropolitan at Great Novgorod; and it was no more competent for him the said Simeon to minister: but he, having gone away from us from Novgorod to Kolsk, without any permission began to celebrate; whereas he should never in all his life be allowed to celebrate. And he the said Simeon pawned all the books of the monastery in a tavern for

drink; and he is guilty besides of all manner of disorderly conduct, such as it is not possible to write of to thee. And together with him the elder had orders to take the servant Bogdashko Kaidaloff, for his great dishonesty. And of that our order he the black pope Simeon got knowledge. And he persuaded a number of rascals like himself, monks and servants of the Pechensky, to stand by him. And when Seleucus came in the bark, he Simeon with a band of many other rascals both abused me thy beadsman with all manner of foul language, and insulted the elder Seleucus, and beat the servant Luke Lazareff, and dragged him by the heels as dead, and cast him out of the monastery. And as for the elder who was sent to them from the Krestnoy to be their superior (*stroitel*), he beats that stroitel and puts him into chains, and obeys him in nothing. And all the treasure of the monastery he has squandered in drinking, and has stolen and made away with it. Gracious hossoudar &c., be gracious to me thy beadsman: make order, hossoudar, to give me thy imperial defence against those felons, the pope Simeon and his accomplices. Tsar, hossoudar, have compassion, be gracious.'[3]

A third petition, also from the Krestnoy, recites, that 'On my petition the Pechensky monastery in the Fort (ostrog) Kolsk was annexed to the Krestnoy; and in 7166 (A.D. 1657-58) the hegoumen and stroitel with the brethren of the Krestnoy set forth in a petition that

"The tsars Theodore Iv. and Basil Iv. and Michael Theod. had ordered that no dues should be taken in the towns from the hegoumen and brethren of the Pechensky on their purchases of provisions and their sales of salt, or on any of their purchases or sales; and to that effect there were given to the Pechensky imperial letters. But there has been given no letter from thy present majesty Alexis Mich. to confirm those previous letters; and by thy oukaz the Pechensky has been annexed to the Krestnoy. We pray, therefore, that such a letter may now be given

[3] Of these petitions of Nicon it is to be observed that they are not pleadings or suits in the prikazes, instituted or answered to by him, though in the same form with such documents, but they are communications addressed personally to the tsar, and only indirectly and through him connected with this or that prikaz. When originating with Nicon himself they might be presented by the tsar's confessor, or by any one about the tsar at Nicon's request, or by his own messenger: when he answered or returned papers sent to him by the tsar, this would naturally be done through the same person as had brought them.

to them the hegoumen &c. of the Krestnoy, with order to them to give it to be read in the fort Kolsk to the voivode Boris Blagoi, and to bid the Pechensky monastery do in all respects according to the contents of the imperial letters of the former tsars." [The contents of the same letters are recited, one passage being as follows: "And the same tsar Basil Iv. Shouisky farther ordered that his imperial deputies and the tiunes of the baillies should not exercise jurisdiction in any way over the hegoumen and brethren of the Pechensky, nor over their servants and peasants and dvorniks, nor order them to be given to their accusers to find bail in any matters, nor send out their officers to them on any charges except murder, robbery, or armed violence. But they shall be under the government, and their servants and peasants and dvorniks shall be under the jurisdiction in all things of the hegoumen himself, or of him whom the hegoumen shall appoint. And if there chance to be a mixed cause between the servants and peasants or dvorniks of the monastery and people of the town or of the volost, the deputies and baillies and tiunes shall judge it; but the hegoumen or his deputy shall judge together with them. And whether the man belonging to the monastery be in the right or in the wrong, he is to be acquitted or condemned by the hegoumen with the brethren. But if any one raise a question against the hegoumen or against their deputies (prikashchiki), they shall be judged at Moscow by him whom the hossoudar shall appoint in civil matters: but in spiritual matters it is the metropolitan of Great Novgorod who judges them," &c.]

'And those letters of former tsars thou, hossoudar, Alexis Mich., wast pleased to subscribe in thine own name and reconfirm. And those thy imperial letters are now in the Krestnoy, in the treasury.

'But now, hossoudar, when by our order any monks or commissioners of the Krestnoy go to any towns, as to Dvina or Vologda, to sell salt, and to buy with the money provisions and necessaries for the year, the voivodes and all the prikaz people, and all the heads of the customs in those towns, take from them all manner of dues, and drag them into court: and in the Fort Kolsk the voivodes and the streltsi and the townspeople take the part of the refractory monks and servants of the Pechensky, and hinder the commissioned monks and servants of the Krest-

noy, and deprive them of free action: the cause of which is, that Niemtsi (Swedes) come of set purpose to those monks of the Pechensky in their vessels; and those monks, as if wishing to see thy majesty's oratory ruined, sell the salt and the fish of the monastery to those Niemtsi to lade on board their vessels in exchange for wine and spirits, and for liqueurs, and for Rhenish wines, and for all sorts of German liquors. And being all in league together, they drink and carouse with the voivodes and the streltsi, and with the townspeople: and they have plundered the monastery, and drunk up together nearly everything. Gracious hossoudar &c., be gracious to me thy beadsman, according to the tenor of thy former imperial grant. Suffer not the letters of privilege of the former tsars, and thine own confirmatory letter, to be thus contravened. Forbid the voivodes and streltsi and townspeople in the Fort of Kolsk to side with the monks and servants of the Pechensky monastery, or to meddle with that monastery, and deprive those sent from the Krestnoy of their free action. And of all this be pleased to order thy imperial letter to be issued in conformity with this my petition, and to be publicly read. Tsar, hossoudar, be gracious, grant it.'

Appended is a copy of that letter of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich which is referred to above by Nicon, as follows:

"By the mercy of God, we, great hossoudar, tsar, and grand prince Alexis Mich. autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, at the request of our father and beadsman the great hossoudar the M. H. Nicon, patriarch of Moscow and all Great *and Little and White* Russia, have granted to him our father and beadsman, for the benefit of his foundation of the Krestnoy monastery [*i.e.* the mon. of the Cross] in the riding of Kargopol, in the sea, on the island of Kia, for the support of the brethren, in the riding of Kolsk, our, the sovereign's, half of the river Ponoia and the half of the Lachta, with the fisheries, also the half of the pogost Ponoi, which is subject to obrok, as a freehold estate, which aforetime was held by our boyar Nikita Ivan. Romanoff, and the half of Ekonga, which was held by the hegoumen and the brethren of the monastery of Sisk. And the other half of the same river Ponoia and of the Lachta, and of the obrok-paying pogost Ponoi, and of Ekonga, we &c. have given for the benefit of the foundation of the same our father and beadsman the patriarch Nicon, the monastery of

the Resurrection, of the New Jerusalem, which is in the riding of Moscow. And we have ordered the obrok and dues and customs, and the benefit of the Kroujechni dvor, to be taken out from the schedule of the apportionment of dues, and that nothing be exacted for us of obrok or duty or collection of the tenth fish on account of that river Ponoia and the Lachta, and the pogost of Ponoi and Ekonga: but those pogosts of Ponoi and Ekonga, and the river Ponoia and the Lachta, with their fisheries and their revenues of all kinds, are to be held, the one half by the hegoumen of the Krestnoy monastery John and the stroitel the elder Isaiah with the brethren and their successors &c., and the other half by the archimandrite of the Voskresensky monastery Stephen and the namiestnik Zosimus with the brethren and their successors &c. for ever unchangeably. And if any man, forgetting the future judgment of God and the recompense to be made to every one according to his works, shall attempt by sacrilegious robbery to take away from the holy places anything of those immovable properties which we have given to them, that is, of their estates, may the Lord God take away from that man his mercy, and shut against him the doors of his goodness, as also against all those who rob and injure the property of the holy places; and may the curse and death come upon him, as upon Ananias and Sapphira. This our imperial letter of grant is given in our capital city of Moscow, in the year 7166, 27th March" (A.D. 1658).

'Judge thou, O Lord, them that wrong me; fight thou against them that fight against me. Lay hand upon the spear and the buckler, and stand up to help me. Draw forth the sword, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul: let them be turned back and brought to confusion that imagine mischief for me. Let them be as the dust before the wind, and the angel of the Lord scattering them. Let their way be dark and slippery; and let the angel of the Lord persecute them. For they have privily laid their net to destroy me without a cause, yea even without a cause have they reviled my soul. Let a sudden destruction come upon him unawares, and his net that he hath laid privily catch himself, and let him fall into his own snare. But my soul shall be joyful in the Lord; it shall rejoice in his salvation. All my bones shall

say, Lord, Lord, who is like unto thee, who deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him; yea, the poor and him that is in misery from him that spoileth him. False witnesses did rise up; they laid to my charge things that I knew not. They rewarded me evil for good, and great disappointment to my soul. But I, when they were troubling me, put on sackcloth, and humbled my soul with fasting; and my prayer shall turn into mine own bosom. I behaved myself as though it had been my friend or my brother; as one that weepeth and mourneth, so I humbled myself. But in mine adversity they rejoiced, and gathered themselves together, even the very scourges of the people; and I knew not: they were divided, but relented not. They tempted me; they mocked me scornfully; they gnashed upon me with their teeth. O Lord, how long wilt thou look upon this? O, deliver my soul from their ill-treatment, my only-one from the lions. So will I give thee thanks in the great congregation; I will praise thee among much people. O, let not them triumph over me that are mine enemies wrongfully, that hate me without a cause, and wink with their eyes. For they spake to me words of peace, and for wrath meditated treachery. They opened wide their mouths against me, and said, Good, good; we saw it with our eyes. This thou hast seen, O Lord: hold not thy tongue, then; go not far from me, O Lord. Awake, and stand up to judge my quarrel: avenge thou my cause, my God and my Lord. Judge me, O Lord my God, according to thy righteousness, and let them not triumph over me. Let them not say in their hearts, Good, good; so would we have it: neither let them say, We have devoured him. Let them be put to confusion and shame together that rejoice at my trouble; let them be clothed with rebuke and dishonour that boast themselves against me. Let them be glad and rejoice that favour my righteous dealing; and let them say always, Blessed be the Lord, who desire the peace of his servant. And my tongue shall be ever talking of thy justice, all the day long of thy praise' (Ps. xxxiv. in the LXX. and in the Slav.; xxxv. in the Hebr.).

Copy from a Minute word for word.

In the year 7168, 18 July (1660), by oukaz of the tsar, &c. Minute to the archimandrite of the Krestnoy monastery Ivan, with the brethren. In this present year 7168, 16th July, in a

letter of the tsar issued from the Novgorod chetvert, with the countersign of Dmitri Shoubin, to Dvina, to the stolnik and voivode Ivan Bogd. Miloslafsky, and to the secretary Larion Ermolaeff, it is written that a petition was made to the great hossoudar by the foreigners, the Hollanders, Kondratey Klinkin and Martin Markoff, stating that ten years ago, in the past year 7163, 1 Sept. (A.D. 1654), by order of the late M. H. patriarch Nicon, there were leased to them his patriarchal obrok-paying fisheries on the Mourman Sea, on the Tersk side the river Ponoia and the Lachta. And from that date they have a boat going on the Ponoia for fishing. And they paid their rent every year, according to the minute of agreement for it, into the patriarchal treasury. And in this present year 7168 thou the archimandrite, with the brethren, didst write from the Krestnoy monastery to the foreigner Martin Markoff, that they were not to go on the river Ponoia for fishing with bark or boat. But by the patriarch's minute of lease, the term of years for which those fisheries were leased to them had not yet expired. Wherefore they prayed the great hossoudar to be gracious to them the foreigners Kondrat and Martin, and to make order that they should continue to hold those fisheries, according to the patriarch's lease of them, till the years of the lease be expired, that they might not suffer loss in their trading business. And in the minute, as those foreigners subjoined it to their petition, it was written thus: 'In the year 7163, 2 March (A.D. 1655), by order of the M. H. Nicon patriarch, the treasurer the elder Irenarch, and the secretary Ivanko Koshiloff, have leased the patriarchal obrok-paying fisheries on the Mourman Sea, on the Tersk side the river Ponoia and the Lachta, to Kondrat Klinkin, son of Youry Klinkin, and partner of Mark Markoff, of the gosti from the country of Holland, and to the prikaschik Martin Bitlin Markoff, for a certain obrok, from the end of the year 7163, 1 Sept. (A.D. 1654), for ten years, to the [beginning of the] year 7174: and they Kondrat and Martin are to pay the rent at Moscow into the patriarchal treasury for that fishery yearly, 330 rubles in money, and 100 poods of fish, of salmon; and if in any year there shall be no take of fish, they shall, instead of that fish, pay into the patriarchal treasury 100 rubles in money. And besides those 330 rubles in money and 100 poods of fish of salmon, they, Kondrat and Martin, shall buy at Vologda, with their own money,

to the value of 100 rubles, of bread provisions, of rye flour, and grits, and tolokno, as was done before; and they shall carry those bread provisions in their own vessels from Vologda to Ponoi, and deliver them to the newly-baptised Lopars of Ponoi, and take from them a minute (a receipt), and send it to Moscow to the treasury (the '*kazenni*') prikaz: and for the covenanted term of years no lease shall be given to their prejudice from the patriarchal treasury to any other person in respect of those obrok-paying fisheries; but they shall hold the said fisheries till the expiration of the term.'

And the great hossoudar the tsar &c. having heard that cause, ordered, and the boyars advised and assented, that those fisheries shall be held, according to the patriarchal lease of them, till the expiration of the term, by the Hollander gosti Mark Markoff, and the son of his partner Youry Klinkin Kondrat Klinkin; and that they are to pay the obrok in money and fish *into the treasury of the great hossoudar*; likewise that they are to buy provisions at Vologda with their own money, and to carry them and deliver them in such manner as is written in the patriarchal lease; and the Hollander gosti are to go with their bark to Ponoia as before, and they are to pay their obrok year by year at Moscow into the Novgorod chetvert, without change, in silver money; but they are not to pay their obrok and the fish to the monasteries. And by oukaz of the tsar, and by his letter to the archimandrite of the Krestnoy monastery John, with the brethren, it was ordered that the fisheries at Ponoi should be held, according to the patriarchal lease of them, till the expiration of the term, by the Hollander gosti Mark Markoff and Kondrat Klinkin, son of his partner Youry Klinkin; and that they should pay their obrok in money and fish into the treasury of the great hossoudar. Also that they should besides buy provisions at Vologda with their own money, and carry them and deliver them in such sort as is written in the patriarchal lease. And it is ordered that they go to Ponoi with their bark as before, but are to pay their obrok every year into the treasury of the great hossoudar at Moscow, into the Novgorod chetvert, without change, in silver money, and are not to pay it to the monasteries. And about this order has been given to write to thee to the Krestnoy monastery, that the great hossoudar has made order that those fisheries are to be held, ac-

cording to the patriarchal lease of them, till the expiration of the term, by the Hollander gosti; and that they are to pay the obrok into the treasury of the great hossoudar, into the Novgorod chetvert; and that the authorities in the monastery are not to take into their own hands those manorial rights. To the original minute the stolnik and voivode Ivan Bogd. Miloslafsky has affixed his seal.

Before the end of A.D. 1660, Nicon had returned from the Krestnoy monastery to Voskresensk, from whence he wrote to the boyar Ziuzin and his wife, on the 14th Dec., the following letter:

§ v. Nicon &c. to our son in the Holy Ghost Nikita Alex. and to our daughter Maria Stepanovna, with all those of your household who love you, grace, mercy, and peace, &c. Your triple letter did not fail to reach me, for the love of the Blessed Trinity; and all that was written in them we read and understood, reading a part at a time . . . as they came: but owing to the great pain we were suffering, we delayed to write in answer to you. Therefore we pray you not to be hurt at this, for we appreciated your hearty affection; and we equally have you in our heart.

But for what relates to this present time, there is no reason that we should be astonished at the horrors of this present world, since the apostle speaks and prophesies of this: 'In the last days men shall be lovers of themselves, *covetous, proud, boasters, disobedient to parents, haters of justice.*' And these things are so: now all this is fulfilled. And again another apostle (1 John ii. 18) says: 'Children, it is the last time; and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, *even now there are many antichrists:* and hereby we know that it is the last time; They *went out from us*, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us; but they went out, that they might be manifested that they were not all of us. But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. I have not written unto you because *ye* know not all that worketh in this world now, and that no lie is of the truth. Who is a liar but *he that rejecteth God?*' For He says (by Isaiah): '*I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me;*' and 'they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my good

will.' And we ought not to be astonished when God declares, 'A man's foes shall be they of his own household.' 'He that knoweth God,' the apostle says (1 John iv. 6), 'heareth *us;* he that is not of God heareth not us.' And God says: 'He who heareth you heareth me, and he who rejecteth you rejecteth me.' And again the apostle says: 'Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; every one that loveth is born of God, . . . but *he that loveth not hath not known God.* . . . He that loveth me keepeth my commandments. And my commandment is, that ye love one another.' So that they who will not love one another keep not my commandments: and he who keepeth not my commandments loveth me not. And they who love me not are not with me. But he who is not with me is against me. For the Lord says: 'He who is not with me is against me.' But he who is against me is my enemy. But if any man be the enemy of God, whoever he be, how can God be with him? And 'God,' the apostle says, 'is light; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not. But he who knoweth not God is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness has blinded his eyes. He that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest that they are of God. He that doeth not righteousness cometh not to the light, that his evil works may not be reproved.' But this I have said, that you should not be astonished at what you hear about me, since Christ has foretold that this should so be. Let us understand: 'If ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world. For this cause,' he says, 'the world hateth you. If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me first before it hated you. If ye had been of the world, the world would have loved its own. Remember,' he says, 'my word which I spake to you: The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have cast me out, they will also cast out you; if they keep my word, they will also keep yours.' And again: 'But this I have said, that it may not be a stumbling-block to you: They shall *expel you from the synagogues:* nay, the hour cometh when *whoso killeth you* shall think that he doeth God service.'

And there is nothing to marvel at in what has befallen *us:* 'for for this *we* came forth' [see 1 Thess. iii. 3, 4]. We may rather

wonder at *your* having to suffer for the sake of God, and for the sake of righteousness. I say, sighing: 'Yours will be the kingdom of heaven.'

If I could go on and add to this which I have written from the sacred word, it would be in no other sense than that of the epistle to the Thessalonians, which I will ask you to read; and you will understand from what is written there, what I mean by saying that I should not write otherwise, if my bodily strength were equal to it.

[There are several places in both the epistles to the Thessalonians which Nicon here has in his mind, and to two of which at least he has directly alluded:

'Ye have become followers of us and of the Lord, by having received the word in much *affliction*, with joy in the Holy Ghost.' 1 Thess. i. 6.

'For yourselves, brethren, know our entrance in unto you, that it was not in vain; but even after we had *suffered* before, and had been shamefully entreated, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God, with much contention. For our exhortation was not of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile: but as we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak; *not as pleasing men*, but God, which trieth our hearts. For neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know, nor a cloak of covetousness; God is witness: nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others,' &c. *Ib.* ii. 1-6.

'Let no man be moved by these afflictions: for yourselves know that we are appointed thereunto. For indeed when we were with you we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even as it came to pass, and as ye know.' *Ib.* iii. 3, 4.

'Your patience in all your persecutions and tribulations is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer: seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,' &c. 2 Thess. i. 4-8.

'But that day of Christ shall not come except there come

first the apostasy, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above *all* that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God . . . And that mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let until he be taken out of the way; and then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth and destroy with the brightness of his coming. . . . Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught whether by word or by our epistle . . . . Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified in others also even as it is with you: and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men; for all men have not faith,' &c. *Ib.* ii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 15; iii. 1, 2.

And though he does not here name the Apocalypse, it is plain, from what he has written in his Vozrajenia (A.D. 1663), that his imagination had been strongly impressed by those fresco paintings from the visions of the Apocalypse which he had ever before him in one of the side apses of the cathedral of St. Sophia at Novgorod, when he was metropolitan there: and that he connected some of them with St. Paul's second epistle to the Thessalonians (see *Replies*, &c. p. 70, 403-417). There one still sees the Son of Man amid the seven mystical candlesticks; the dragon standing before the woman who is clothed with the sun and crowned with twelve stars, and has the moon under her feet; and the dragon pursuing the woman, who flies on the wings of the eagle; the beast with seven heads and ten horns, with the woman who is the mystical Babylon sitting upon it; the angel descending, and thrusting Satan bound into the pit, and sealing its mouth; and lastly, Satan issuing forth again to deceive the world to its final conflict. Nicon saw in the developed hypocrisy and wickedness of his own time, and in that spirit of secular supremacy which was enslaving the Church, plain signs of the apostasy, and of the approach of Antichrist. The same mystical symbols were indeed, in one way or other, in the minds of all: only for the Starobratsi the Russian Church was Babylon, and Nicon himself Antichrist; while the partisans of state supremacy, after slightly and sarcastically throwing out the taunt that Nicon rather than the tsar—since he condemned the whole visible Church and hierarchy of

Russia, and even of the Levant—ought to be Antichrist, or his precursor, turned *generally* (in common with the Protestants) this accusation against the Pope and Church of Rome, as the true source and centre to which Nicon's principles were to be referred, and where alone they could be maintained with power.]

'But for the disorder of this time, may the holy God enlighten our darkened consciences to understand what it is. Else it cannot be—unless we repent, like the Ninevites—but that we all perish, according to the word of God; like those on whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them; and as it is written in the third book of Moses (Lev. ch. xxvi., containing the threatenings of God) and in the fifth book (Deut. xxviii., containing the like threatenings). If you read them, you will understand what must inevitably be. As also St. Gregory the Divine, in his Serm. xvi. *On the Plague*, writes. You may there contemplate distinctly what is now passing, and what is now coming upon us, and what will be. Grace be with you, and with your house. Amen. Written in the Voskresensky monastery of the New Jerusalem, Dec. 14.'

Two Petitions of Nicon from Voskresensk.

§ vii. 'To the tsar, &c. In the past year, hossoudar, 7165 [A.D. 1657], when thy majesty came to pray at thy majesty's oratory the Voskresensky monastery, thy majesty made order on our petition that there should be permanently fixed here, for the safe keeping of the monastery, ten streltsi from the Sabbine monastery; and thy majesty ordered that they should receive thy majesty's pay, the same as those at the Sabbine. And for that all the due forms were not made out: and shortly after that we retired to the Voskresensky monastery. And down to this present date they have given to those ten streltsi allowances like those given in the Sabbine monastery from the funds of the monastery. But now in the Sabbine monastery there is given to the streltsi an allowance from thy majesty in corn, like that of the Moscow streltsi: and the streltsi here demand from us a like allowance of corn: but we your beadsmen have not enough even for ourselves to live upon. I bought at Riazan, on the credit of thy majesty's allowance of money from Ousolsk of 4000 rubles, 300 chetverts (cheti) of rye, and we are now eating and finishing up that; and till the new corn comes in, we know not

how we are to get through. And those streltsi are minded to disperse, unless they get the allowance of corn. And in the past year, after my departure from Moscow, thou the great hossoudar didst send to me thy beadsman thy spalnik [*i. e.* groom of the bedchamber], Athan. Iv. Matiushkin,[1] with gracious words; and he had orders to express to me your majesty's gracious regard, and to say that you had ordered sixty men of the streltsi from the Sabbine monastery to come here to secure us against evil-disposed people. With those streltsi it was ordered that there should be a captain. And I petitioned thee the great hossoudar that it would suffice if only thy imperial allowance for their support and pay were given, and thirty men. And those streltsi were in the Voskresensky monastery. And after we had gone to a distance, to the Krestnoy monastery, in the year 7168, on our return from the Krestnoy monastery we found that the captain and the streltsi had asked and obtained permission to remain in the mean time in the Sabbine monastery, saying: "If there is no substitution made of others for us, we will return ourselves from thence." But neither did the captain and the streltsi themselves return, nor were any others sent instead of them. But there remained of them here five men streltsi to keep watch; and there come from the Sabbine monastery five men streltsi at a time, and those boys, who do not obey us, and there is no one to keep them in order; and the damage done and thefts committed while they are here are many. Gracious hossoudar &c., be gracious to me thy beadsman, and give order that there be permanently in the oratory of the new monastery of Voskresensk thirty streltsi; that we thy beadsmen, and the property and stores of the monastery, may not be in danger from evil-disposed people: and command thy imperial allowance in bread and money to be given them from the revenues levied for the Streletsky chetvert. Tsar, hossoudar, be gracious.'

The other Petition.

'To the tsar &c. Thy beadsman, the humble Nicon patriarch, makes his petition and lament to you, together with all the brethren, not fewer than 500 in number, who are in your majesty's oratories of the Voskresensky and Iverskoy and Krestnoy

[1] *i.e.* after Nicon's letter of the 12th July, begging pardon for having left Moscow without waiting longer than he had waited.

monasteries, with the hermitages registered as belonging to them and the infirmaries. In the present year 7169, Jan. — (A.D. 1661), by thy oukaz an order was made to take from us recruits for the last two years, and for the present year 7169, for three levies. And in the years past, when thou the great hossoudar didst invade Poland with thy forces, there were more than 500 men of free Kozaks sent from thy majesty's oratory the Iverskoy monastery into Polish towns, and allowances and arms were furnished to them from the personal means of me thy beadsman, and they remained in Poland without being relieved four years. And those men were all slain or died; few of them returned. And during those years no such great numbers of men as that were taken from thy majesty's other monasteries. And when thou didst begin to make war with the Niemtsi (the Swedes), about 300 men of the free Kozaks of the Iverskoy monastery were sent to serve under Peter Potemkin, and allowances and pay were furnished to them for two years, in like manner as before, from our personal resources. And those men also were all slain or died; and there returned none of them, except a few wounded. And there was taken from the Starorouss estates of the Iverskoy monastery one man in three to serve as soldiers, while from the other monasteries in these parts no such levy was made. And from the Krestnoy monastery in the past year 7167 there were given of insubordinate people to the voivode at Kargopol above fifty families, with their women and children, for a permanency, to live where thou the great hossoudar shouldest appoint. And by thy letter the voivode at Kargopol, Ivan Nich. Baskakoff, was ordered to receive those people in the Krestnoy monastery from the hegoumen and the stroitel, with the brethren. And those people, in obedience to thy oukaz, they sent from Kargopol; that is, the voivode sent an under-secretary with commissioners, and received those people, and transferred the registration of them: and those people were sent from Kargopol to Moscow: and a report was delivered to the prikaz, to the doumni dvorianin Procopius Kouzmich Eleazaroff. And in the past year 7168, by thy majesty's letter, people to serve on horseback were taken from the Krestnoy: and the secretaries, having taken from them for their own gain ransom-money, let those people go; and some of them returned to the Krestnoy monastery, but others dispersed, and nothing more

was heard of them. And in the past year 7168, when I thy beadsman was in the Krestnoy monastery, having found twenty-six families still remaining of insubordinate people, who according to thy oukaz in 7167 had been given up (there were of them in all, counting both sexes, ninety souls), I sent them to Moscow, under the charge of my sin-boyar Bogdashko Constantinoff and some streltsi of thy majesty's oratory the monastery of St. Sabba of Zvenigorod. And those people were received at Moscow by thy majesty's oukaz, and food was found for them from thy majesty. But from the Voskresensky monastery in past years recruits have not been taken, by the favour of thy majesty, in consideration of our poverty and the building of the monastery which is going on there. And to that effect, in the past year 7168 there were sent from thy imperial prikaz letters to the towns near which there are estates of the Voskresensky monastery, forbidding to take from them recruits. Considerate and gracious hossoudar &c., be gracious to us your poor beadsmen, and give order, of thy goodness, to take from the Voskresensky and from the Krestnoy monasteries and from their dependencies, in like manner as is ordered for other monasteries, recruits only for one levy for the present year 7169; that we your beadsmen, with all our necessities and deficiencies, may not perish of famine, nor be forced to separate and disperse; and that our peasants may not, from so burdensome an oukaz of thy majesty, from which they cannot redeem themselves, be made to run away and disperse. For in past years bread was much cheaper; and men to serve as recruits [as substitutes] could be obtained for from 20 to 30 rubles; but now they cannot be obtained under 80, 90, or even 100 rubles; and the failure of the corn-crops now is very great, and the price of corn is six times higher, or even more, than it used to be in past years. But now, on hearing thy majesty's oukaz, and considering the heavy burden it lays on us, we and all the peasants are in dread and in tears. Many peasants have actually fled away; and others are minded to do the like. And our dwelling-place here in the Voskresensky monastery is a desert place, and unprovided with anything; but the brethren are not few in number. We have difficulty in providing ourselves with food; and we shall not have bread enough for them to eat till the new corn comes in; and we cannot buy, for we have no income of money. Tsar, hossoudar, be compassionate to us.'

A dream of Nicon.[5]

§ viii. In the year of the world 7168 [7169; Jan. 12, A.D. 1661] the most holy Nicon, by the grace of God patriarch, being in his own foundation, the Voskresensky monastery of Christ's life-giving Resurrection of the New Jerusalem, on the Sunday [*i.e.* on the night between Saturday the 12th Jan. and the Sunday], celebrating the vigil service, according to custom, in the church with the archimandrite Gerasimus and the rest of the brethren, it so chanced that he was very tired, and dozed a little, as will sometimes happen. And when in due course they began to read, after the first cathism of psalms (the afore-named archimandrite being the reader), the interpreted gospel, as is customary, and the most holy Nicon was sitting in his place, from his overmuch labour and watching he fell into a light sleep, and found himself in the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow, where[6] is kept the holy tunic of our Lord. And he saw in the church a great light, not to be described in words, and he was astonished at that light with an unspeakable awe; and in that awe [light] he saw the whole church on both sides, and he saw rising from their tombs all the bishops (the metropolitans) who are buried there; on the right side Cyprian, Photius, and Philip the holy martyr; and on the left the metropolitan Jonah, and all the rest. Afterwards he saw from within the altar, from the north side, a bright youth [an angel, as a deacon] going, with many light-bearers following, as they make the introit with the holy gospel: and that bright youth carried in his hand a royal (or imperial) crown; and with those shining forms [of the angelic light-bearers] all the bishops [the former metropolitans of Moscow] having united, went up into the holy sanctuary, the great holy doors meanwhile standing open. And that bright youth set down the royal crown on the throne [*i.e.* on the holy table itself] before the holy gospel. The said most holy Nicon patriarch with fear following them, found himself on the right-hand side of the holy throne, and saw, as before, a light beyond words to describe; and in that light he saw the protothronus [*i.e.* the first of all the metropoli-

[5] From a MS. at Voskresensk inscribed thus: 'This *Life of the most holy Nicon* was written by order of the archimandrite Laurentius, in A.M. 7219, A.D. 1710, in the third year of the Indiction.'

[6] Signifying as an emblem the indivisible unity of the Church.

tans and primates of Moscow] Peter the great thaumaturge, and together with him Gerontius. And as he went up to the above-named bishops, they made room for him with honour, giving him precedence: and the said metropolitan Peter stood in the usual place [*i.e.* in the first place immediately to the right on entering within the holy doors, at the south-west corner of the holy table, facing eastward]. And he stretched out his hand over and across the royal [crown] to the holy gospel, and said to the most holy patriarch Nicon: 'We testify to thee, brother Nicon, by this holy gospel, go and say to the tsar, Wherefore hast thou enslaved the holy churches and the holy monasteries; and many immovable and inalienable holy things hast made by thy imperial command to be movable and alienable; and, not content with thine own imperial authority, hast taken to thyself even the episcopal jurisdiction; and hast deprived many monasteries of many sums of money and many measures of corn, and goest on to do so still more?' And the most holy patriarch Nicon with great awe answered: 'Do ye rather, O great fathers and predecessors in the primacy, testify of these things. As for my humility, I have already spoken much and written much of this to the tsar; and he has shown no disposition to listen to me, but rather he is moved to wrath, and boasts himself in inflicting tortures and exile.' And Peter the great thaumaturge replied: 'Thou, brother, art in that life, and it is thy duty to testify and to suffer for this even to blood. But if the tsar will not believe this our word, nor receive thy testimony' (here he stretched out his hand, and all the bishops together with him, towards the west),[7] 'see what will be hereafter.' And lo, he saw that light which had been before in the great church was changed into an indescribable glowing flame of fire, and it rolled with a sound as of thunder towards the tsar's palace, and all was wrapt in flames; and at the great terror caused by this the most holy Nicon just then hardly came to himself, and saw the archimandrite Gerasimus standing near him, still expecting after the reading, as is customary, his blessing; and they had already nearly finished the second cathism of the psalms. And the most holy patriarch Nicon at that same time [on the spot] told that awful vision to the archimandrite Ge-

[7] The tsar's palace is to the west of the cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, and quite close to it.

rasimus, and to the rest of the brethren of all ages and ranks who were there celebrating the vigil with him. And after the matins were ended, he with his own hand wrote his vision: and he sent it to the most religious hossoudar the tsar: and it was entirely disregarded and forgotten to this day. But this his vision, the vision, that is, of the most holy patriarch Nicon, was speedily accomplished, on the same night.[8]

§ ix. *A letter from Nicon to the boyar Ziuzin and his wife at Novgorod, written seemingly on the 9th Feb.* A.D. 1661, *from Voskresensk.*

'Nicon, &c., grace, mercy, and peace, &c., with all their religious house. We, by the mercy of God, are alive in the Voskresensky monastery. On the 9th February, Nikita Alexievich, thy letter reached us, and I understood all its contents. But what I am to write to thee in reply to all, . . . I scarcely know. . . . Without suffering no single day passes. . . . For my sins I have been very seriously hurt by some poison given me by evil men: and if God had not helped me, I was within a little of losing my life: and now I suffer very severely. I thank Maria Stepanovna for the handkerchiefs. For God's sake, do not put yourself to expense: I know your straitened circumstances, and that you have been unjustly robbed of all; but have patience, for the Lord's sake, according to the word of God, gaining thereby your souls. It is written: "The patient abiding of the poor shall not perish for ever." An oukaz of the hossoudar has been sent to Great Novgorod, ordering to take for the service from the Iverskoy monastery for this present year and for the last two years; and I wrote to the hossoudar about that; and the hossoudar has been pleased to send Rodion Streshneff [*i. e.* between the 12th Jan. and 9th Feb. in A.D. 1661], and to give order that they should not take for the years past. And until there be an oukaz from the hossoudar, I pray you too to be pleased to wait, and not to give order to exact for the years past. Continue in health. Written in the Voskresensky monastery, Jan. [Feb.] 9th.'

On the other side: 'To Nikita Alexievich Ziuzin' [autograph, with seal].

[8] But this statement, made perhaps only in 1710, seems from Nicon's own account to be inaccurate, as will appear farther on.

Nicon, as appears from another letter to Zinzin, dated June 29th, A.D. 1662, told the okolnik Rodion Streshneff of his dream given above, though whether the okolnik told it to the tsar Nicon knew not. Nicon himself related it afterwards to the tsar in a letter containing allusions to Dec. 3d and 17th of A.M. 7170 then current, and so written in the spring of A.D. 1662.

§ x. We have seen above in what terms Nicon wrote to the tsar after hearing that the ceremony of the procession on the ass on Palm Sunday, March 27th, in A.D. 1659, had been performed, without any permission from himself, by the metropolitan Pitirim; and how, both in his letter and verbally, he condoned for that time what had been done, if it had been done by order of the tsar, only adjuring the tsar *for the future* to abstain from giving such orders beyond his province. The tsar, however, and the metropolitan Pitirim under him, continued to act in their own way, without paying the smallest attention to Nicon's admonitions. And the same ceremony of Palm Sunday was again enacted in A.D. 1660, on the 15th April, when Nicon was far away at the Krestnoy, and in A.D. 1661, on the 7th April, when he was again at Voskresensk; and now not only by irregular exceptional abuse of the tsar's prerogative, but in virtue of a formal decree of a synod of the Russian clergy, which at the tsar's bidding had declared the patriarchate vacant, and had ordered Pitirim to administer it, with the title of vicar and guardian, as during a vacancy, referring in nothing to Nicon, but in everything directly to the tsar.

Somewhat later, on the 4th of May, the same Pitirim, by order of the tsar, consecrated, by the title of bishop of Orsha and Mstislaff in Lithuania, Methodius, who had been previously, under the name of Maxim Philemonoff, protopope of Niejin, to assume the guardianship or vicariate *under the tsar* of the see of Kieff, then vacant, and ecclesiastically subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. Already in A.D. 1657, after the death of the metropolitan Silvester Kossoff, Nicon himself had been much urged by the tsar to consecrate a metropolitan for Kieff—a measure which no doubt was also approved and recommended by the tsar's maternal uncle, the boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, who with the diak Dementi Bashmakoff held the prikaz for Lithuania from A.D. 1657 to 1662; and when Nicon persisted

in refusing, alleging his duty, and his vow of obedience to the canons, his instructions and admonitions only drew upon him, as he writes himself, anger and unseemly words. This was, in fact, a prelude—perhaps the first distinct prelude—to that final rupture which was to follow in the next year; and it is connected officially with that same boyar Simeon Streshneff, who will reappear as the leader of Nicon's enemies in the council from the spring of A.D. 1662, when he introduced to the notice of the tsar Paisius Ligarides.

What notice Nicon took of these lawless acts we shall see hereafter: for the present they are only mentioned as having occurred in the spring of A.D. 1661.

It was in this same spring or summer that Nicon completed and gave to the library of the monastery at Voskresensk that Russian Chronicle, brought down to A.D. 1630, which goes by his name, writing in it with his own hand the inscription printed above at p. 26.

§ xi. There are two letters from Nicon to Ziuzin—the first dated Dec. 15, A.D. 1659, from the Iverskoy; the other, Sept. 6, A.D. 1661 seemingly (though it may have been in A.D. 1663)—which shall here be given together, as showing Nicon, though now with very limited opportunities, still actively using his influence where he could in favour of those whom he knew to be suffering any wrong or hardship.

1. 'Nicon &c. to our son &c. Nik. Alex. &c. There was here for our blessing from Novgorod the gost Basil Nikiphoroff, and he said to us that he had [a certain quantity of] copper, bought for himself, and that copper he mentioned to the golova Athan. Miklaeff, and said that that copper was bought for himself and not for sale, and desired him to enter it in the register; and he Athanasius, out of an old spite which he had against him, did not enter that copper; and after letting some time pass he gave information to thee, Nik. Alex. and thy colleagues, and seized the copper as if it had been fraudulently concealed: and by your order that copper was confiscated to the tsar, without anything being paid for it. We beg thee to be so good, Nik. Alex., for the sake of our blessing, as not to put confidence in the treacherous words of Athanasius, nor to wrong and distress the gost Basil Nikiphoroff. The services which he rendered to the great hos-

soudar at the time of the insurrection at Great Novgorod were great, and were known to the great hossoudar, and we witnessed his exertions at that time. But if any form was neglected without dishonest intention, forgive that, and it shall be forgiven unto thee. For ye yourselves also wish to have mercy from the Lord God; and as ye do it shall be done unto you. Continue in health, and despise not my request. Written in our foundation, in the monastery of the immaculate Mother of God entitled Iverskaia, in the year 7168, Dec. 15.'

2. 'Nicon &c. to our children in the Holy Ghost at Great Novgorod, Nik. Alex. and Maria Stepanovna, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and our Saviour Jesus Christ to them, with all their religious house. You wish to hear news of us. Well, we, by the mercy of God, this 6th day of Sept. are living in the monastery of Christ's life-giving Resurrection of the New Jerusalem, thank God, in good health. And you write to us of your own health, that our common Lord and God keeps you also well. There came to us here in the Voskresensky monastery Theodot Timotheeff Rostopchin of Novgorod, of the Derevskaia Piatina, and he bewails himself and is greatly distressed, saying that in the past year 7164, the great hossoudar was graciously pleased to order him to be discharged from military service on account of his weakness of body and his poverty. And now thou Nikita Alex. hast ordered him to be enrolled for military service, though he is incapacitated for serving both by his bodily infirmity and by poverty. We ask thee, in consideration of the great hossoudar's former oukaz and of our request, to be so good as to exempt him from the military service, and on account of his bodily infirmity and his poverty not to send him out to the hossoudar's service. And may the mercy of God and our blessing be with you, and remain with you henceforth and for ever.' On the other side, 'To Great Novgorod, to Nik. Al. Ziuzin,' with the seal.

Letter from Nicon to the tsar on being asked for his forgiveness for the boyar Boris Ie. Morozoff, then dying.

§ xii. This letter to a certain extent explains itself, yet not so as to suggest an adequate idea of its interest and importance.

Of the boyar Boris Ivan. Morozoff some account has been given in vol. ii. p. 395 and vol. iii. p. 519 and 535, from Olearius and from Dr. Samuel Collins (who is there erroneously said to

have been chaplain to the English merchants at Moscow, whereas really he was physician to the tsar). Morozoff died, not, as is there stated, in A.D. 1662, but in A.D. 1661, Nov. 1; and the tsar with all his suite was present at his funeral in the Choudoff monastery on the following day. Among other bequests and alms for the repose of his soul, he left to the cathedral of the Assumption sixty poods weight of the finest silver, wrought into a chandelier or *panikandilo*, which remained there till the French in 1812 sacked the churches of the Kremlin, and melted down the silver in a fire which they made in the cathedral itself. It is mentioned by Collins, writing 'six years' after the death of Morozoff, that is, in A.D. 1667, that 'the tsar never went to the house of any subject except to his governor's, *when he was thought to be past recovery*.' This visit, then, was made not many days before the end of October in A.D. 1661; and it may be inferred that it was in consequence of something said by Morozoff during this same visit that the tsar made for him that communication to the patriarch Nicon, to which Nicon replied by the letter now about to be given.

Morozoff had been the tsar's governor (*diadka*) during his boyhood, and his chief minister and adviser after his accession to the throne: he had farther been the means of marrying him to his consort, to whom he was tenderly attached; and he had himself married her sister, so as to become brother-in-law to his sovereign. Add to this, that the whole family of the tsaritsa, the Miloslafskys, who were men of ability, though not of virtue, and who held some of the chief offices of state, owed everything to him; the Khitroffs too in like manner, who were prime favourites of the tsar, the mother of Bogdan Matveyevich Khitroff having been nurse to Morozoff. Morozoff himself was by origin, by rank, by ability and experience, and by age, one of the first, if not the very first of the nobility. He used to regret of himself that he had not had the benefit of a good education; but he appreciated the advantages of instruction and civilisation, and desired their extension. As he was not uncorrupt in his own public conduct, those corrupt and bad men, such as the Miloslafskys and the Khitroffs, whom he had raised to power, and others who by the nobility of their origin, as the Troubetskoys, the Dolgoroukys, and the Khovianskoys, or by their relationship to the tsar, as the Streshneffs, stood on a par with himself, were

under no apprehension of being disgraced or punished for corruption and tyranny through him. On the other hand, having had a very narrow escape in A.D. 1648, when the tsar begged his life of the infuriated people, and stood surety to them for his future good conduct, he was ever afterwards reserved and cautious, so as to avoid giving again any great offence, or drawing upon himself popular obloquy. He held, it is true, great offices, and still, by the confession of the courtly biographer and panegyrist of Theodore Rtischeff, did often things which were unjust or *hasty;* and, like most other great men, he was impatient of opposition. But the same writer adds, that when Rtischeff, though so much younger and so much inferior in rank, ventured occasionally to express to him his misgivings or reflections, this was done with such extreme gentleness and humility and deference, that Morozoff was not offended, but even sometimes changed from what he had done or had intended to do amiss. The tsar from first to last manifested a very strong personal attachment to Morozoff, which would by no means be weakened, as his attachment to Nicon was weakened, by any contrary feeling of the tsaritsa and her relations.

There can be little doubt that Nicon's enemies had met with no opposition or blame from Morozoff, but regarded him as being on the same side with themselves; and so he knew in his conscience that Nicon had reason to feel that he had been wronged by him. Still, the fact that he desired when dying to ask Nicon for his forgiveness and absolution, and expressed his desire to the tsar (who had probably asked him about his last wishes), and made the tsar himself the medium of that communication, this, as well as Nicon's answer, shows that he had refrained from taking any prominent or open part in hostility against the patriarch.

What precise value—in that age of superstition and hypocrisy—might attach to any particular request for pardon and absolution made to a patriarch or a bishop from a dying nobleman, is not easy to estimate: it might mean very little: but the charity of a good and charitable man would hope that it might mean much. At any rate it afforded an opening to Nicon.

Notwithstanding all that had passed, the tsar made himself the medium of communicating a message from the very first and

most influential of the boyars, his own governor and friend and counsellor and brother-in-law, acknowledging from his deathbed some complicity in wrong done against the patriarch, and asking for his pardon. The tsar, who was himself officially the centre and source of all that had been done, could not even communicate such a message from the deathbed of such a man without seeming more or less to sympathise with it, and to make himself a party to it.

Nicon then replied that he knew of no wrong or injury—that is, of no overt act done personally against himself—but if there were anything on the conscience of the boyar, whatever it were, he forgave it freely. And he went on to make the suggestion that Morozoff, if the tsar and Morozoff himself were pleased that it should be so, should, whenever he died, be buried in the convent of the New Jerusalem, under the Calvary of that church which was to be a facsimile of the church of the Resurrection and the Holy Sepulchre in Palestine: so he would not only give emphasis to his dying wish to have the pardon and blessing of the patriarch, but he would become a joint founder, as it were, with Nicon and with the tsar himself of that church and monastery, the foundation and building of which had been almost brought to a standstill by Nicon's difficult and straitened circumstances; and he would have for ever the prayers of the community for the repose of his soul. So far the tsar might promote the foundation and building of a monastery in which, in spite of his public conduct, he had not ceased to take a personal interest, without risk of offending the council; and Morozoff might have left those sixty poods of silver which he left to the cathedral of the Assumption, then administered by Pitirim, to go towards the building of Nicon's monastery at Voskresensk. But Nicon went still farther, and suggested that if, with the tsar's licence, an *estate* were granted to the monastery of Voskresensk as alms for the repose of the soul of the boyar, it would be—*no sin*; emphatical words, pointed at the secular covetousness of the age, its jealousy of fresh grants of land to bishops and monasteries, and its appetite for the appropriation and confiscation of the revenues and lands already possessed by them.

How this suggestion of Nicon's was received; whether the tsar ever communicated it to Morozoff, or asked for an expression of his wishes; how Morozoff would have answered, or did

answer; what other influences would have come in or did come in, even if he were favourably inclined towards the suggestion, to prevent its adoption,—are questions which at once suggest themselves to the mind, but which it is impossible to answer. Only if Morozoff had been free to accept, and had accepted, the proposal; and if the tsar with all his suite, instead of burying him in the Choudoff, had gone to his funeral to Voskresensk, with Nicon to officiate there as patriarch and to read a written absolution over the body, to say nothing of other alms and commemorations to be continued there afterwards,—that funeral would have been either of itself a reconciliation and a return to former relations with the patriarch, or the first step towards such a return. But this very fact, when we consider the violent hatred and hardened wickedness of the boyars, the envy of the chief ecclesiastics, and the weakness of the tsar's character, makes one feel that, in whatever way the proposal was actually set aside, its acceptance was not to have been expected. Very different indeed from the future which *might* have followed was that future which was in store for the tsar Alexis. The time was to come when, after being disappointed in all his ambitious hopes and in his best natural affections, after losing his two elder sons and his tsaritsa, he should send himself from his own deathbed to ask for Nicon's forgiveness and absolution, and leave, with a keen sense of their danger, his second wife with a young son exposed to the murderous hostility and ambition of that very same Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky whom now, as a near connection, he was sending to ask Nicon's forgiveness for Morozoff. That danger would certainly never have existed if Nicon, instead of being a prisoner in the Therapontoff monastery at Bielozero, had been patriarch at Moscow; and probably it would never have existed if Morozoff, instead of being buried in the Choudoff, had been buried at Voskresensk.

To the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, &c. I, your majesty's humble beadsman Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch,[9] pray God for your health and

[9] Solovieff, who gives this letter (the MS. of which is undated) immediately after July 10, 1658, prints '*late* patriarch:' but the word 'late' is not in the MS. copy of M. Mouravieff, from which the translation in the text has been made. Nicon often wrote himself, *before* as well as after his retirement, 'by the mercy of God patriarch,' without any other addition; only after his retirement he never wrote himself 'patriarch of Moscow and all Russia.'

salvation spiritual and bodily, and return thanks for your gracious visitation.

By thy imperial oukaz, your okolnik Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky has informed us that by the will of God the boyar Boris Ivanovich Morozoff is sick: and he said that there may have been some offence from him towards us, and that we are asked to forgive him. But we have not seen any offence of his against us, but only goodwill and favour. And though there had been anything, still we are imitators of Christ, according to that which is written: 'Forgive,' he says, 'and it shall be forgiven unto you.' And so may the Lord God forgive him whatever of human frailty he may have done amiss towards us, if so be that there was anything. And whenever, as may be expected at his advanced age, the Lord God sends to take his soul, if it please your nobility, we will also *write a letter of absolution.*

But we thy humble beadsman, taking occasion from thy gracious and regretful words about him, that he served thee the great hossoudar, neglecting for thy sake all besides, even his wife and his house, and what after that, gracious hossoudar, thou hast been pleased to add about him in the way of regret, observe that there is nothing else, after our departure from this world, which profits a man so much as alms and the oblation of the holy sacrifice.

And we now, thy humble beadsman, are straitened in all respects in your majesty's oratory in building the church of Christ's Resurrection, and of the holy Calvary, and the holy life-giving Sepulchre of Christ. And on this account we pray thy mildness for help towards the building of the church of Christ's Resurrection and of the other holy places, and towards the maintenance of us poor brethren; that as long as he the boyar Boris Ivan. remains alive, we may pray to God for his health and salvation; and that after his departure from this world we may make commemoration for him. There is nothing which does so much good to our souls as the building of holy churches: and, as Andrew of Crete writes in his gloss upon the Apocalypse, 'even if the church fall into decay and cease to exist, the sacrifice does not cease to be offered by the angel who is the guardian of that place even to the end of the world.' It will be *no sin*, then, if there should be granted an *estate* for the perpetual maintenance of them that minister here in the holy

church, and a gift of money. But for what regards the building of the holy places, be pleased, great hossoudar, to inform thyself of thy okolnik Ivan Michaelovich.

We, in any case, are already bound to pray to God both for thee our sovereign, and also for the great boyars, and for all others who are in authority. But if only thou, great hossoudar, desirest to do what thou canst for his soul, and that he should be for ever absolved and commemorated, it were well if the boyar Boris Ivan. would *allow himself* to be buried in the house of the life-giving Resurrection at the Calvary itself, in the same place where is laid [at Jerusalem] a certain Chaldean [Frankish] king, near the doors into the chapel of the Forerunner, opposite to the great doors of the church. And so the commemoration of such a great boyar should not cease for ever, and God would rest his soul for the sake of our humble prayers and forgiveness. And at the general resurrection we thy beadsmen humbly hope that we may with him stand on the right hand of the Judge who accepts not persons, with all those to whom that divine word shall be addressed: 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the heavenly kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was a hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; sick, and ye visited me; in prison, and ye came unto me. And whatsoever ye did unto the least of my brethren, ye did it unto me.' 'And they shall go,' he says, 'into life everlasting.' This, great hossoudar, shall not cease to be done for him the great boyar, even to the coming of Christ. *Here* now are people hungry, thirsty, naked, strangers, sick, and prisoners. And hereafter there shall not cease, we may hope, to be an increasing benefit of divine grace to the benefactors of this holy monastery and this holy church through the prayers here offered.

This is the suggestion of our humility to thee, great hossoudar. But what *discretion* approves, that do for the health of the soul of the boyar Boris Ivanovich. Mayest thou remain in health, great hossoudar; and of thy grace do not forget us thy beadsmen.

CHAPTER V.

NICON'S JUDGMENT OF THE SYNOD OF A.D. 1660: HE REPLIES TO IT BY PUBLICLY ANATHEMATISING HIS VICAR — BISHOP PITIRIM (THE TITULAR METROPOLITAN OF SARAI AND PODONSK, OR OF KROUTITS), ON THE FIRST SUNDAY OF LENT, FEB. 16 IN A.D. 1662.

WE now pass on to the beginning of A.D. 1662, to the 16th of Feb., the first Sunday in Lent, called the Sunday of Orthodoxy, when there is a custom, instituted in A.D. 841, on occasion of the *Encænia* or renewal of the Seventh Council, of solemnly reaffirming the condemnation of all heresies.

The reader has had already before him (at p. 11 and 169) words of Nicon expressing his consciousness that there were many things done amiss in the Russian Church from bad custom and the general ignorance, which he himself, when he came to see them to be wrong, had not been able all at once to correct, and other things done amiss by the civil authority which the tsar in like manner scarcely could, even if he would, and though he knew them to be wrong, correct all at once. And with regard to these latter things, 'so long as the tsar, *so far as he could*, continued faithful to his promise, obeying the holy Church,' he the patriarch 'also *had patience*' (vol. i. p. 21). And even after the tsar 'had become false to his promise,' and had replied to remonstrances only by 'unseemly words' and by 'wrath,' and after Nicon had publicly *testified* of this, and had withdrawn to Voskresensk, he still continued to use much patience and tenderness in dealing with the tsar personally, and to make allowances for particular acts, even those which showed a purpose of going on in the same course upon which he had entered. While rebuking in plain language as sin all invasion of the spiritual authority, and showing that such sin was not lessened, but aggravated, if the Church herself—the bride of Christ—were to be wronged and damaged out of envy and ill-will towards her individual primate (vol. i. p. 127 and 534), he offered freely to stand aside, and to concur in the

lection of another patriarch, so long as this were done in such a way that no surrender of principle was involved. And in the mean time, whatever particular acts were done abusively—whether it were that the metropolitan Pitirim, being only the patriarch's vicar, ceased from the first to refer to Nicon, and took his orders directly from the tsar; or that he omitted Nicon's name from the public prayers; or that the tsar issued orders even in Nicon's name and under Nicon's seal from the patriarchal *razriad*; or ordered an archimandrite depending immediately upon the patriarch to be under the spiritual jurisdiction of another bishop, and that bishop to assume such spiritual jurisdiction,—these and other such acts Nicon either beheld in silence, or at least only remonstrated against them in letters written personally to the tsar, considering them as yet to be only exceptional and abusive acts, which, however blamable they might be, involved no change of established and acknowledged *principles* either in the Church or in the empire. The tsar Alexis was, no doubt, a man of a very different character from John the Terrible; but even if he had been like him—if he had at once banished and imprisoned or murdered Nicon, as John the Terrible murdered the metropolitan Philip, and had ordered another patriarch to be consecrated; nay, if he had even also first by terror forced a synod of bishops to depose and to degrade Nicon—such acts would have appeared in their true light as mere persecution, and would have been condemned by the consciences of all men so soon as the passion of the tyrant was spent, or so soon as he was called away by death to his account. We have seen in what strong language Nicon wrote to the tsar in Holy Week of A.D. 1659, after hearing that Pitirim had, without permission, made the procession on the ass on Palm Sunday. Nevertheless, 'if that were so done,' Nicon wrote (and he could not doubt that it *was* so done), 'by command of thy majesty, then—even the wise may *forget themselves*.' And in that case he condoned the fault to Pitirim, and sent to the tsar his blessing. '*Only*,' he added, '*for the future*, for the Lord's sake, abstain from judging and determining in things which belong not to thee' (p. 166).

The tsar, however, and Pitirim and others under the tsar, went on in spite of Nicon's rebukes, without any sort of hesitation or change. And Nicon still had patience. Nearly all the

bishops—*not quite* all—like Pitirim, obeyed the tsar from the first: only some two or three, as is implied by words of Nicon in a letter to the boyar Ziuzin (p. 183), applied to the patriarch for his permission before they *served the tsar:* and this permission, which under the circumstances Nicon thought it proper or *unavoidable* to *give*, would of course be only a limited permission. The ecclesiastical authority had long been unduly concentrated in the national primate, and shared according to certain forms of concurrence between him and the tsar; and the consequence was, that now that their accord was at an end, the battle for the rights and liberties of the Church was to be fought by the patriarch alone. Probably the pressure put upon them soon carried those two or three bishops also beyond the limits of the permission given to them. At any rate, it appears that not only in A.D. 1666, but also already in A.D. 1660, there was no single bishop who simply and frankly stood by the patriarch. But of such united support as the bishops and clergy ought all to have given their primate, if only out of respect to their oaths and to the interest of their own order, even if they had ever so much disliked his person, there was from the first no chance whatever. The practical supremacy of the secular power and its interference in matters of detail, though hitherto ordinarily palliated by the conservation of orthodox forms of procedure, was what all had so long been used to that even the best and ablest and least ignorant of the clergy had probably only a very indistinct sense of the consequences involved in that conflict which had now arisen.

In A.D. 1660, April 15, after the tsar's synod had met, and had already passed resolutions declaring the chair vacant, so that another patriarch might be elected, the ceremony of the procession of Palm Sunday was a second time performed by the metropolitan Pitirim, Nicon being then far away in his Krestnoy monastery on the White Sea; and again a third time, after the synod had come to an end, and after Nicon had returned to Voskresensk, on the 7th of April A.D. 1661. And now these and other similar acts, being no longer done abusively and exceptionally upon occasional and personal orders of the tsar, but by virtue of the decree of a synod or council claiming to represent the whole Russian Church and state, had assumed quite a new character; and they could no longer be passed over in

silence, still less expressly condoned, without prejudice to those essential rights and principles for which Nicon was contending. It was indeed by that synodal act that the principle of state supremacy was first distinctly established in Russia, and a merely national Church, to be governed by the state, instituted. For all that was done afterwards, whether in A.D. 1661 and the spring of A.D. 1666, by similar Russian synods, or by the mixed Greek and Russian synod of Dec. A.D. 1666, or still later by Peter the Great or by the Eastern patriarchs in A.D. 1700, 1720, and 1723, was only the confirmation and development of that principle which had been established by the synod of A.D. 1660. And from its first decree ratifying and continuing that administration of the Church under the tsar by his instrument Pitirim, the same words might with truth have been addressed by Alexis Michaelovich to Pitirim which, in England, were addressed by King Henry VIII., after making himself head of a merely national Church, to his instrument Cranmer: 'Ye be under us, *by God's calling and ours*, the most principal minister of *our* spiritual jurisdiction.'[1]

But Nicon still kept silence, and took no public notice as yet either of the synod itself of A.D. 1660, or of the new character given by it to his vicar Pitirim, with the express assent or tacit submission, as it seemed, of the whole clergy of Russia. Perhaps when he returned in Dec. of A.D. 1660 to Voskresensk, he had already determined in his own mind that the first Sunday in Lent would afford the most suitable occasion for uttering that public condemnation which he felt to be now necessary. But if he thought also, in connection with this, of Pitirim, and of his act, repeated on Palm Sunday in A.D. 1660, of personating without permission of his superior, not only the patriarch, but Christ himself—the tsar, who alone had set him on the horse[2] or ass, with a mockery of humility leading it in the procession by the bridle—it might occur to Nicon that at that time the proceedings of the synod had not as yet been completed and embodied in its final act: and it was the act of the tsar and of his synod which, through Pitirim, it was his object to strike. Besides that, if Nicon had publicly anathematised Pitirim either on the

[1] See *Strype's Annals*, and *Collier*, vol. v. part ii. book iv. p. 173-5.

[2] Really a *horse*, but with long ears attached, and made to look like an ass, and hence sometimes called 'the *horse*,' sometimes 'the *ass*.'

first Sunday in Lent or on any other day in the spring of A.D. 1661, his act, whatever other reasons he might have alleged for it, would certainly have been represented by his enemies as prompted by personal resentment against a man whom he had just before accused of having attempted to poison him. It was therefore an intelligible and prudent caution which prompted him to do nothing at once upon his return; especially as nothing definite had as yet resulted from the act of the synod, and the first communication made to him from the tsar after his return (that respecting the guilt and punishment of the deacon Theodosius) had been friendly, and such as might have led to the confusion and disgrace of some at least of his chief enemies.

But nothing of that sort actually followed. On Palm Sunday of A.D. 1661, April 7, the ceremony of the procession on the ass was performed again by Pitirim, as it had been performed in A.D. 1659 and in A.D. 1660. And on the 4th of May there was added a fresh offence, or complication of offences, which of itself alone would have been impossible to pass over in silence, and which seemed as if done on purpose to show Nicon to be defending the rights, not only of the Russian, but also of the whole Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church, and the tsar and the boyars of the Muscovite empire, through their principle of state supremacy, to be threatening and attacking the spiritual rights of the Eastern patriarchates, no less than those of the patriarchate of Moscow.

It was an old matter of difference and cause of anger for the tsar against Nicon, dating from the death of the metropolitan of Kieff Silvester Kossoff, in the summer of A.D. 1657, that Nicon had resisted the wish of the tsar—urged upon him importunately, both verbally and in writing—that he should assume, or rather that he should *accept from the tsar*, the right of consecrating a new metropolitan to the chair of Kieff: and he not only declined to do this, but also pointed out how uncanonical and irreligious such an act would be, the see of Kieff being then, with all its suffragan bishops of Little Russia, under the patriarch of Constantinople. Then it was that the tsar began perhaps for the first time to use unseemly or foul words, and to call Nicon '*Mujik bladin*,' or '*Mujik, bladin sin*,'[3] having also for his minister and adviser in that matter his maternal uncle the boyar

[3] See vol. ii. p. 287, 316, 477, 478; i. p. 158, 583; and iii. p. 384, 399.

Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, who held the prikaz for Lithuania. But after the synod of A.D. 1660, when Nicon was in disgrace, and Streshneff had now perhaps already named his dog '*Nicon*,' and had taught that dog to sit up on its hind-quarters, and with its fore-paws to mimic the patriarch giving the blessing, the tsar looking on, there was no difficulty in their doing what they pleased. So Pitirim, by order of the tsar, with which order the boyar Streshneff and his prikaz would not be unconnected, consecrated, as has been mentioned above, the protopope Maxim Philemonoff of Niejin to be bishop, with the title of Orsha and Mstislaff, places in Lithuania, not even subject to the tsar, and to go as the tsar's '*guardian* of the chair of Kieff' to that city. Not content with having made the patriarch's vicar-bishop Pitirim to be guardian under themselves of the chair of Moscow, as if vacant, though it had really its patriarch still living, they made him create another guardian like himself, to invade a metropolitan see subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. And this act it was absolutely necessary for Nicon to disavow and to condemn publicly, else it might be thought to have been done with his allowance, and by virtue of that blessing which he had at first given to Pitirim to administer the Church during his own absence from Moscow.

We will now give, in his own exact words for the most part, Nicon's judgment of the pseudo-synod of A.D. 1660, and of the authority given by the tsar and by that synod to the metropolitan Pitirim, as introductory to his public anathema.

David, in the person of Christ, has said against all those that make war against Christ: 'Why do the heathen rage, and why do the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth stand by, and the princes gather themselves together, against the Lord and against his Anointed. Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast away their cords from us.' Who are they that rage now, and that meditate vain things? Are they not those kniazes and boyars, who with lawless bishops surround the tsar, and who have gathered themselves together against the Lord and against his Christ? that is, against the holy gospel, which says: 'Verily I say unto *you*, whatsoever *ye* shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever *ye* shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' And 'Go ye and *teach* all nations;'

'Go ye and baptise all nations, *making disciples* of them, and *teaching* them to *observe* all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' And again: 'Wheresoever two or three *of you* shall be gathered together *in my name*, there am I in the midst of them.' But these now say: 'Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from us;' that is, 'Let us not heed the canons, nor the censures of the patriarch, and let us cast away from us his injunctions. Let us meet not canonically, as before, nor in the name of Christ, but in the name of the tsar. We are they that have a right to speak: who is lord over us?' Against such the psalm continues: 'He that *liveth* in the heaven'—men use his name now as they please, but he *liveth*—'shall laugh them to scorn; the Lord shall have them in derision' (see *Replies*, &c. p. 323, and other places).

How can men say that 'the chief care proper for the tsar is the government of the Church'? Is the tsar, then, the head of the Church? No! The head of the Church is Christ; the tsar neither is nor can be the head of the Church, but is as one of the members. And on this account he can do nothing whatever in the Church, not even what belongs to the order of the lowest reader or clerk. But if now, contrary to the will of God, the tsar acts by force, does violence to the churches, takes to himself their rights and properties, and judges bishops, archimandrites, and all the sacred order of the clergy, he will be judged himself for this, even by the word of Christ, which he has commanded; that shall judge him in the day of judgment. Where is there any word of Christ that the tsar is to have power over the Church? Christ says: 'All power is given me in heaven and on earth.' And again he says: 'Whomsoever *ye* shall bind on earth, he shall be bound in heaven.' But to *whom* is it that this power is given? It is to the holy apostles, and after them to their successors the bishops; not to kings. The tsar has committed to him the things of this earth, but I have committed to me the things of heaven. The tsar has committed to him the bodies, but the priest the souls of men. The tsar remits debts of money, but the priest debts of sins. The one constrains, but the other consoles. The one acts by compulsion, but the other by counsel. The one uses material weapons, but the other spiritual. The one has his war with men his enemies,

but the other with principalities, and with the rulers of this world, of the *darkness* of this world. And for this reason the priesthood is a vastly greater thing than the empire (p. 129, 130, 242).

The Lord says: 'If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy cloak, let him have thy coat also.' But now the tsar drags before his tribunals of law even those who do not wish to contend with him at law, though they voluntarily give up the cloak, and abandon to him the coat also. He judges compulsorily those to whose judgments he is even himself by right subject. And not only so, but the bishops and priests and all the sacred order of the clergy, which he has no right to judge even himself, are by his orders to be judged even by the boyars, and by all his unjust judges and secretaries, &c. (p. 201). But where is it written that tsars and kniazes and boyars and diaks are to judge a patriarch, and metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, and priests, and deacons, and clerks? In what canons, or even in what civil laws of Christian orthodox emperors, is this written? Rather it is written that they are themselves to be judged, not to judge (p. 201).

The Lord has commanded: 'Judge not, that thou be not judged.' 'And why dost thou judge *thy brother*, or why dost thou set at naught thy brother? Who art thou that judgest *another man's servant*? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Avenge not thyself, even though thou think thyself wronged. Desire not vain glory. *Envy not thy brother like Cain.* Be swift to *hear*, slow to *speak*, slow to *wrath*. Be angry, and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your wrath, for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God; and where *bitter envying* and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work. Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God; neither he that loveth not his brother' (p. 99, 225). And again: 'In that calling in which any man is called, therein let him abide,' within his own bounds; and, 'Let every one abide in his own order, and transgress not the constitutions, for they are not ours, but God's' (p. 303).

But disregarding all these divine precepts (as he had also done before), and not only so, but disregarding also the earlier statutes of religious emperors and tsars and grand princes, and

the example of his own father (p. 201), and being wroth against us without cause, solely because we hold fast to the sacred canons, the tsar has become first a persecutor, and then also at once a prosecutor, a witness, and a judge in his own cause, and the orderer and assembler of a pseudo-synod, and the determiner of a judgment to be passed against a patriarch by his own bishops. But he thinks not of the warning of Christ: 'With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged,' &c. (p. 201).

Nowhere is there any such canon as that kings or emperors should convoke synods, least of all to vindicate their own cause. And if it be true that in old times synods were convoked by religious emperors, still this was by way of compliance or request, not by compulsory command, as now is practised among us (p. 40, and comp. vol. iii. p. 137).

But if any one uncanonically call together bishops, such meetings are not true synods, but rather pseudo-synods (conciliabula) or synagogues. For the Lord says: 'Wheresoever two or three are met together *in my name*' (not in the name of any worldly power), 'there am I in the midst of them.'

And as for that assembly which has now recently been held at Moscow, which the tsar—because we would not act as patriarch under his supremacy—convoked to take vengeance upon us for our departure, and to say whatever he pleased that they should say, we regard it as absolutely nothing (p. 40, 42). It is such a synod as were the synods held against Basil the Great by command of the governor (the ὕπαρχος), against Gregory the Divine by command of Valens, against John Chrysostom by command of the empress Eudoxia, and against our own metropolitan Philip by command of the tsar John.

In truth, through the tsar's anger it had become impossible for us to go on (lit. to *live*); that is, unless we had submitted to be the servants of his will and of the will of the boyars, contrary to the law of God and the canons. Does the tsar say: He went away of himself, of his own will? All the saints who ever withdrew from the malice of their enemies and hid themselves, beginning from Christ himself, went away of their own will.

We had been living after our withdrawal in our monastery at Voskresensk for a year and more, and the hossoudar the tsar had made no question whatever in all that time about the patri-

archate being vacant, as knowing perfectly well the cause of our withdrawal. And when we were again in Moscow, and had a personal interview with him, he uttered not a word to us about this, nor made any allusion whatever to our previous departure, but did all just as if we were still living at Moscow, in such manner as was customary at the reception of the patriarch, and bade us sit on that seat which was proper for the patriarch, as all know who were present. And then both the tsar and the tsaritsa, and the tsareviches and the tsarevnas, all took our blessing, and the boyars too, all of them. No one then found any sort of fault with it. And after a year and two months, being ill off for the means of our bodily maintenance, we went from Voskresensk to our Iverskoy monastery, and thence to the Krestnoy on the White Sea; and in that haven we abode a year (vol. i. p. 101, 597; iii. p. 53, 54).

And while we were there, a year and a half after our first withdrawal from Moscow, the tsar determined by his own command alone to assemble the spiritual dignitaries of Russia and the Greek ecclesiastics sojourning at that time at Moscow. And he spoke to them about our departure in such terms as it pleased him. And of the circumstances really connected with it he told them nothing. But he procured that certain false depositions should be written down from the lips of certain men living in the palace, and from others of the clergy (vol. iii. p. 54); and dealing with some by favours and largesses, and with others by fear, he compelled them all to call that my act of *testifying* in the cathedral a *voluntary abdication* of the chair. For with many threats of severities they wrought upon them, and ordered them to depose in such manner as the tsar required. And he sent to the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate this collection of depositions, such as it had pleased him to have it prepared. *Who* had *questioned* each deponent *is not written;* but it may be understood that either he, the tsar himself, or some boyar for him questioned them, and conducted the examination. In pursuance *of what canon* of the holy apostles and the holy fathers this was so done *is not written.*

And to all the bishops, archimandrites, and hegoumens he distributed his imperial largess, to induce them to subscribe against me with their hands, that we should be no longer patriarch (that is, that we should be treated as already deposed).

And they submitted themselves to the tsar's will, according to his oukaz, *without having in any way examined into the opposite side;* and without having either called upon me to appear, or even asked for any explanation and answer from me, they passed a judgment on me which was altogether irregular. And they all subscribed with their hands against me, contrary to the tradition of the holy fathers, and in particular contrary to that very canon xvi. of the First and Second Council which they chiefly put forward against me. And these things are notorious to all the empire (vol. i. p. 104, 115, and vol. iii. p. 54).

But if we look to the canons respecting the assembling of synods, in canon xxxvii. of the Apostles it is enacted that the bishops from time to time shall *assemble themselves* for ecclesiastical matters, for questions of doctrine, and for the decision of doubtful and difficult causes. This canon orders that the bishops shall *of themselves assemble themselves*, but it is not directed that *the tsar* shall *assemble them*. In like manner canons v. Nic., xii. [xx.] Ant., xxxix. Laod., xxx. [xviii.] Carth., viii. of the Sixth Œcumenical Council, and vi. of the Seventh. In all of them it is uniformly said that the bishops are to '*assemble themselves*.'

And of those synods in which the bishops thus assemble themselves canonically, according to canons xxvii. of the Apostles, and xvi. and xx. of Antioch, it is farther said, that it shall not be lawful for any to make a synod *by themselves*, without the bishop holding the metropolitan chair (p. 102). And by canon xxxix. of Laodicea, 'the bishops are to assemble in such place as shall be appointed by the metropolitan.' And by canon xix. of Chalcedon, 'the bishops are to meet in such place as is appointed by the metropolitan,' not by the tsar. So also in canon xcv. of Carthage: 'When there shall be any common need for the holding of a common council, all the bishops ought to send letters to him who holds the first chair; and whatever place he shall select as convenient for their meeting, there they are to assemble.' In canon vi. of the Seventh Œcumenical Council it is said that 'any bishop neglecting the summons *of his metropolitan* to a council subjects himself to canonical censure.' And tit. viii. cap. 8 of the Novells of Justinian: 'The metropolitans are to come together to the patriarchs, and the bishops to their metropolitans' (p. 43).

In the synodal act passed at Constantinople in A.D. 1593, for

the definitive institution of a patriarchate at Moscow, it was judged, on the proposal and in the words of the patriarch of Alexandria, to be right, and the œcumenical patriarchs, together with that synod, decreed, 'that the chair of the city of Moscow be and be entitled henceforth a patriarchal chair, because the same city has been honoured to become the seat of empire; . . . . that it have precedence over all bishops, metropolitans, and archbishops throughout all the Catholic Orthodox Church of Christ; and that *it be the head of all* that province ['eparchy, meaning here ἔθνος, nation, in allusion to canon xxxiv. of the Apostles] *of Moscow, and all Russia and the Northern countries*, and be recognised as such, in conformity with canon xxxiv. of the Apostles, which commands thus: "The bishops of each nation must know or recognise their primate [lit. 'him who is *first* among them'], and regard him as head, and do nothing extraordinary without his judgment, each doing those things only which belong to his own see and to its dependencies. Nor either is he (that is, the primate) to do anything without the judgment of all. For thus there will be concord, and God will be glorified, through the Lord, in the Holy Spirit, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,"' &c. (p. 52).

But as for that council which has been recently held at Moscow, one may well call it not only a Judaical synagogue, but a diabolical one; since, in the first place, it was called together, not according to the canons, but by the tsar's command alone; and then in all their proceedings they acted only at the tsar's command, doing just as he pleased. That it was both so convoked by the tsar's oukaz alone, and that it did all that it did by his oukaz, is written in the acts of the synod itself, and is attested by the subscription of their hands, with the gospels for their witnesses, as it is there written, and by their own tongues. And all that they have written they have written falsely (p. 99, 103).

Its first heading runs thus: 'In A.M. 7168, A.D. 1660, by command of the tsar,' &c. there was assembled all the sacred synod of the clergy, and for this cause: Forasmuch as in A.M. 7166, A.D. 1658, the patriarch Nicon left his chair, in this present year 1660, Feb. 16, all the synod of the clergy appeared

[1] Here Nicon writes out word for word the document already printed above at p. 222, &c., which we here only abridge.

before the tsar, who told them that he was greatly troubled to see the Church without a pastor, and desired them to consider about this conscientiously, impartially, canonically, with the thought of the day of judgment before their minds.

'After this, on the morning of Feb. 17, *by ookaz of the tsar*, the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff brought to the synod *certain written depositions;* and the bishops received them, and examined personally the deponents according to their written depositions.

'In the depositions of the metropolitan Pitirim and of the boyar prince Alexis Nik. Troubetskoy it was written that the patriarch Nicon renounced his patriarchate *with an oath:* but in all the other depositions it was written with perfect agreement only, that he renounced his patriarchate, and declared that he would be no more patriarch.

'And the synod recognised as proved the *fact* that the patriarch Nicon had *voluntarily abandoned his chair;* and of this they sent a report to the tsar, asking for his commands.

'And the tsar sent again the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff, who came and said: The *tsar commands* the synod to make *extracts from the canons*, &c. respecting the *retirement* of a patriarch or bishop. And *he commands* that such and such persons be named to make the extracts.

'And *by ookaz of the tsar*, &c. the extracts were so made, and by the persons named.'

But in that their collection of extracts (see above, p. 224-232), for the case of the retirement of a patriarch and for judging him there appeared nothing whatever, but only for the case of a bishop.

But by canon ix. of Chalcedon it is not allowed even for a metropolitan to be judged by another metropolitan; but he is to be judged only by the patriarch under whom he, the metropolitan in question, is, or by the patriarch of Constantinople. In like manner chapters 57 and 58 from the code of the Novells enact.

But they in their appendix have written out canons and enactments of the civil laws which relate to bishops, but none relating to patriarchs.

A simple bishop, according to canon xix. of Carthage, cannot be judged *without being summoned;* and then it is also necessary that accusations brought against a bishop be proved *by competent*

witnesses; and after that only may he be condemned and punished as the crime proved against him may deserve. So no *simple* bishop even can be judged without being summoned a second and a third time. And about metropolitans there is no such canon as authorises their own bishops to judge them; but they are to be judged by the patriarch, together with all the metropolitans (can. ix. Chalc.). But for the case of patriarchs it is nowhere found that a patriarch may be judged by his own bishops. And what else then can any one call that meeting but a conciliabulum, when they in the teeth of all the holy canons, *even by the rule for simple bishops,* attempted to condemn me, and neither questioned me at all respecting my departure, nor summoned me as a bishop, according to canon lxxiv. of the Apostles? (p. 38, 56.)

Canon xvi. of the First and Second Council enacts thus: 'If any bishop leaves his diocese, and lives in some other place more than six months, not being kept by imperial command, nor in obedience to the patriarch, nor being sick and unable to move, such a one is to be deprived by common consent of his episcopal rank and authority.'

But my departure was not of any such kind: but as Christ himself withdrew from the malice of Herod and of the Jews, both secretly withdrawing himself and openly going away from them; as the apostles went away, Paul from Damascus and Peter from the prison; as others after them withdrew from authorities; as Gregory the Divine and Athanasius the Great openly withdrew from tyrannical persecutions,—so also did we.

Rather those bishops, who so misapplied against us canon xvi. of the First and Second Council as to condemn equally with us even Christ himself and his apostles, might be shown by that very same canon to be themselves worthy of deposition, since when convoked *by the tsar only* they abode out of their dioceses in Moscow *more than six months,* though their duty was not to listen to the tsar, nor to assemble without our consent and permission.

But they, having been almost all of them consecrated by me, might have applied to themselves also canons xiii. xiv. and xv. of that same First and Second Council, enacting thus: 'If any priest or bishop or metropolitan dares to separate himself from the unity of the most holy patriarch, and does not name him

according to the rule in the celebration of the holy mysteries, but before a [lawful] synod has deliberated, and the act of his condemnation has been read, *anticipates his deposition*, such a one the holy synod decrees is to be stripped of all sacerdotal honour.'

And they should have considered canon xix. of the synod of Sardica, enacting thus: 'If any bishop be deposed without cause, by violence, or contrary to reason, as if either for confession of the Catholic Church [faith], or for justice itself, and is forced to suffer injustice, he, as being a true and faithful pastor and blameless, may abide in another city, as long as may be necessary, till he is able to return and *obtain satisfaction* for the wrong done to him.'

But we did not go away into any other dioceses or flocks—as we might have gone and still have been blameless, according to this canon—during all this time; but we have been living within our own flock, and in our own diocese of Moscow[5] (vol. iii. p. 54, 55).

Moreover, there is the episcopal engagement made at the election of each one of the bishops, according to canon xviii. of Carthage, and cap. ii. of the Novells of Justinian, and tit. xxviii. of the Civil Law, cap. ii., with the subscription of their hands. And the first words of this writing are as follows: 'This I write with my own hand and of my own mind,'[6] &c. (as at p. 136 of vol. i.).

In all this they have foresworn themselves before God and his elect angels. They promised 'to keep the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and to keep the peace of the Church;' and they have kept nothing of these things.

For, *firstly*, when it befell us, on account of a certain displeasure of the tsar, to give place to wrath, we did only what Christ himself set us an example of doing, &c. (as above), and less than what the canons allow and contemplate. But those metropolitans and archbishops who, to do the will of the tsar, made a crime of this, and presumed uncanonically to judge their head and their patriarch, had all of them promised, in their episcopal oath and engagement above mentioned, 'in all things to

[5] The Iverskoy and Krestnoy monasteries also being stauropegia, and so belonging to the patriarchal diocese.

[6] But this form, naturally, has greatly altered since the time of Nicon.

follow and to obey the œcumenical patriarchs, and after them ourselves also, as their father, and our successors; and not to do anything by compulsion either of the tsar, or of any number of boyars and princes, or of any multitude of the people, though they threaten me with death, or command me to celebrate, or to do any episcopal act in another metropolitan province than my own, or in any other see, except only in that one see which has been given to me *by my spiritual father*. Or, if I be away from my own see, in whatever other region I may be, I *will not act ecclesiastically without the bidding of my father* (the local patriarch, metropolitan, or bishop). And, further, I pledge myself to this also, that when called *by my father and all the sacred synod*, I will without a word of gainsaying come to a synod. Further, I also pledge myself to this, that though princes seek to force me, or boyars, or the multitude of the people, I will not disobey the command of my father and all the sacred synod, or of the most holy patriarchs their successors. And, further, I promise this also, that I will not receive any other patriarch than one of the holy Eastern Church, of the Greek law, according to the divine and sacred apostolical canons, and those of the seven holy œcumenical councils. But if I do any of the things above written, without the bidding and without the letter of my father, and transgress in any one point of all the things herein above written, let me be degraded from my office *ipso facto*, without a word.' This is the engagement which they all made before God and his holy angels, and before the tsar, and before all the synclete, and before all the multitude of the people. And what have they performed of it? Nothing! On every point they have foresworn themselves.

Secondly: They promised to follow the most holy œcumenical patriarchs. The œcumenical patriarchs made a constitution that there should be in Moscow a patriarchal and primatial chair, according to the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers (can. xxxiv. Apost., ix. Ant.); and they ordained that all the bishops should regard the patriarch of Moscow *as their head*, and that without his consent they should do nothing. But they, in utter despite of this constitution, without having so much as made any inquiry of us respecting our departure, assembled together and made a council in pursuance of letters *only* from the tsar, contrary to the canons of the apostles and the holy

fathers, as their own irregular act attests. And therefore they are all of them guilty by the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and by the constitution of the œcumenical patriarchs, and by their own solemn engagement above mentioned.

Thirdly: They promised to obey the canons. And nowhere in any canon is it written—as has been said also above in speaking of the extracts from the canons made by order of the tsar—nowhere is it written that bishops may judge their metropolitan, to say nothing of a patriarch. Nor by canon ix. of Chalcedon can metropolitans judge a metropolitan, but they can judge only bishops; and a metropolitan is to be judged only by his patriarch, or by the patriarch of Constantinople. But these have committed by their synod a new kind of lawlessness, and have pronounced a judgment against their patriarch.

Fourthly: In their engagement it was written that they would do nothing by compulsion of the tsar, nor of the boyars, nor of any number of princes, nor of any multitude of the people, though they should even threaten them with death, ordering them to officiate, or to do any episcopal act out of the diocese committed to them. And this was perfectly well known to the tsar himself, and to all the princes and boyars, because that episcopal engagement is customarily made in presence of the tsar and of all the synclete. And the tsar himself could not with any decency after that send them letters for such a purpose. And by the canons (as can. xi. xii. Ant., viii. ix. Sardica, civ. cvi. Carth.) 'any bishop or priest or deacon who, unbidden by the metropolitan of the province, goes to the emperor, is to be excommunicated and deposed.' Or if any one, declining the proper ecclesiastical tribunal, go and seek from the emperor a secular judgment, he is to be deprived. And if any African bishop goes to the emperor without a letter dimissory from the bishop of Carthage, to be approved also by the bishop of Rome, he is to be excommunicated. But the tsar, though he should have been ashamed to do so, sent letters to the bishops calling them to himself, not only *without the concurrence* of their metropolitan or patriarch, but even to be his own instruments for uttering his *secular judgment*, in his own cause, against their spiritual father; and they, contrary to their oaths and to the canons, came together in obedience only to the tsar, and made themselves the instruments of his will (p. 140, 201).

Fifthly: Whereas it is forbidden by canon xvi. of the First and Second Council and by many other canons for any one to invade a see the bishop of which is still living; and the tsar, while I am still living, has ordered my vicar-bishop the metropolitan of Kroutits to administer the patriarchal diocese as *his* the tsar's vicar, as if it were vacant, referring to the patriarch in nothing, but omitting his name from the services of the Church (contrary to canons xiii. xiv. xv. of the council mentioned above), and taking all his orders from the tsar himself, as if he were the supreme bishop and the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction,—this synod has doubly and trebly violated the canons and their own episcopal engagement by ratifying and repeating the same order, and doing this also by command of the tsar.

Sixthly: Not content with following only the tsar's oukaz by ordering the metropolitan of Kroutits to administer under the tsar the patriarchal diocese, they also follow the boyars who petition the tsar and move him to make an end and to set all right by the creation of a new patriarch; and they have declared themselves ready to act as instruments for doing this: whereas any election of a bishop made by secular people is null (according to can. xxx. Apost., xiii. Laod., and iii. of the Seventh Œcum. Council), and every one who obtains either authority in the Church or the chair of any see by secular power is degraded. And the bishops in Russia, by the blessing of the most holy œcumenical patriarchs, and by their synodal constitution creating the patriarchate of Moscow, have power only *after the death* of their patriarch to create another. As also canon xvi. of the First and Second Council enacts of all bishops, speaking thus: 'Under *no pretence whatever* let any one enter upon a see the bishop of which is still living.' And behold, I am still living. He is dead from the life everlasting through whom I have been forced to go away (p. 136).

And so by obeying the tsar and the boyars they are all guilty by these sacred canons, and by their own solemn engagement of canonical obedience. And that scripture has been fulfilled in them which says: 'He loved not blessing, therefore it has departed from him;' and the rest that follows (Ps. cviii., or cix. Heb., 17, 18, &c.). They loved not the apostolic blessing of a spiritual superior, but preferred to follow the initiative and com-

mand of the secular power: they took upon themselves all the anathemas of the councils and the fathers, and their own imprecations against themselves for their own perjury: they enveloped themselves in malediction as a man wraps himself round with a cloak; and it shall come into their bowels like water, and like oil into their bones (p. 135-140).

And if when even the prince of the apostles, Peter, spake amiss, though that was not of opposition, but only from lack of faith, saying: 'Spare thyself, Lord; such humiliation and suffering be far from thee!' the divine answer to this was: 'Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men;' so also assuredly shall it be said of those bishops who have now deserted and betrayed us; who have savoured not the things that be of God, but those that be of men; who have feared where no fear was, and have run where the putrid scent of this world allured them: the sin of whose souls God will require of the tsar (p. 30).

The tsar having unlawfully enslaved the Church, and taken under his own control and into his own hands all her property, naturally has ill-will against us; as an adulterer can never love the lawful husband, but is ever devising evil against him. Will he say that there is no ill-will? If there were really no malice against us, what reason would there be to seek to make out that I have vacated the chair, or to call for another election? Will he say that it was he who committed to us the patriarchate, the priesthood? That he has not himself; and what he has not himself he cannot give to others. Or if not the priesthood itself, yet the grace and power and conditions of exercising it? In that case he equally speaks against the grace of the Holy Ghost, and against Him by whose grace we all receive grace. But nothing whatever of our authority has been given to us by the tsar, nor do we need or seek from him any authority whatever, or owe him any account of the exercise of our authority; knowing this, that by the divine canons 'every one who receives a church by secular power is to be degraded.'

And as touching the metropolitan of Kroutits, whom the tsar and the boyars and their pseudo-synod have now made the vicar and instrument and representative of their usurped supremacy, such a one is by canons ii. of the Second and i. of the Seventh Œcumenical Councils deposed and anathematised. And by canons

x. xi. xii. of the Apostles he who prays with one excommunicated or deposed is himself excommunicated and deposed: and by canon ii. of the Second Œcumenical Council all priests and deacons and other clerks who have been ordained by such a one are held to be unordained, and those baptised by them are unbaptised (referring tacitly to can. Apost. xliv. xlv. xlvi.), nor is it right to call them Christians. In like manner, as many metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and secular persons, whoever they may be, as have communicated with him, according to the holy canons are to be deposed and excommunicated. And if he ordains or consecrates any by command of the tsar to be bishops or archimandrites or hegoumens, such men are not elected nor ordained of God (p. 502).

Thus not one only, but many, synods of the holy apostles and of the holy fathers depose and deliver over to anathema that wretched man the metropolitan of Kroutits, who is in truth for the Russian Church the *abomination of desolation*. And we also, following them, say: 'It is, and let it be, so as the holy fathers of the seven œcumenical councils have decreed: Whom they have anathematised, we ourselves also anathematise; and whom they have deposed, we depose; and whom they have excommunicated, we excommunicate; and whom they have put to penance, we put to penance.' It is not against us and the holy Church only that that lawless man opposes himself, but it is against God himself and the whole multitude of the saints. And let no man wonder at the long-suffering of God, that he has not already taken vengeance upon him for his wickedness. God will take vengeance perfectly for every offence in the day of judgment, as he also says: 'The word which I have commanded, the same shall judge him in the day of judgment.' That word is unfailing; and though it may not be in this world that the retribution of vengeance falls speedily after the curse, yet it will be accomplished in a far worse and eternal punishment. So if I now rebuke a lawless transgressor by the commandment of God, and he will not listen to me, he shall not go unpunished. For one single intrusion of a priest or deacon, or for doing any single ecclesiastical act in a diocese not his own, the canons absolutely degrade the offender, and together with him those whom he has ordained. But how much more, if any one has done many acts of this kind? For of such the Lord says: 'If thy hand or thy

foot offend thee' (that is, cause thee to offend), 'cut it off and cast it from thee: for it is better for thee with only one hand or one foot to enter into everlasting life than, having two hands and two feet, to be cast into outer darkness, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.' And if such a diseased member is *not* cut off, it will follow necessarily that *the whole body* will be cast into outer darkness, &c. (p. 500-510).

The divine apostle has forewarned us of things to come to pass before the end, in times which, when he wrote, were still future, but which for us now, through the abounding of malice and iniquity, are beginning to be present. For has there not now already come an *apostasy* from the holy gospel, and from the traditions of the apostles and the holy fathers? Has not the man of sin been, partially at least, manifested—the son of perdition, who opposes himself, and exalts himself above everything that is called God, or that is worshipped? Leaving the law of God and his commandments, they have preferred the traditions of men, that is, the book of their recently-compiled *Code*, which is all full of bitterness and guile. And as for sitting in the temple of God, this means not sitting in that local temple which was at Jerusalem, but everywhere, in the Christian Churches. And again, that sitting is not a literal sitting in all the churches, but the exercise of power over all churches. And the Church is not stone walls, but rather the ecclesiastical society, its laws, and its clergy, against which the spirit of apostasy having lifted itself up, according to the working of Satan, has written in that Code enactments so as to give jurisdiction over the patriarch and the metropolitans, and archbishops and bishops, and over all the rest of the clergy, to lay people, not having any thought according to God. Of such Churches it is that Christ said: 'My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it into a den of thieves.' As also the prophet Jeremiah says: 'Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these' (Jer. vii. 4). How is that the temple of the Lord which is wholly under the power of the tsar and his subordinates, and in which they do and command whatever they please? Such a Church is *no longer* the temple of God, but the house of them who have power over it. If it were indeed the temple of the Lord, no one, for the fear of God, the master of the house,

would dare, or if he dared would be able, to usurp dominion over it, or to take anything away from it (p. 407-8).

There are some that say to us: 'Thou actest of thyself alone, and goest on to thine own ruin. The tsar alone is great; and he has monks in plenty ready to serve him. If thou wilt not serve, what need have we of a patriarch? the metropolitan of Kroutits does just as well. It is ingratitude too; for it was the tsar who promoted thee. The tsar, of his own good-will and pleasure, may honour whom he pleases, or withdraw honour.' But where is it written that the tsar may honour whom he pleases? He may honour of his own subjects and servants whom he pleases. But of bishops this is nowhere said. Of bishops the Saviour speaks very differently: 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' And again the Apostle testifies, saying: 'Brethren, obey them that are your teachers, and submit yourselves.' And again: 'Without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the greater.' How, then, can the tsar honour whom he pleases of them that are by God himself crowned with glory and honour, and whose honour and glory are above that of royalty as much as heaven is more honourable than earth? But such senseless men would bring us down to submit ourselves, and the Church of God with ourselves, to kings, even as to Nebuchadnezzar and to his golden image; as it is written:

'Then certain Chaldeans came near and accused the Jews' (even as men accuse us now), 'and spake, and said to the king, O king, live for ever! Thou, O king, hast made a decree that every man that shall hear the sound of the trumpet, and all the other kinds of music, shall fall down and worship the golden image: but if not, that he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon—Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. These men, O king, have not regarded thee; they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up. Then Nebuchadnezzar in his rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Then they brought these men before the king. Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them, Is it true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, do ye not serve my gods, nor worship the golden image that I have set up? Now, if ye be ready, that at what

time ye hear the sound of the trumpet and of all other kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made, well: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace: and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands? Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God who is in heaven, whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and to deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (Dan. iii. 8-18). Even so now also we will not bow ourselves down to seek the tsar's favour or bounties, but will pray only to God. We are ready for the tsar's disfavour, even unto prison or unto death (p. 239).

On Feb. 16th, the first Sunday in Lent, A.D. 1662, *at Voskresensk:*

The patriarch having been robed in the middle of the church before the liturgy as usual, and the concelebrating priests having robed within the sanctuary, they brought out and set in front of the iconostase on the solea a naloi (*i.e.* an *ἀναλογεῖον*, or stand covered with brocade), on which were laid the book of the gospels, and the cross, the icons of our Saviour and of our Lady, and perhaps also other icons, as those of the Resurrection, of the Seven Councils, &c.; and clerks stood before them holding lights. And another naloi was brought out and set in the midst on a raised step, at which the protodiacon was to stand while reading; and on this there was laid the *Troichnaia kniga*, or book of the *Synodicon*.

And in the liturgy, before the singing of the Trisagion ("Αγιος ὁ Θεός, κ.τ.λ., which is sung immediately after the lesser introit; or, it might be, before the liturgy, after the hours, the patriarch sitting robed on the platform in the midst of the church), the protodiacon began,[7] 'Bless, my lord;' and the patriarch having blessed him to read, he said aloud, 'The book of the Holy Trinity, the constitution of the holy apostles and the holy fathers;' and all standing—or sitting they might be if there were seats—he read as in the Greek *Τριώδιον*, thus:

[7] In the Greek: 'The Introduction. The Synodicon of the holy and œcumenical Seventh Council. Bless, my lord! The annual thanksgiving,' &c.

The annual thanksgiving[8] due to God on this day (the First Sunday in Lent), on which we recovered the Church of God, with the demonstration of the doctrines of piety, and the overthrow of the impieties of malice.

Following the words of the prophets, obeying the instructions of the apostles, and taught by evangelical histories, we celebrate as a festival this day of the Encænia (renewal). For Isaiah says: 'Renew yourselves, ye isles, to God,' signifying the Churches of the gentiles. And the Churches are not simply the buildings with their ornaments, but the whole congregation (πλήρωμα, fulness) of pious worshippers, with their hymns and doxologies and prayers addressed to God. And the Apostle, teaching this same thing, bids us to walk in *newness* of life, and to be *renewed* in Christ, which is a new creature. And the words of our Lord's gospel, which may be applied also in a prophetical sense, say thus: 'It was the feast of the Encænia, or *renewal*, at Jerusalem [as now also here at our New Jerusalem]; and it was *winter*:' either that intellectual winter by which the Jewish nation [as now the Russian] were brewing storms and disturbance, even the crucifixion and rejection of the common Saviour, or that natural winter which pains the bodily senses by the change of the air to frost and cold. And with us too it was winter [with us too here at Voskresensk it is now winter], and no ordinary winter, but one in truth pouring out upon us the severity of great malice. But now the first burst of the spring of God's graces has budded and blossomed to us [here we can no longer make the same application to ourselves: *our winter* is *only beginning*], in which we have come together to make, as it were, an anticipatory harvest of thanks to God for his benefits; as if saying with the psalm: 'Summer and spring, thou hast made them; remember this vine.' For when the enemies had reproached the Lord, and had conspired against his worship in the sacred images, and had become bold, and had lifted themselves up in their impieties, he, the God of wonders, crushed them, and silenced the snorting of their apostasy. Nor did he disregard the voice of them that cried to him: 'Remember, O Lord, the reproach of thy servants, and how I have borne in my bosom the

[8] See vol. i. p. 75, 76, where Nicon transcribes this exordium, showing that the reproduction of copies or icons, instead of being an insult or dishonour, is an honour rendered to the prototype, and applies what is here said of the *encænia*, or spiritual *renewal*, to his own New Jerusalem.

reproach of many peoples; with which thy enemies, O Lord, have reproached thee, with which they have reproached the substitute (*ἀντάλλαγμα*) of thy Christ.' But the substitute (or representative) of Christ should be they who have been redeemed by his blood, and who have believed in him through verbal preaching and through iconic representation; through which two ways the great work of the economy is made known to the redeemed, through the cross, and through his sufferings and miracles, both before and after the crucifixion; from which also the imitation of his sufferings passes to the apostles, and from them to the martyrs, and through them descends even to the confessors and ascetics.

This reproach, then, with which the enemies of the Lord reproached him, with which they reproached the representative body of his Anointed, our God remembering, both moved by his own bowels of compassion and influenced by the prayers of his Mother, and by those of the apostles and of all the saints, who were outraged together with Him, and were set at naught in their icons—that as they had suffered together with Him in the flesh, so also, as it seems, they should share with Him in the insults heaped upon the venerable icons—hath executed later what he determined from the very first day, and has done in act a second time what had been completed already [by the Seventh Œcumenical Council] once before. For before, after many years, during which the holy icons were vituperated and dishonoured, he put impiety to confusion; but now, which is the second time, after very nearly thirty years of oppression, he has brought about for us his unworthy servants an end of our difficulties, deliverance from them that troubled us, the reëstablishment of piety, and security for the veneration of the icons, and this festival, which brings to us everything that is good and salutary. For in the icons we see the sufferings of the Lord for us, his cross, his burial, death and hell slain and spoiled, the conflicts of the martyrs, the crowns, that salvation itself which our first institutor of the contest, and giver of the prizes, and awarder of the crown wrought in the midst of the earth. This is the panegyry which to-day we celebrate; and for this amidst our prayers and litanies we cry out rejoicing in psalms and hymns:

'Who is so great a god as our God; who doeth wonders alone?'

This is sung thrice, and they sing also what follows:

For the revilers of thy glory thou hast laughed to scorn; those that were bold against thy icon and audacious thou hast smitten with fear and put to flight.

Then the protodeacon reads again:

And of our thanksgiving to God, and of the Lord's victory over his enemies, we thus speak: the details of the struggles of his martyrs against the iconoclasts and their glorious sufferings other discourses and written histories will declare. But now as for a rest, after the passage through the desert to take possession of the intellectual Jerusalem, halting as it were by a sort of imitation of Moses, or rather by divine command, as on some stele put together of great stones and prepared to receive an inscription, so on the hearts of the brethren we think it right to inscribe both the commendations due to the keepers of the law, and the curses to which they who break the law subject themselves. Wherefore we say thus:

To those who confess by word, by mouth, by heart and mind, and both by writing and by iconography, the coming of the divine Word in the flesh, be *Everlasting remembrance.* (thrice repeated.)[9]

To those who believe and teach or preach that, as words serve through letters, so material substances serve through forms, and that both ways, both the announcement of the truth through words and its impression on the mind through icons, concur together to one and the same profitable end, *Everlasting remembrance.*

Then they sing:

This is the faith of the apostles; this is the faith of the fathers; this faith has established the world.

The protodeacon:

Wherefore we extol the heralds of piety with fraternal and filial affection, to the glory and honour of that same piety for which they contended, and say:

To Germanus (A.D. 715-730), Tarasius (A.D. 784-806), Nicephorus (A.D. 806-815), and Methodius (A.D. 842-846), who were in truth godly pontiffs and teachers of orthodoxy,

Everlasting remembrance.

[9] The clergy first singing it (always *thrice*) within, and then the two choirs without the sanctuary. Then seven other similar paragraphs, some of them lengthy, six of which are here omitted.

To Ignatius (A.D. 846-857 and 867-877), Photius (A.D. 857-867 and 877-886), Stephen (A.D. 886-893), Antony (A.D. 893-895), and Nicholas (A.D. 895-906 and 911-925), most holy orthodox patriarchs, *Everlasting remembrance.*

[Then follow two paragraphs condemning and anathematising all that had been done or written against the above-mentioned patriarchs by the iconoclasts, and bidding nine other acclamations, which we may throw together:]

To Stephen, martyr and new confessor; to Euthymius, Theophilus, and Emilian, confessors and archbishops; to Theophylact, Peter, Michael, and Joseph, blessed metropolitans; to John (Damascene, who died in A.D. 754 or 780), Nicholas, and George, confessors and archbishops; to Theodore (the Studite, who died in A.D. 826), hegoumen of the Studium; to Isaacius the thaumaturge, and Joannicius who prophesied; to Hilarion the archimandrite and hegoumen of the Dalmatians; to Simeon the Stylite (who died A.D. 596); and to Theophanes hegoumen of Megasagros, *Everlasting remembrance.*

These, as blessings of fathers, pass from them to us their sons, who emulate their piety: and in like manner the curses strike those who either now or at any time to come insult their fathers, and despise the Lord's commandments. Wherefore also we all in common, who make up the whole body of piety, cast upon them that curse to which they have subjected their own selves, and say:

To those who in words admit the economy of the incarnation of God the Word, but endure not to see this figured by icons, and so in words make a show of admitting, but in fact deny our salvation,[10] *Anathema.*

[10] Followed by five more long paragraphs on the same subject in the Τριώδιον, p. 162, and in the Slav. Synodicons, p. 428. The Greek has also four later insertions: the first, of five paragraphs, against the error that the holy Sacrifice is not offered to the Son as well as to the Father and the Holy Ghost (A.D. 1157); the second, eleven heads of *John of Italy* against certain heathenish opinions, besides an anathema against the monk Nilus (the date not clearly marked); the third an anathema of Demetrius of Lampe, and nine paragraphs against his misinterpretation of the words, 'My Father is greater than I' (A.D. 1166); the fourth, two anathemas of Barlaam and Akindynus and of Isaac Argyrus, and fifteen paragraphs, some very lengthy, either condemning their opinions or praising the emperor Andronicus Palæologus and Gregory Palamas (A.D. 1340-1350), and approving the doctrine of Gregory Palamas respecting the light on Mount Tabor. All these insertions are either entirely or for the most part omitted from the two Slav. Synodicons printed in the *Drev. R. Bibl.* vol. vi.

To Anastasius, Constantine, and Nicetas, who among the Isaurians first started those heresies, profane men and guides of destruction, *Anathema.*

To Theodotus, Antony, and John, accomplices and successors to one another in impiety, *Anathema.*

To Paul, who apostatised to be Saul, and Theodore called Gasta, and Stephen Molyta, and Theodore Krithinus, and Ludius Leo, and all like them of whatever order or rank, of the clergy or of the laity, *Anathema.*

To the conciliabulum[11] which snorted against the holy and venerable icons, *Anathema.*

To them that misapply to the venerable icons of Christ what is said by the holy Scripture against idols, *Anathema.*

[And after five other similar paragraphs given, from the Greek, in the Slavonic synodicon at p. 431 entire, but at p. 499 abridged:]

If any one does not worship our Lord Jesus Christ, delineated as to his manhood in an icon, let him be *Anathema.*

To all the heretics, *Anathema.*

To Michael our orthodox emperor, and to the most blessed empress his mother Theodora, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To all who, whether before or after the Seventh Council, or its renewal (A.D. 842), as on this day, have contended for orthodoxy by their words, writings, doctrines, actions, sufferings, and holy lives, the Church of Christ, annually making commemoration of them, exclaims, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To all who have affectionately embraced and held to and obeyed the holy canons, those, that is, of the holy apostles, and of the seven œcumenical and the nine local councils, and in addition those of our holy fathers, as being inspired by one and the same Holy Spirit, and whatever else has been canonically decreed or is piously held and taught by the Church,[12]

Everlasting remembrance.

To them that have neither added anything nor taken anything away, nor have devised anything otherwise by any vain subtlety whatever, according to the tradition of men and the elements of this world; nor have been ready to make or to

[11] Held at C.P. in A.D. 754, under Constantine Copronymus, and reconfirmed (after its condemnation in A.D. 787 by the Seventh Œcumenical Council) by another iconoclast council, also held at C.P. in A.D. 815, under Leo the Armenian.

[12] See vol. i. p. 5, 58, 378.

follow new laws tending to licentiousness, but have held fast to the truth and to the ancient legislation of the holy Catholic Church,[13] *Everlasting remembrance.*

To them that have abided in all the things that are written in the book of God's law, to do them,[14]

Everlasting remembrance.

To them that have not done the work of God negligently, or hypocritically, or with a double mind,[15]

Everlasting remembrance.

To them that have abided conscientiously in their own order, and have not transgressed the constitutions, which are not ours but God's,[16] *Everlasting remembrance.*

To them that have not attempted to wrong the sacred order, or to usurp the cognisance of ecclesiastical causes and rights, or forcibly bring before them a bishop or priest or deacon, or any person of the sacred or monastic order, nor by robbery and violence to invade that which has been given to monasteries and to God, but have respected the rights of the Church and of the clergy as regards jurisdiction and property,[17]

Everlasting remembrance.

To the abps. of C.P., New Rome, and œcum. pp., Gregory the Divine (A.D. 381), Nectarius (381), John Chrysostom (397), Proclus (434), Flavian (467), Anatolius (449), Gennadius (458), Mennas (536), Eutychius (552), John (the Scholastic, 565), John the Faster (582), George I. (678), Paul III. (686), Cyrus (705), Germanus (715), Tarasius (784), Nicephorus (806), Methodius (842), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Ignatius (846-57 and 867-77), Photius (857-67 and 877-86), Stephen (686), Antony (893), Nicholas (Mysticus, 895), Euthymius (906), Stephen II. (925), Tryphon (928), Theophylact (983), Polyeuctes (956), Antony III. (the Studite, 974), Nicholas II. (Chrysoberges, 983), Sisinnius II. (996), Sergius II. (999), Eustathius II. (1019), Alexis (the Studite, 1025), Michael (Cerularius, 1043), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Constantine III. (Lichudes, 1059), John VIII. (Xiphilinus, 1064), Cosmas I. (1075), Eustratius (Garidas, 1081), Nicholas III. (Grammaticus, 1084), Leo (Stypiota, 1134), Michael II. (Oxytes, 1143), Theodotus (1151), Luke (Chrysoberges, 1156), Michael III. (Anchilianus, 1169), Chariton (1176),

[13] Vol. i. p. 42, 350, 583. [14] Ib. p. 166. [15] Ib. [16] Ib. p. 303. [17] Ib. p. 377.

Theodotus (Borradiota, 1177), Basil II. (Chomaterus, 1183), Nicetas II. (Montanes, 1186), Leontius (Theotokites, 1190), Dositheus (1191), *Meletius*,[18] *Peter*, George II. (Xiphylinus, 1193), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Michael IV. (Autorianus, 1206, at Nice), Theodore III. (1213), John,[19] Maximus I. (1215), Manuel II. (Charitopulus, 1245), in the schima Matthew, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Germanus III. (1267), Arsenius (1255 and 1261-67), Joseph I. (1267 and 1282), *Gerasimus*,[20] Athanasius I. (1289), Isaiah (1323), Isidore (1347), Callistus (1349 and 1355), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Philotheus (1354 and 1363), who stood firmly for the Church of Christ and her true doctrines and laws, Nilus (1379), Antony IV. (1387), and Callistus II. (1396), Matthew I. (1396), and Joseph II. (who died at Florence, 1416-39), *Everlasting remembrance.*

[Nicon would, no doubt, commemorate also some later patriarchs of Constantinople.]

To Gennadius II. (or George Scholarius, 1453, who received investiture from the conqueror Mahomet II.), to Jeremiah II. (1572-79 and 1580-83 and 1586-94), Matthew II. (1594 and 1596-1600), Cyril II. (of Berœa, 1631-33 and 1635-36 and 1638-39), Parthenius I. (1639-44), Parthenius II. (1644-46 and 1647-50, called Kouskous, hanged by the Turks), Joannicius II. (1646-47 and 1650), Athanasius II. (Patellarius, 1634 and 1651, who was at Moscow in 1653), Parthenius III. (hanged by the Turks on the 25th March 1657), and to all the other orthodox patriarchs of C.P. deceased, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the most blessed popes Joachim (1574), Sylvester (1592), Meletius (1593), and all the other orthodox patriarchs of Alexandria deceased, *Everlasting remembrance.*

[Then in one proclamation, identical in the Greek Τριώδιον, p. 172, and the earlier Slav. Synodicon, p. 433, but absent from that of 1684, twelve names of patriarchs of Antioch, A.D. 938 circ. to 1098 or 1100. Then:]

[18] These two names, Meletius and Peter, are unknown to other lists, and there is chronologically no room for them here.

[19] Seemingly misplaced: John X. (Chomaterus) succeeded George II. in A.D. 1199, sat till 1206, and died in 1207.

[20] Probably a corruption of Gregory II. of Cyprus, A.D. 1283, though there was a Gerasimus, who sat one year in 1320.

To Joachim VII. (1580-93), and all the other orthodox patriarchs of Antioch, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To St. Sophronius I. (634-40), Sophronius II. (1593), Theophanes (1619), and Paisius (1618 : 1636-60 ?), and all the other orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the most reverend Gregory metropolitan of Thessalonica, who condemned the errors of Barlaam and Akindynus, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Neophytus metropolitan of Ephesus (1113), Hierotheus of Monembasia, and Arsenius of Elasson (1589), Dionysius of Tirnovo (1591), and all the other orthodox Greek metropolitans deceased, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the orthodox emperors of Old and New Rome who have contended for piety, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the holy orthodox and apostle-like emperor Constantine the Great, and his mother the holy empress Helena,[21] *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Theodosius the Great (A.D. 379), Theodosius the Younger (408), Marcian (450), Leo I. (457), Justin I. (518), Justinian (527), Maurice (582), Constantine III. (Pogonatus, 668), and to Michael and his mother Theodora (842), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Basil (the Macedonian, 867), and Constantine[22] (911-59), Leo VI. (Sapiens, 886), and Alexander (911), Christopher (920), and Romanus II. (Junior, 959), Nicephorus Phocas (963), and John Tsimisces (969), and Basil II. (976), and Constantine (976), Andronicus (1067), and Romanus IV. (Diogenes, 1068), Michael VII. (1067), Nicephorus (Botoniata, 1078), Isaac Comnenus (1057), Alexius (1081), and John Comnenus (1118), Manuel Comnenus (1143), as a monk Matthew, Isaac (1185 and 1203), Alexius (1195), and Theodore Lascaris (1204), who have passed from the earthly to the heavenly kingdom, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To John Doucas (1222), as a monk Theodore, Michael Palæologus II. (1260, at Nice), Andronicus II. Palæologus (1282), as a monk Antony, Andronicus III. Palæologus (1332), John [I. Palæologus, and John] Cantacuzene (1341-91), as a monk Joasaph, *Everlasting remembrance.*

[21] Compare the form now in use.

[22] Porphyrogenitus, son of Leo Sapiens, here put before his father ; or the father's name has dropped out above.

To Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora and Helena, Theophano, Theodora, Ekaterina, Eudocia, Maria, Irene, Maria (as a nun Xene), Euphrosyne, Anna, and Helena, most pious Augustas,[23] *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Irene, Theodora, Irene, Maria, Anna (as a nun Anastasia), who was zealous against Barlaam and Akindynus, and Irene, Augustas, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the orthodox emperor Constantine XII. Palæologus (1448-53), who fell fighting for the faith, and was slain by the infidel Turks when they took Constantinople,

Everlasting remembrance.

To all the Greek clergy and Orthodox Christians, of every order and rank, men or women and children, who under the yoke of the infidel Turks have persevered in the Orthodox faith and in piety, and have suffered for the name of Christ,

Everlasting remembrance.

To the most reverend Russian metropolitans Michael (A.D. 886 or 988?), Leontius (988, 990, 996), John (in 1015 he buried Vladimir), Theopemptus (1037), Cyril I., Hilarion (1051), Ephrem (died 1096?), George (1072), John[24] II. (1080), Nicholas (1098), Nicephorus (1108), Nicetas (1124), Michael[25] II. (1127), Constantine I. (1136), Theodore (1160), John[26] IV. (1164), Nicephorus II. (1185), *Gabriel*, *Dionysius*, Matthew (1201), Cyril II. (1205, from Nice), Joseph (slain by the Tatars of Baty, when they took and ruined Kieff in 1240),

Everlasting remembrance.

To the metropolitans Cyril III. (consecrated at Nice in 1250) and Maximus (1283), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the metropolitans St. Peter (1308), St. Alexis (1353), Theognostus (1328), Cyprian (1380), Photius (1410), and St. Jonah (1439-1442, 1447-61), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the metropolitans Theodosius (1462), Philip I. (1467), Gerontius (1472), Simon (1496), Barlaam (1511), Daniel (1522), Joasaph (1539), Macarius (1542), Athanasius (1561), Cyril IV. (1568), and St. Philip (1565), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the metropolitans Antony (1572) and Dionysius (1582), *Everlasting remembrance.*

[23] These are in the Τριῴδιον all in one group; those which follow are given in it one by one.

[24] John III. seems to be omitted: but he had only one year. [25] Clement (1127?) is omitted as irregular. [26] Constantine II. (1167) is omitted as irregular.

To the most holy archbishops of Moscow and patriarchs of all Russia Job (1587 and 1589), Hermogenes (1606), Philaret (1619), Joasaph (1631), and Joseph (1642), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the saints, bishops, archbishops, or metropolitans, 1. Of *Great Novgorod and Veliko-Loutsk:* Joachim (992), Nikita (1096), Niphont (1130-56), Arcadius (1156), bishops; Elias, or in the schima John, first archbishop (1165), Gregory (1186), Martyrius (1193), Antony (1212), Theoctist (1299), Basil (1329), Moses (1355), Simeon (1415), Euthymius (1430-58), Jonah (1453), Serapion (1506): 2. Of *Kazan and Sviajsk:* Barnosophius and Goury (1555), bishops; Germanus (1564), archbishop: 3. Of *Rostoff and Yaroslaff and Vladimir:* St. Leontius (992), Isaiah (1077), Ignatius (1262), and James II. (1306), bishops; and Theodore IV.[27] (ordained archbishop at C.P. 1390): and to all the orthodox bishops, archbishops, or metropolitans, 4. Of *Sarai and Podonsk:* Metrophanes (1261) and Barlaam I. (1300), bishops; and Paul II. (1626-43) and Sylvester (1652-57), metropolitans, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the saints and to the orthodox bishops and archbishops, 1. Of *Vologda and Bielozersk* (formerly of Vologda and Veliko-Perm): Alexis (1503), bishop, and Jonah (1589), archbishop: 2. Of *Souzdal and Tarouss:* St. Simon (1215), St. Simon II. (1326), and St. Dionysius (1350): 3. Of *Smolensk and Briansk:* Ignatius (1128), bishop: 4. Of *Riazan and Mourom:* Arsenius (1208), and St. Basil I. (died 1294), bishops, and Misael, archbishop (1651-55): 5. Of *Tver and Kashina:* Simeon I., previously prince of Polotsk (1271 or 1284: he died in 1288), and St. Barnosophius II. (1576), bishops: 6. Of *Astrachan and Tersk:* Theodosius (1602): and 7. Of *Pskoff and Izborsk:* Misael (1589), bishop, *Everlasting remembrance.*

And to the orthodox bishops, 1. Of *Kolomna and Kashira:* Athanasius I. (1353); and 2. Of *Perm:*[28] St. Stephen (1383-96), and Pitirim (1455), slain by the Bogoulich, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To all the orthodox metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops of Russia, *Everlasting remembrance.*

[27] Nephew of St. Sergius of Troitsa, and previously first archimandrite of the Simonoff.

[28] The original diocese of Perm was united to the see of Vologda about A.D. 1500, but re-erected as a separate diocese of *Viatka and Veliko-Perm* by the patriarch Nicon and the tsar Alexis in A.D. 1658, in lieu of the see of Kolomna then suppressed. See vol. I. p. 89.

To our venerable fathers Antony, and Theodosius, and Barlaam of the *Pechersky at Kieff* (1113 and 1117; 1058; 1062-74); Sergius (1337, 1352-92), Nicon (1392-1429), and Sabba (1429-1433) of the *Troitsko-Sergiefsky;* and Cyril (1397-1427) of the *Kyrilloff* monastery of the Assumption on Biclo-ozero; and to all the saints and venerable elders and brethren of those monasteries and of others derived from them, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the saints, founders of monasteries, and others, and to the venerable elders and brethren, I. at *Great Novgorod:* to SS. Barlaam (1192), Antony (1193), and Xenophon (died in 1292) of the *Spasso-Khoutinsk* monastery of the Transfiguration; to St. Antony the Roman (1106) of the *Antonieff* monastery of the Nat. of the Mother of God; to St. Dmitri (1371) of the *Spasso-Priloutsk*, near *Vologda;* to St. Dionysius (1393) of the *Pokrovsky of Gloushits* (1403-37), with his disciples and successors SS. Macarius, Tarasius, and Theodosius; to St. Abramius (1113-25?) of the *Theophany at Souzdal;* to St. Nicetas (1150-81) the Stylite of *Pereyaslaff*, and to the fathers and brethren of the *Nikitsky* monastery; to St. Euthymius (1352-1404), the founder of the *Spass-Euthymieff* of the Transfiguration at *Souzdal;* to St. Peter,[29] founder (about 1200) of the *Petrofsky* mon. near *Rostoff;* to SS. Theodore and Paul of the *Borisoglebsk, near Rostoff* (which they founded with the blessing of St. Sergius in 1363); to St. Paphnutius, founder of the *Paphnutieff* mon. of the Nat. of the B.V. near *Borofsk* (1444-79); to SS. Sabbatius (1429-35) and Zosimus (1435-50 and 1452-78), with Germanus, of the *Solovetsky;* to St. Alexander, founder of the *Alexandro-Svirsk* monastery of the Saviour on the Roschinsko lake (1506-33); to St. Macarius of the Troitsa of *Koliazin*, near Kashina (1450-83); to St. Sabba of the *Storojevsk* mon. of the Nat. of our Lady, near Zvenigorod (1377-1407); to St. Joseph of the mon. of the Assumption, near *Volokolamsk* (1469-1515); to St. Macarius of the Troitsa mon. at *Jeltorodsk*, near Nijny (1430, 1439, 1504); to St. Dionysius (afterwards bishop of Souzdal), founder of the *Pechersky* mon. of the Ascension at *Nijny Novgorod* (1350); to the ven. Ephrem (1030, afterwards abp. of Novgorod), with his brother George,

[29] Son of the Tatar khan, who, having heard the bishop of Rostoff by the khan's desire relate the story of Vladimir's conversion, returned with him secretly to Rostoff and was baptised. Before 1214 he had already founded, three versts to the south-west of Rostoff, on the lake, a church of SS. Peter and Paul, with a monastery; and after the death of his wife he became a monk there himself, and died very old in 1253.

and to the ven. Arcadius of the *Borisoglebsky* monastery of *Novo-Torjok;* to St. Daniel of Pereyaslaff of the *Troitsa, near Pereyaslaff* (1508-10); to St. Theodore (1390, afterwards bishop of Rostoff), first hegoumen of the *Simonoff*, and his successor St. Cyril, and to the other saints and all the Orthodox fathers and brethren of all the monasteries of Russia,

Everlasting remembrance.

To the newly-manifested saints Antony, John, and Eustathius (before baptism Koumetz, Niejilo, and Krougletz), martyred (at Vilna by the heathen Olgerd in 1312) for their confession of Christ, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the saints Michael of the Klopsky mon. at Novgorod (he died in 1452), and Maximus (he died in 1434) and Basil (died in 1451) of Moscow, and Nicholas of Pskoff (died in 1576), who made themselves fools in the eyes of the world for Christ's sake,

Everlasting remembrance.

To the saints Vladimir (in baptism Basil), the new Constantine, who overthrew the idols and baptised the land of Russia (988-1015), and to his grandmother Olga (956, in baptism Helena), the new Helena; and to his sons the holy princes of Rostoff and Mourom, Boris and Gleb (Romanus and David, murdered by Yaropolk in 1015); and to his great-grandchildren Sviatoslaf or Nicholas, surnamed *Sviatosha*,[30] and Vsevolod or Gabriel Mstislav. of Pskoff (who died in 1138), and Predislava, the hegoumina Euphrosyne;[31] and to his descendants, Constantine prince of Riazan and Mourom, with his sons Michael and Theodore;[32] and the princes Basilko Constant. and Vladimir Your., slain for their constancy in the faith by the Tatar Baty (in 1240); and the prince Michael of Chernigoff, slain at the horde together with his boyar Theodore, by order of the same Tatar khan (or his successor Mangou-Timir, in 1246), for refusing to worship heathen idols; and to the prince Theodore of Yaroslaff (who died A.D. 1299), monk and schimnik of the mon. of the Transfiguration at Yaroslaff, with his sons David and Constantine,

Everlasting remembrance.

[30] Son of David Svatoslavich, prince of Chernigoff, who became a monk in the Pechersky A.D. 1106-43.

[31] Princess of Polotsk, near to which city she founded the convent of the Saviour for nuns, and another for men: she died at Jerusalem in 1173.

[32] Who in 1192-1205 established Christianity in Mourom, and built there the first churches.

To the grand princes of *Kieff* and all Russia: 2.* Yaroslaf or George I. Vladim. (1015 or 1019-1054); 3. Vsevolod Yarosl. (1078-94); 4. Vladimir II. or Theodore Vsevol. surnamed Monomachus (1113-25); 5. Youry, *i.e.* George I. Vladim. surnamed Dolgorouky, slain by those about him (1149-52 and 1155-57); 6. to Andrew Your. Bogoliubsky *of Vladimir*, and to his brother Vsevolod II. Your. of *Vladimir* and Novgorod and all Russia (1212); 7. Constantine (of Rostoff and Bielozersk), and his brother Youry II. (of Vladimir) Vsevolodich (1224), *Everlasting remembrance.*

(To the grand princes of all Russia,[33] appointed or confirmed by the Tatar khans, and tributary to them:) To the grand princes of *Vladimir, Novgorod, and all Russia:* 7. To Yaroslaff II. Vsevolodich (of Pereyaslaff and Tver, grand prince of Vladimir, &c. under the Tatars, from A.D. 1238 to 1246); 8. To Isyaslaff Yarosl. (grand prince A.D. 1248, but killed by the Lithuanians in that same year; and his six brothers), Andrew (gr. pr. A.D. 1249-52; deposed by the khan), St. Alexander (surnamed *Nefsky* for his victory gained over the Swedes in A.D. 1241, when he was prince of Novgorod; gr. pr. from A.D. 1252 to 1263), who took the monastic habit, Yaroslaff III. (gr. pr. A.D. 1263-71), Constantine prince, Basil (gr. pr. A.D. 1271-76), and Michael prince; also 9. To the grand princes the brothers Dmitri Alexandrovich (A.D. 1276 and 1291-94), and Andrew (A.D. 1294-1304), *Everlasting remembrance.*

9. To the holy prince of Tver, and grand prince of *Tver, Novgorod, and all Russia*, Michael Yaroslavich (*i.e.* son of Yaroslaff III. and grandson of Yaroslaff II.; grand prince from A.D. 1305 to 22d Nov. 1319), slain by the Tatar khan Uzbeck; and to his sons, 10. Dmitri II. Mich. (gr. pr. A.D. 1322-26), and Alexander (gr. pr. A.D. 1326-27); and to his grandson the lad Theodore Alexandr., prince, all slain by the same khan Uzbeck,

Everlasting remembrance.

9. To the religious *grand prince* Daniel Alexandrovich (*i.e.* Daniel son of Alexander Nefsky, the first prince of Moscow, *never really grand prince:* he died in A.D. 1303; else in A.D. 1304, on the death of his brother Andrew, he would have been entitled to become grand prince); and 10. To the princes of Moscow, *grand princes* of Vladimir, Novgorod, and all Russia,

[32]* The numerals mark the *generation*, 2d, 3d, and so on, from St. Vladimir

[33] Meaning now only Russia west of the Dnieper.

George Danilovich (gr. pr. by favour of the khan his brother-in-law, A.D. 1320-22; then deposed), who died a violent death (being killed in presence of the khan Uzbeck by his second cousin Dmitri Michael. of Tver, in A.D. 1326, in revenge for his having supplanted Dmitri's father, the grand prince Michael of Tver, and having caused his death), John I. Danilovich (surnamed *Kalita*, gr. pr. A.D. 1327-40), and their four brothers the *princes* Boris, Alexander, Athanasius, and Simeon Danilovich; and 11. To the grand princes the brothers Simeon Ivanovich (the *Proud*, gr. pr. A.D. 1341-52) and John II. Iv. (gr. pr. A.D. 1353-58); also[34] 12. To Dmitri IV. Ivan. (surnamed *Donskoy* for his victory over the Tatar Mamai on the 8th Sept. A.D. 1380; gr. pr. A.D. 1362-88); 13. To Basil II. Dmitr. (gr. pr. A.D. 1388-1425); 14. To Basil III. Basil. (surnamed *Temni*, or *the Blind*; gr. pr. A.D. 1425-61); also 15. To John III. Bas. (gr. pr. A.D. 1462-1506), and to his grand princess (his second wife) *Sophia* Thomichna Palaeologa (who died in A.D. 1503), and to their daughter Helena, (by her marriage) grand princess of Lithuania and queen of Poland,

Everlasting remembrance.

16. To the piously believing grand prince Basil IV. Ivan. of Vladimir, Novgorod, and all Russia, *autocrat* (A.D. 1506-34),

Everlasting remembrance.

To the religious grand princesses (of the house of Moscow) of Vladimir, Novgorod, and all Russia, Helena Ivan. Dan., Juliana Ivan. Maria Semen., and Alexandra Ivan.; to Eudocia Dmitr. Ivan. (widow of Dmitri Donskoy, and foundress of the convent of the Ascension in the Kremlin: she, like the three preceding, became a nun before her death, taking the name Euphrosyne; she died A.D. 1407); to Sophia Vitoftovna, wife of Basil Dmitr. (died A.D. 1410); to Maria Bor. princess of Tver, first wife of John III. Bas. (who died A.D. 1467), with her son the prince John Ivan. (who died in A.D. 1490), and his consort the princess Helena (who died A.D. 1505), daughter of Stephen hospodar of Moldavia, and their son the *grand prince* (crowned, and uncrowned, by his grandfather) Dmitri Ivanovich (who died in A.D. 1509); also to Maria, born princess Donskaia (who died in A.D. 1485), wife of Basil III. Bas. the *Blind*,

Everlasting remembrance.

[34] From A.D. 1359 to 1362 Dmitri III. Constant., prince of Souzdal, was made grand prince by the khan.

To Helena Bas., born Glinskaia, wife of Basil IV. Ivan. (who died A.D. 1538), and to all the princes and princesses, children or descendants of the grand princes of the house or lineage of Moscow, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the orthodox and religious grand princes Isyaslaff Vladimirovich, Sviatopolk Isyaslavich (by baptism Michael, founder of the monastery of St. Michael at Kieff), with his consort the grand princess Barbara Alexievna, and to all other orthodox and religious grand princes of Kieff, Novgorod, and all Russia, of Polotsk, of Peremuishla or Galich, of Chernigoff, of Sieversk, of Pronsk, of Volhynsk, of Smolensk, of Souzdal, Vladimir, Rostoff, and Bielo-ozersk, of Nijny-Novgorod, of Mourom, of Moscow, of Tver, and of Riazan, and of all the other principalities, and to all their religious consorts and grand princesses, and to all the princes of the land of Russia and the princesses, and their children and descendants, *Everlasting remembrance.*

17. To the *tsar* and grand prince John IV. Basilievich [of Moscow], of Vladimir, Novgorod, and Kazan, and all Russia *autocrat* (1534 to 1584), and to his son the tsarevich the prince John Ivanovich of all Russia (killed by his *father*); and 18. To the tsar, &c. Theodore Ivan. &c. (1584-98), and to the pious, noble, and Christ-loving tsarevich the prince Dmitri Ivan. of Ouglich, the new wonder-worker, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the tsar and grand prince, Basil Ivanovich (Shouisky, 19th May 1606 to 19th July 1610), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the piously believing *great hossoudar* the tsar and grand prince Michael Theodorovich (Romanoff; A.D. 1613 to 1645), of all Russia autocrat, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the religious tsaritsas and grand princesses Anastasia Romanovna (who died A.D. 1563), Maria Temriukovna (A.D. 1570), the nun Martha Basilievna (A.D. 1605), Irene Theodorovna (A.D. 1608), Maria Vladimirovna (A.D. 1622), Maria Petrovna (A.D. 1626), Eudocia Lucianovna (A.D. 1645), and to all their sons and daughters, tsareviches and tsarevnas,

Everlasting remembrance.

To the tsarevich Dmitri Alexievich (who died in A.D. 1649), and to the tsarevna Anna Alexiovna (who died May 8 in A.D. 1659), *Everlasting remembrance.*

[25] In the two Synodicons printed in vol. vi. of the *Drev. R. Bibl.* these families occur in connection with particular names: others may suggest them-

To the piously believing kniazes[35] N.N. derived from the former principalities of Tver, Smolensk, Riazan, Chernigoff, Mstislaff, Souzdal, Rostoff, Galich, Mourom, and the rest; to the Novosilskys, Pronskys, Shouiskys, Bielskys, Rostofskys, Obolenskys, Odoefskys, Vorotinskys, and all the rest, with their kniaginas, and sons and daughters, *Everlasting remembrance.*

To the piously believing N.N. of the Romanoff-Yourieffs, Zacharieffs, Sheremetieffs, Godounoffs, Morozoffs, Voronzoffs, Soltikoffs, Tolstoys, Davidoffs, Adashoffs, Poushkins, Boutourlins, Sobakins, Kolicheffs, Sokovnins, Scherbatoffs, Koutouzoffs, Streshneffs, Miloslafskys, Matiushkins, Rtischeffs, Khitroffs, Babarikins, Volhinskys, Naschokins, Matveyeffs, and of other families of all degrees of the nobility, with their wives and sons and daughters deceased, be *Everlasting remembrance.*

To all slain in wars, and in different invasions or battles, especially by the Tatars, the Lithuanians, the Niemtsi (Germans or Swedes), and the Poles, and in the civil wars; by the Tatar khans and tsars Baty (A.D. 1238-40), Mamai (8th Sept. A.D. 1380), Toktamuish (26th Aug. A.D. 1382), Edigey (A.D. 1408), Mahmet, Mustapha (at Riazan), Mamoutek (at Souzdal), in the invasion of Sedi Achmet, by Ibrahim (at Kazan), by Ahmet (in Tsaritsin), by Mehmet Amin, on the Oka by Mehmet Ghirey (at Kazan and Sviajsk); by Olgerd (A.D. 1368, 70, and 72) and the Lithuanians; in the two campaigns of the tsar John IV. Bas. against Kazan (A.D. 1550 and 1552); in the wars of the same tsar in Livonia and Lithuania; during the troubles in Russia caused by the pretender Gregory Otrepieff, and during the invasions of the Poles and Swedes which followed; also to all who perished by the plagues of A.D. 1654 and 1656, or at other times by pestilences and conflagrations; also to all slain in the wars undertaken in defence of Orthodoxy by the tsar Alexis Michaelovich against Lithuania and Poland, and later against Sweden; in the campaign before Smolensk (A.D. 1654), or before Riga (A.D. 1656), or by the Tatars and

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selves to the mind of the reader, as the Boriatinskys, Cherkasskys, Golitsins, Troubetskoys, Repnins, Kourakins, Dolgoroukys, Volkonskys, Khovianskoys, Khilkoffs, Lvoffs, Romodanofskys, Pojarskys, Troekouroffs, &c.; but most of these are referable to the principalities named; and one Synodicon would differ from another; and all would contain many more names than could actually be read out at any one time.

Kozaks at Konotop (June 28, A.D. 1659), or by the same Tatars of the Crimea acting together with the Poles at Choudnovo (Oct. 21, A.D. 1660), *Everlasting remembrance.*

To Ivan. Nik. Yourieff (who died A.M. 7148), Iv. Petr. Sheremetieff, Theod. Step. Streshneff (A.M. 7155), Theod. Iv. Sheremetieff, Lucian Step. Streshneff (A.M. 7158), Dmitri Mast. Cherkassky (A.M. 7159), Peter Iv. Pronsky (A.M. 7160), Alex. Mich. Lvoff (A.M. 7161), Iv. Andr. Golitsin, Iv. Bas. Khilkoff (A.M. 7162), Michael Petr. Pronsky, N. N. Khilkoff, Nikita Ivan. Romanoff Yourieff (A.M. 7163), Basil Bas. Boutourlin, Theodore Nik. Odoefsky (A.M. 7164), Basil Petr. Sheremetieff, Simeon Iv. Pojarsky, and Simeon Petr. Lvoff (A.M. 7167), Simeon Bas. Prozorofsky, Laurentius Dmitr. Soltikoff, Dmitri Petr. Lvoff (A.M. 7168), Bas. Iv. Streshneff, Basil Bas. Sheremetieff (A.M. 7167), and Boris Iv. Morozoff (A.M. 7170),

Everlasting remembrance.

To all orthodox Christians, men or women, of all orders, of the laity and of the clergy, who either in these and other wars and invasions have been killed or taken captives, or have died by any other violent or sudden death,

Everlasting remembrance.

And generally to all Christians of all orders and classes, with their wives and children and descendants, who have departed this life in the orthodox faith and piety,

Everlasting remembrance.

The Holy Trinity has glorified all these with the gift of perseverance even to death. Let us, then, pray to God that by their struggles and sufferings for piety even to death, and by their teaching, we too may be guided and strengthened; and that we may be imitators of their godly lives even to the end: And may we obtain what we thus ask, by the loving mercy and grace of the great and first bishop Christ our true God; by the suffrages of our most glorious Lady the immaculate Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, of the divine angels, and of all the Saints. Amen.[36]

But to all who, whether before or after the Seventh Council

[36] In the Synodicon of A.D. 1684, printed in vol. vi. of the *Drev. R. Bibl.* p. 498, this is followed by 'But,' &c., and by a series of anathemas as here, though not of course exactly the same, nor exactly in the same order as that which is here put together to represent with *substantial* accuracy at least what was done by Nicon at Voskresensk on the Sunday of Orthodoxy in A.D. 1662.

or its renewal as on this day, have with Judas betrayed Christ, or have with Simon Magus sought to obtain the gifts of the Holy Ghost by money, or with Balaam, loving the wages of unrighteousness, have served secular rulers for the corruption of the new Israel, and to all who have openly broken and despised the commandments of God and of the Church, and have died unrepentant in their sins, *Anathema.*

To Arius, the prime champion of Satan, and originator of all the series of the heresies, *Anathema.*

To Peter Fullo, who raved and said, 'O holy Immortal, who wast crucified for us,' *Anathema.*

To Nestorius the reprobate, who made the Trinity to be passible, and to the impious Valentinus, *Anathema.*

To Paul of Samosata and Theodotion his accomplice and partisan, with the other later Nestorius, *Anathema.*

To Peter Deilaios or Lycopetrus, and Eutyches, and Sabellius, with their followers, *Anathema.*

To Jacobus the Armenian called Stanstalus, Dioscorus pope of Alexandria, and Severus, and Sergius; also to Paul and Pyrrhus their partisans, and Sergius the disciple of Lycopetrus, with their followers, *Anathema.*

To all the Eutychians, and Monothelites, and Jacobites and Artsibourians,[37] and Bogomili, *Anathema.*

To those who reject the utterances of the divine fathers made to establish the right doctrines of the Church of God, as of Athanasius, Cyril, Ambrose, Amphilochius, Leo the most holy archbishop of the elder Rome, and the rest, or who do not sincerely embrace in like manner the acts of the seven holy œcumenical and the nine local councils, and whatever else has been piously taught and held by the Church,[38] *Anathema.*

To all who put a false sense upon the divine sentences of the holy doctors of the Church of God, and attempt to wrest and misinterpret what has been clearly and emphatically said in them through the grace of the Holy Ghost,[39] *Anathema.*

To those who say that the ancient philosophers and early heresiarchs condemned by the councils and by all the orthodox

[37] For this and the six preceding anathemas see the Τριώδιον, p. 167, and the Slav. Synodicon in vol. vi. of *Drev. R. Bibl.* p. 500.

[38] Vol. i. p. 9 and 567; and see the Τριώδιον in vol. vi. of the *Drevn. Russ. Bibl.* p. 166; and Slav. Synodicon, p. 499.

[39] Vol. i. p. 9 and 168; and Τριώδιον, p. 165; and Slav. Synodicon, p. 499.

fathers, on account of their subtle and treacherous abuse of words, are as good or even better, both here and in respect of the future judgment, than the fathers of the Church, who, even though otherwise they might be pious and orthodox, yet in condemning them through human passion and ignorance acted intemperately,[40] *Anathema.*

To those who say that the divine incarnation and the grace of God are not necessary for our salvation, *Anathema.*

To those who study heathen writings not for a good purpose, but so as to embrace themselves, and either indirectly or even openly teach to others, heathenism and apostasy, *Anathema.*

To those who think it free to hold such opinions as the following: that souls are not immortal; or that there is a metempsychosis; that the soul may have preëxisted; that the resurrection will not be in the same body; that matter at least is coeternal with the demiurge; that the heavens and the earth will go on as they are now for ever; or that there will be a restoration (*ἀποκατάστασις*) of all things to the same state or conjunction from which all began; and that there is no eternity of punishments, *Anathema.*

To all the Franks, who interpolate the holy Creed with words unknown to the orthodox Greek fathers and councils, and who admit not all the seven holy œcumenical councils, but as some say, only the first four,[41] *Anathema.*

To the new heretics[42] who believe not in our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and in the immaculate Mother of God, and who revile all the seven councils and the holy fathers, as Cassian archimandrite of the Yourieff monastery at Great Novgorod, Ivashko Maximoff, Nekras Roukavoff, Volk Kouritsin, Mitia Konopleff, with their fellows and the teachers of their heresies in Russia, and to all their defenders and partisans, and all perverters of the orthodox Christian faith, *Anathema.*

[40] For this and the three next anathemas see *Τριῴδιον*, p. 164: *τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου κεφάλαιον ιά.* And compare the form now in use.

[41] See vol. i. p. 57, 662-665; and ii. p. 147, 412.

[42] *Drev. R. Bibl.* vol. vi. p. 431 and 500. This is the Judaising heresy introduced at Novgorod by Skaria, who came thither about A.D. 1471 from Kieff, and exposed and contended against by St. Joseph of Volokolamsk and by Gennadius abp. of Novgorod. The metropolitan Simon was deposed for it in 1491; but it continued to spread for ten years longer. In 1503 and 1505 some of its leaders, as Theodore and Volk Kouritsin, Cassian archimandrite of the Yourieff monastery at Novgorod, and Nekras Roukavoff, were burned alive at Moscow. See Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russ. Church*, p. 89-91.

To the new heretics, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Arminians, and the Socinians,[43] *Anathema.*

To all who make insurrection and rebellion against tsars or against civil governors, though the Lord commands saying: 'Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's;' and Peter: 'Fear God, honour the king;' and Paul: 'Render to all their dues, custom to whom custom is due, tribute to whom tribute, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour,[44] *Anathema.*

To all who worship the golden image, by giving to Cæsar the things that are God's, *Anathema.*

To bishops who, by command of civil rulers alone, and without the consent, or in spite of the refusal of their patriarch, elect and consecrate a metropolitan; and to him who is so consecrated, or who so obtains any see, or any authority over a church or churches, as Gregory Simblak, who (in A.D. 1414, and in A.D. 1416, Nov. 15) was uncanonically elected and ordained to the see of Kieff, and who detached nine other sees from their canonical connection with the rightful metropolitans of Kieff and all Russia, in compliance with the command of Vitoft grand prince of Lithuania,[45] *Anathema.*

To the new heretic the ex-monk and ex-deacon Grishka Otrepieff, who, pretending to be the tsarevich Dmitri Ivanovich, threw all the empire of Muscovy into confusion, and caused vast calamities, and many and long-continued feuds, and the shedding of much Christian blood,[46] *Anathema.*

To the traitor and robber Timoshka Akindynoff podiak of the *Novaia Chet*, who in A.M. 7152, breaking his oath to his sovereign the tsar Michael Theodorovich, fled to Lithuania, and thence to Turkey, and to different German states, and while living there called himself the prince John Shouisky, son of the tsar Basil Ivan. Shouisky, and formed many traitorous designs against the Muscovite empire,[47] *Anathema.*

To them that have not abided in all the things that are written in the book of God's law and in the sacred canons, to do them, and have died unrepentant in their sins,[48] *Anathema.*

[43] See vol. ii. p. 147.

[44] Matt. xxii. 21; 1 Pet. ii. 17; Rom. xiii. 7. For this anathema and the next see vol. i. p. 239, 255, 256, 559. And compare the form now in use.

[45] *Dict. of Russ. Eccl. Writers.* [46] *Drev. Russ. Bibl.* vol. vi. p. 501.

[47] Ib. p. 501. [48] For this and the two next anathemas see vol. i. p. 48, 49, 166; and vol. ii. p. 174, 412, 414, 419.

To them that have added anything or taken anything away, or have devised anything otherwise, by any vain subtlety whatever, according to the tradition of men and the elements of this world, and have died impenitent,[49] *Anathema.*

To them that have been ready to make or to receive new laws tending to licentiousness, not holding fast the truth, and have died impenitent,[50] *Anathema.*

To them that have done the work of God negligently, or hypocritically, or with a double mind, and have died impenitent,[51] *Anathema.*

To them that have not abided conscientiously in their own order and bounds, but have transgressed the constitutions, which are not ours but God's, and have died impenitent,[52] *Anathema.*

To them that have attempted to wrong the sacred order, or to usurp the cognisance of ecclesiastical causes and rights, or to bring before them a bishop or priest or deacon, or any person of the sacred or monastic order, or by robbery and violence to invade that which has been given to monasteries, and to take away from them aught of that which has been given to Christ, and have died impenitent,[53] *Anathema.*

To the new heretics the three monks [Capito, Dositheus, and Cornelieff?] who revile the form of the holy Creed sent to us by the late patriarch Paisius from Constantinople, and reject the synods held both at Constantinople and at Moscow in the years 1654, 1655, and 1656, and the correction of the church books made with the blessing of the patriarch and synod of Constantinople, and who, not having faith in the liturgy and the sacraments, make new heretical and schismatical societies of their own, and separate not only from the Russian but from the whole Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church,[54] *Anathema.*

To profane mockers, who, denying the grace and authority of the priesthood, openly make a jest of that blessing which Christ in ascending to heaven gave with uplifted hands to his holy apostles, and with which they also, imitating his gesture, bless all whom they have baptised, so long as they continue to be believing and obedient disciples, even to the end of the world;

[49] See vol. i. p. 9, 42, 150, 468, 603; ii. p. 412, 414, 419.
[50] See vol. i. p. 350. [51] Ib. p. 166. [52] Ib. p. 8, 303. [53] Ib. p. 377.
[54] See vol. iii. p. 50, 57; ii. p. 422, 428.

to all such, and in particular to the boyar Simeon Lucianovich Streshneff,[55] *Anathema.*

To those who deny that to the Christian priesthood there is given from God a separate and independent authority to teach and to govern the Church, and who say that its authority is either given altogether by the secular power, or at least is to be exercised only according to the directions of the secular power and the civil laws, and not according to the sacred canons and the rules of the holy fathers, confirmed even by the civil legislation of the former pious and orthodox Greek emperors and Russian grand princes, as so speaking against the Holy Ghost and seeking to subject the Spirit of God to the spirit of this world, *Anathema.*

To them that, before a bishop or metropolitan or patriarch has been accused before a competent synod of some crime, and canonically tried and found guilty, and deposed, withdraw from him, or omit his name from the customary prayers of the Church,[56] *Anathema.*

To him who takes the government of any church by secular power, or does any ecclesiastical act uncanonically through fear or influence of secular rulers, or ordains a bishop of himself alone, or by command of secular rulers, or invades any see or metropolitan province or patriarchate not belonging to him, either of himself or by command of secular rulers, or does any act uncanonically for a diocese not his own,[57] *Anathema.*

To Pitirim who, without the blessing of his spiritual father, has personated on Palm Sunday, in these three years past, the patriarch of all Russia and even Christ himself, so committing a spiritual adultery; who also, being a vicar-bishop, has withdrawn from his patriarch, and has omitted his name from the prayers uncanonically; who has also taken authority over churches not his own by command only of civil rulers; and has also ordained a clerk not his own to be bishop by the title of a place neither in his own diocese nor in the patriarchate of Moscow, and that without a synod, and by command only of the secular power and of the nobles; who has also by the same act invaded the province of the œcumenical chair of Constantinople, on which the metropolitan chair of Kieff now depends, and that too by command of the secular power alone, and after his spi-

[55] See vol. iii. p. 50, 56, 57, 398; and vol. i. p. 11, 16, 23.

[56] See vol. i. p. 62, 63, 110, 136, 506. [57] Ib. p. 110, 111, 165, 176, 502.

ritual father the patriarch of Moscow had repeatedly refused to violate the canons by doing the same or some like act; and has sent also, by order of the civil ruler, a bishop to usurp with the name of guardian the see of Kieff itself, the metropolitan of which, moreover, is still living, and as guardian not in the name of the patriarch to whom it is subject, but in the name of the same secular power by which he himself acts,[58] *Anathema.*

To all that has been done in the way of innovation, contrary to the ecclesiastical tradition and doctrine, and to the constitutions of the holy and laudable fathers, or that shall be done hereafter,[59] *Anathema.*

To all who have subjected themselves to anathema, or to degradation, or to deposition, or to suspension, or to excommunication, or to censure by the canons, it is, and let it be so, as the fathers have decreed, unless they repent: and all whom they have censured, or excommunicated, or suspended, or deposed, or degraded, we also censure, excommunicate, suspend, depose, or degrade likewise: and against all whom they have anathematised, we also, following their tradition and keeping to their commandment, pronounce that curse which not we, but the offenders by their own acts have brought upon themselves, and we say to them,[60] *Anathema.*

To all who love not the Lord Jesus Christ *and his cross* in sincerity,[61] *Anathema.*

Then, lastly, the Polychronion was sung first for '*our most religious, most autocratic hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich*,' &c. and his family; and then for '*our archbishop the great hospodin, the most holy Nicon patriarch*,' and '*all you orthodox* (living) *Christians*,' that the Lord God might preserve them for '*Many years.*'

After this the naloi was removed, and they went on with the celebration of the liturgy, and finished it in the usual manner.

Thus, in the only way in which he could—it being impossible for him to call or hold any free synod in Russia, or to carry his cause as against the tsar to any superior ecclesiastical tribunal out of Russia—Nicon replied to the tsar and to the tsar's

[58] See vol. i. p. 158, 176, 502, &c.; iii. p. 50, 56, 398, 399.

[59] Τριώδιον, p. 161; Slav. Synodicon in *Drev. Russ. Bibl.* vi. p. 427, 486.

[60] See vol. i. p. 8, 9, 48, 49, 150, 170, 378, 507. [61] Ib. p. 375.

pseudo-synod and its acts by anathematising not only Pitirim, as the instrument and representative of the civil supremacy then first formally set up, but also certain representatives of the superstitious and ignorant fanatics (the Starobratsi), against whom he had been equally contending, and the boyar Simeon Streshneff, uncle to the tsar, who represented the open profaneness of some of the boyars. And probably Nicon regarded this profaneness, and Streshneff himself personally, as having had a direct concurrent influence in causing both the original change of the tsar, and that last act of consecrating Methodius to be bishop of Orsha and '*guardian*' of the see of Kieff, which was one of the chief grounds for his anathema against Pitirim. Nicon himself, writing in July A.D. 1662, mentions only these three anathemas together, as if recent, and still complained of by his adversaries at Moscow. Paisius Ligarides writes as if there had been many more individuals anathematised by name. After observing that the tsar had made a great *mistake* in not following the resolution passed at one time by the synod, that Nicon was to be regarded as *degraded* from the priesthood from the first, and in not *forbidding* him to officiate (that is, *preventing* him from officiating) and '*giving him time to think of his own soul and to bewail his former errors*' (that is, shutting him up as a state prisoner), Paisius continues thus: But as it was—the emperor *allowing* him still to officiate—he began openly to excommunicate and to anathematise individuals by name; and in particular, on the first Sunday in Lent, called the Sunday of Orthodoxy, even *bishops*; especially Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutits; and *all the rest* that he knew to be *his opponents and antagonists*; making of his newly-founded monastery *a complete patriarchal residence*, where he did, while he worked [at its erection], whatever he pleased.'[62] Such language from a rhetorical writer like Paisius may be quite sufficiently accounted for, if we only consider the *indirect* bearing of the form itself of the *Synodicon* as used by Nicon on the first Sunday in Lent in A.D. 1662, without supposing that there were any other personal anathemas than those which he has mentioned himself, and which he has so mentioned as to imply that there were no others.[63]

That Nicon made of his monastery of Voskresensk a patriarchal residence, and did there patriarchal acts, as objected

[62] Vol. iii. p. 48, 50. [63] Ib. p. 56, 57.

against him by Paisius, was true enough. And Nicon himself a year or more later, in answer to the taunt that he was living like a misanthrope in an unpeopled solitude, wrote of Voskresensk: 'It is *not* unpeopled; it has more than Moscow has: it has the patriarchate. For there is now at Moscow nothing. But the tsar's majesty, contrary to the divine canons, has appropriated everything to himself; and the holy great church (*i.e.* the canonical chair of the patriarch or primate) *has now no lot in Moscow*, such as she formerly had in the time of former tsars and grand princes' (vol. i. p. 94).

What Nicon did on this occasion he has himself well and eloquently described, writing a year or more later, though not thinking of himself, or of this particular act at the time; still less perhaps anticipating what a parallel there was to be between the punishment of the individual king Uzziah and that of the sin of the tsar Alexis, if considered not only in him personally, but in its historical developments and consequences to the monarchy, the nobility, and the clergy of Russia.

'The king Uzziah entered into the temple,' in disobedience to the priest, 'to burn incense,' saying, I am righteous. Thou art righteous, may be; but keep within thine own prescribed bounds. The prescribed bounds of empire are such and such; the prescribed bounds of the priesthood are different: and this latter is a greater thing than the former. Whether the tsar in *other* respects obeys the law of God, I know not: I hope he does: but though he be tsar, let him keep within his own bounds. 'And Azariah the priest went in after him.' And was it without ground that I said that the priest is greater than the king? For he sought not to expel him with respect, as a king, but as some vile outcast and thankless slave. So he went in to him angrily; even as some faithful dog might run in to a foul wild beast, to drive it out of his master's house (2 Paralip. xxvi. 17, &c.). Seest thou how the soul of the priest was filled with great courage and lofty wisdom? He looked not to the majesty of the ruler; he thought not how hard it is to restrain a soul drunk with its own passion; he listened not to Solomon saying, 'The wrath of a king is like the roaring of a lion:' but he looked to the true king, the King of heaven; and thinking of that judgment-seat and recompense which is to come, and strengthening himself with such thoughts, he so hastened in to

the persecutor. He knew well—yes, he knew, that is clear—that the wrath of a king is like the roaring of a lion, the very fancy of which to a man keeping his fields by night is terrible. But against him who is prepared rather to die within the sanctuary than to suffer without resistance the sacred commandments to be infringed, this lion is more contemptible even than the smallest dog. Nothing, in fact, is more powerless than the man who attacks the laws of God; as, on the other hand, nothing is stronger than the man who contends for the same laws. For he who commits sin is the *slave* of sin, though he have a thousand crowns on his head; but he who does what is just is more of an emperor than the emperor himself, even though he be the last of all. All these thoughts of true wisdom were present to that good and noble high-priest when he entered into the temple. Let us too, if any one has a mind, go in with him, that we may see what he will say to the king, and what will follow. And it will not be at all unedifying for us to witness the administration of a reproof from the priest to the king.

What was it then that the priest said? 'It appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, who are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast trespassed; neither shall this be for thine honour from the Lord God.' He addresses him not by the name of king, nor by any other title of authority, because he had already by anticipation stripped himself of honour. 'Then Uzziah was wroth; and he had a censer in his hand to burn incense.'

But what then did God, seeing that the priest was outraged, and *the word of the priest was trampled under foot*, and the priest himself *could do nothing farther?* For the priest's part is to rebuke only, and to show courage; not to lift a weapon, or to grasp a shield, nor to brandish a spear, nor to bend a bow, nor shoot an arrow, but only to rebuke, and to show courage. And since the priest *had now rebuked the king*, but the king *did not submit himself*, but lifted up his arms, his shields and spears, *and took what liberty he would by his power*, the priest said: 'I *have done my part; I can do nothing farther;* do thou, O God, defend the priesthood which is trampled under foot, thy laws which are outraged, thy ordinances which are transgressed.'

And what did God? He brought out visibly a *leprosy* on

the king's forehead. 'While he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy rose up on his forehead, in the sight of the priests in the house of the Lord, as he stood with the censer in his hand beside the altar of incense.' Seest thou the forbearance of God, and the significativeness of the punishment? He hurled no thunderbolt; he caused no earthquake; he darkened not the heavens; the earth did not open, as when it swallowed up Dathan and Abiram; nor did fire come down from the Lord, as that which consumed Korah with his company. God could have inflicted some such punishment if he had pleased, but he did not. But what did he? He brought out a *leprosy*, not on any other part, but on the forehead, that the forehead of irreverence and disobedience should bear the mark of its own punishment, even as the letters of an inscription are engraven on a column. Uzziah went forth from the temple marked to be an example for all men. The sanctuary was cleansed, and he was driven out, without any of his servants or men-at-arms deserting him. And while he sought to take the priesthood, he lost even that which was properly his own (vol. i. p. 131-133).

What spiritual *leprosy* has come out since the tsar Alexis entered into the temple, and, instead of being corrected by reproof, was wroth with the high-priest, and 'took what liberty he would by his power,' upon the forehead of the Russian monarchy and nobility and clergy, in the sight of all the world, we shall see in due time. But for the present let us return to follow the historical course of events.

When that which Nicon had done was reported at Moscow, it naturally was felt, though in different ways, by all; and according to the superstitious temper of that age, it caused some questioning and misgiving, even in minds which were not afraid to sin, nor inclined to repent. The tsar himself, with a strange double-mindedness, felt or feigned a wish to be satisfied whether the curse pronounced by Nicon against Pitirim—that pronounced equally and at the same time against the boyar Streshneff, and against the three teachers of the starobratsi, being unnoticed in the tsar's question—was of any effect against him, or not.

At that time there was at Moscow that bishop of Polotsk, Callistus, whom we have had before us already, first as consecrated bishop by Nicon, and swearing canonical obedience, in

spite of any influence 'of the boyars, or of the tsar himself,' to him and to him only, and then afterwards taking and receiving from the tsar, in spite of the patriarch, spiritual jurisdiction over the Theophany monastery at Polotsk, and conferring ordination and spiritual appointments 'by oukaz of the tsar and by authority of the Holy Ghost.' This man was known to the tsar as one of the most accomplished bishops of his time: so he was charged to compose an *Opinion* respecting the anathema which Nicon had pronounced against Pitirim, and which indirectly touched Callistus himself. The bishop of Polotsk performed the task set him, and in such a style as might have been expected.

Opinion of Callistus bishop of Polotsk.

To Alexis, &c. autocrat of Great, Little, and White Russia, and of the grand principality of Lithuania, and many other kingdoms and principalities and lands east and west, south and north, &c. Most autocratic hossoudar!

The Church has well been compared to the ark of Noah. It is the ark, the ship, built by Christ the true Noah for our *rest* and salvation, while the waters brought on by sin drown all the rest of the world. Out of that ark there is no safety for man or beast. In it were all the beasts and birds, fierce and tame; and all were at peace, when they had found that Noah who is peace and *rest*. In the Church, too, there are both people and many beasts, by [the diversity of] their manners; and the true *rest* or Noah, that is Christ, of whom Isaiah foretold, saying: 'In his days the wolf shall lie down with the lamb,' &c.: 'They shall not hurt nor destroy any in the holy mountain,' which is the ship of the Church, in which is Noah. But *we*, alas, have *not rest;* for the peace of Christ is disturbed, and is uprooted from our hearts. There is the maker of peace, but peace itself there is not. Not in the world only, but among them that are sent to give peace is this so. But how can they preach to all peace, and how shall peace be in an unpeaceful world, when in the givers of peace themselves there is not the love of peace? For if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness? Without peace it is plain that there cannot be *rest*, nor consequently salvation. For the peace and rest of charity it is which brings salvation. But of kingdoms which are not at peace

within themselves, the Truth has said: 'Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall fall.' Something like this may be said also of the ship of the Church, in which if the leaders are divided against themselves, how can it escape being brought to desolation; as it was once with very great loss in the time of the divisions of the early heresies and schisms, and as it has not even yet ceased to be? though Christ our Lord has promised that even the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, though the waves of the sea of this world buffet her; against which waves she could scarcely bear up without being engulfed, had we not as an anchor of our vessel thy imperial majesty, strenghtening and supporting us in every tempestuous assault by providing every aid which is needful. For so that zeal for the house of the Lord which has even devoured thee (as holy David says of himself), has at this present time stirred up thy most illustrious majesty to put down the newly grown murmuring to still the tumult of discord, and to tame the fierce waves of agitation produced by the anathema of the most holy Nicon, aforetime patriarch of Moscow, which he has uttered against the most reverend Pitirim metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk. Respecting this anathema, the unworthiness of me thy humble beadsman has been commanded by thy imperial majesty to give counsel, whether it be indeed an effectual curse or not. So I, as the Holy Spirit may enable me, wishing to satisfy thy command, having considered the matter, and having had recourse to the sacred canons, give my opinion that this curse is powerless and null. For of three reasons alleged for it by the most holy Nicon himself, not any one is sufficient to justify a curse. For, first, as to the ceremony of Palm Sunday, if it is nowhere commanded, it is certainly nowhere forbidden by any of the holy fathers: and so it is not forbidden not only for a metropolitan, but even for any common priest to do it. Also I will ask the most holy Nicon what is the canon which allows the most reverend Macarius metropolitan of Novgorod to perform that ceremony of Palm Sunday, but forbids the most reverend metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk to do the same? Perhaps only a little ill-will? The second charge was, that he consecrated the religious Methodius bishop of Mstislaff. But this was no ecclesiastical crime, nor reason for a curse. For the most reverend Pitirim, being vicar

of the vacant patriarchal chair, *by the unanimous election and advice of all the bishops of Great, Little, and White Russia*, canonically and rightfully consecrated the said religious Methodius, according to canon i. of the Apostles, which directs that 'a bishop is to be consecrated by two or three bishops;' and according to canon iv. of the First Œcumenical Council, which says that 'a bishop is to be chosen by all the bishops of the province, or, if not, at the least by three, the rest giving their consent by letters; and the confirmation is to be with the metropolitan.' According to these holy canons the consecration now in question was blameless. But if any one say that canon xxxiv. of the Apostles forbids the bishops to do anything without their primate (and the same is re-enacted by canon ix. of the local synod of Antioch, where the gloss adds distinctly that without the consent of the primate no bishop is to be elected or consecrated), it is easy to reply that if the most holy Nicon had never abandoned the patriarchal chair *with an oath not to return to it*, and if he had not been *synodically deprived* of it, these canons would have been to the purpose. But now that there has been an abdication and [a deprivation], he is not the primate over the bishops, nor patriarch of Moscow, but only a bishop without a chair and without a diocese: and so what is done without his consent is not on that account invalid. The third cause alleged consists in certain words of insult and reproach, which, if they were uttered, might have been ground for a charge before judges lawfully constituted, after proper examination. But a bishop is not to be judged by one other bishop alone, nor even by two, but by the whole synod; or, if that cannot be, by at least twelve bishops, acc. to canon xii. of the synod of Carthage, &c. And I suppose that this is enacted not only for cases where the punishment is absolute deposition, *as the gloss has it*, but also for cases where the punishment might be censure or curse, especially when the patriarchal chair was vacant. A like canon there is of the synod held in C.P. about Agapius and Gavadius, who were contending for the see of Bostra. It runs thus: 'Henceforth a bishop accused of any crime is not to be deposed either by two or by three, but by the judgment of a numerous synod presided over by the metropolitan, as the Apostolical canons require.' And what is here said of deposition holds likewise of censure in my opinion: for the crime must needs be judged first, and then afterwards its due punishment assigned,

whether of censure or of deposition, by those numerous judges. And so it is clear that on every charge a bishop is to be judged by a synod. Wherefore it was not competent for the most holy Nicon alone to inflict a penalty for an insult offered to himself, or to make himself alone, contrary to the canons of the holy fathers, judge and punisher of another bishop. No man ought to be his own avenger; but rather he ought to have demanded from a synod a judgment respecting the insult offered to him. And so no one of the three charges brought against the most reverend metropolitan Pitirim seems to me to justify the curse laid upon him by the most holy Nicon, late patriarch of Moscow. Also there is good ground for saying that his curse does not really take effect, but is null, even though the charges alleged against the metropolitan Pitirim were sufficient in themselves to justify it; because after his abdication and abandonment of his chair made in the cathedral, and *after his synodical deposition*, the most holy Nicon, being no longer patriarch, cannot inflict punishments: not being at the helm he cannot direct or govern. This harvest is not for him, so his sickle cannot come into it. Once for all, of his own arbitrary will, *he abandoned* his see, and *was abandoned* by us. Therefore now let him not look back. For no one who has once put his hand to the plough and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God.[61] Rather he will do well to remember how Lot's wife, looking back, became a pillar of salt. When he separated himself from his Russian flock, he separated also his chair from himself *with a vehement curse;* and therefore he has nothing to do with its administration; but rather he is improperly seeking to interfere in a province which belongs to others. We know how the manna and the rod were laid up together in the ark of the Old Testament; and consequently in the ark of the Church also he who gives the manna to the flock receives also the pastoral staff of government and correction. Therefore, since the most holy Nicon would not feed the flock of all Russia, neither can he govern or punish any, however much they may deserve punishment. And if he be no longer our pastor, as in fact he is not, we are no longer bound to listen to his voice. Though he cried out with a curse against the most reverend Pitirim the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, his voice is not

[61] So this precious application of the text to the plough of penitence was not first, nor perhaps at all, *devised* by the two Eastern patriarchs in 1666.

to be recognised [by us], as being the voice of one who is not the shepherd. Therefore also, though it be disregarded, it is quite innocuous. It has just the same effect in my opinion as waves or arrows which strike upon a rock and hurt it not; or as a shadow that passes rapidly over the ground, and, being as nothing, damages nothing; or, again, as smoke carried by the wind, which is speedily dispersed; or, again, as live coals cast into the water, which are at once quenched. Not to say that such fire, like the fire of the Babylonian furnace, cools them that are innocent; or, lastly, with the author of the Proverbs, that 'as birds and swallows fly about, so the curse which is vain touches nobody.' (Prov. xxvi. 2.) And this present curse is vain, since it has no solid grounds, as has been shown. Therefore it is innocuous and powerless, and in my opinion as nothing. This is my opinion and judgment respecting the said curse; in which, if I have shown any ignorance, I hope my poor capacity may meet with indulgence. I humbly fall at the feet of thy imperial majesty, without gainsaying at all, as being the lowest of bishops, the consent of higher intelligences. Callistus bishop of Polotsk and Vitepsk.

'But,' writes Michaelofsky, 'this opinion of Callistus, that Nicon's anathema of Pitirim was powerless, did not suffice to calm the minds of those men—Streshneff and the other boyars, and the leaders of the raskolniks, as well as Pitirim and his fellows among the bishops and clergy—who were now enraged against the patriarch. Feeling in the depths of their consciences the blow dealt to them by Nicon, and cut to the quick, his enemies began to spread abroad against him before the tsar and the people new calumnies, each blacker and more frightful than the last, so as to make of him a monster frightful and odious to the ignorant and superstitious people both of his own and of future generations. It is painful to have to listen to the outcries of passions approaching near to the ravings of insanity.'

Nicon, as we already know, at the suggestion of the tsar, had named one, and that the last founded, of his three monasteries *New Jerusalem*. What, think you, was to be got out of this name but a constant incitement to Christian faith and piety? Nothing of the sort. Nicon's enemies found in it an occasion for calumniating him. He was now living in retirement in this his New Jerusalem. *He* pretended alone, with his clerks and

people, to condemn *them* (that is, to condemn the whole Church and state of Russia which they governed, and which they identified with themselves) by the authority of the œcumenical canons. He had just solemnly anathematised by name their instrument Pitirim; and indirectly, as he himself has only too forcibly shown, themselves, and the whole synagogue of their aiders and abettors; that is, as it seemed, the whole Russian Church and empire (and before his controversy was brought to an end it was to be the whole 'Orthodox Catholic or œcumenical Eastern Church'). There is then, they said in their hearts, no choice. Nicon condemns us all as apostates, and speaks himself as with the voice of the Church, and in the person of Christ. Either he is right, and we ought to repent, or he is himself the apostate. And it is better that one man should be condemned and perish, rather than the whole people. His invisible Church, then, of the canons, and his New Jerusalem, is opposed to the Church of the tsar and the council and of the bishops, that is, to the great visible Church of all Russia. So his enemies first began to say that Nicon, since he was no longer patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and did not even himself continue so to style himself, and yet called himself patriarch, was patriarch only of his own New Jerusalem, in which he was living. Then they went on to give out that he did actually so consider himself to be, and even so styled himself in the sense of condemning and excommunicating all the rest of the world. Thus, they said, we have now among us a *New* Jerusalem or Church—one pretending to represent more truly the abstract Church, which is the true New Jerusalem, than does our visible Church. But this assertion is schismatical and heretical. In *such* a *New* Jerusalem we are not to seek for Christ, but rather for Antichrist. The raskolniks or starobratsi took up from the partisans and slaves of state supremacy this sneer in a very different and more serious tone, proclaiming and insisting that Nicon was actually himself Antichrist; and the saying has become a fixed tradition among them even to this day. Only, since it was he who corrected the church books, the national Russian Church, and the Greek Church too of the Eastern patriarchs, is said by them to have followed Nicon first to their own destruction before they turned against him; and before the tsar and the civil rulers, being themselves all disciples of Nicon, set up their own satanical and

antichristian state supremacy in religion. So the state witnesses against the *raskol*, and in favour of Nicon, and the *raskol* also witnesses in favour of Nicon against the state. However, Nicon's written proofs that the character of Antichrist and his precursors belongs not to himself, but to that beginning of *apostasy* which in Russia was represented by his adversaries and oppressors, have hitherto remained among them *unattended to*, till the time should be come for the same apostasy in its ultimate developments to bear witness against itself; while the clamour made by the raskolniks against Nicon, as if he were personally Antichrist, has drawn off attention from that really antichristian tyranny against which the raskolniks themselves, no less than Nicon (though unhappily not in the cause of truth), contended: for they contended against it in the name of a narrow-minded private judgment; whereas Nicon contended against it in defence of the œcumenical canons, and in the name of a not national but œcumenical Church of Christ.

If Nicon had only looked forward to a future life, and in this faith and hope had founded and named a church and monastery from Christ's Resurrection (*Voskresensk*), this would have excited no special attention among the children of this world; not even though they were persecuting or killing the servants of God—the spiritual *Smyrnæans*—to whom He who was slain and is alive again, and liveth for evermore, promises the *resurrection* (*voskresenie*). Nor if he had made an exact copy of the church at Nazareth or of that at Bethlehem (of which last he did actually procure a model, still preserved), and had called it New Nazareth or New Bethlehem, would such a name have drawn upon him any storm of spite and calumny. Nor would it have been otherwise with the name of the New Jerusalem, had that name merely suggested the idea either of an imitation of some material building, or of the expectation of that city of God which is to be inhabited by the saints after the resurrection; not even though he lived in days when, through the abounding of iniquity, the love of many or of most had waxed cold, and though he was himself persecuted for that persevering love of the brethren—the characteristic of the spiritual *Philadelphians*—to which Christ promises the *New Jerusalem* (*Novi Jerusalim*), which descends from heaven. Such ideas and such symbols of faith and hope are as nothing to proud and vicious

men, who, as brute beasts without understanding, speak evil of the things that they know not.

What, then, was it which caused the very name of New Jerusalem—given, too, originally by the tsar—to be made into a serious accusation against Nicon? It seems at first sight too slight an occasion; and a spitefulness so irrational, and even childish, seems incredible. Yet so it was. This was actually urged against Nicon by the boyars of the council. In this they joined with the superstitious raskolniks, or preceded them, in giving out that he who lived in a false New Jerusalem should be a precursor of Antichrist, or even Antichrist himself. The giving of this name figures among their accusations sent in A.D. 1663 from the tsar and the council to the Eastern patriarchs: and when eventually, in A.D. 1666, Nicon was condemned, that 'all but œcumenical synod' which degraded him became the organ of the same deep-rooted spite of the council of the boyars and their adherents. The explanation is this: Nicon was not merely a builder and decorator of churches and of monasteries; nor merely a Christian persecuted for righteousness' sake, hoping for the resurrection and the New Jerusalem; but he represented in Russia, and he strove to vindicate, a visible kingdom of God, distinct from the secular kingdom of this world, identical in essence (though not in its accidents) with the New Jerusalem which is above, which is the mother of all the elect; which is *free* not only from the bondage of legal ceremonies, but also from the tyranny of tsars and boyars; which rebukes pride and violence, and immorality and covetousness, in all alike, kings and nobles as well as subjects, and torments them by its testimony. So when all Russia seemed to be obedient to the tsar and the council, and the bishops and clergy either shared their malice or were passive and silent, the sight of an individual, and that individual the primate, openly rebuking them all, asserting the law of the divine Scripture and the canons against their Code and oukazes and pseudo-synod, observing them and causing them to be observed in his own monastery, and by his own clerks and dependents, excommunicating and anathematising their instrument Pitirim by name, and so indirectly the whole government of Russia, civil and ecclesiastical,—this was calculated to excite their utmost malice. Nicon's church and monastery of Voskresensk was a visible material condemnation of their

Church or synagogue, and Nicon himself of themselves. If the Church, such as Nicon maintained it, was the true Church or New Jerusalem, theirs was Babylon; if Nicon represented Christ the true Shepherd, they and their instruments represented Antichrist or Belial. They said within themselves, the boyars and the clergy together: Let us burst his bonds asunder, and cast away his cords from us. The Church is an abstraction; all things go on as from the first; there is no appearance of any judgments from heaven, that we should be afraid; we have all the world on our side, and the spirit of the age; and we can give the names of Christ and of the Church to our own legislation and institution, as well as they who would keep them fixed to their own ideas. Who is he, this mujik, that he should rebuke and threaten us in the name of a kingdom and of a Church which does not exist, or which, if it exists, exists only at Voskresensk?

CHAPTER VI.

SUITS OF IVAN SITIN AND ROMAN BABARIKIN: PAISIUS LIGARIDES SENT AS COMMISSIONER FROM THE TSAR TO NICON: COMING OUT OF THE FIRST SCAB OF LEPROSY ON THE FOREHEAD OF THE RUSSIAN UZZIAH.

§ i. At the point at which we have now arrived, the establishment of the supremacy of the state over the Church may be regarded as complete, though it was still to be reasserted and confirmed both by fresh Russian acts and synods in A.D. 1663, 1664, and 1666, and by a mixed Greek and Russian synod in A.D. 1666 and 1667, and by the acceptance and adherence, direct or indirect, of all the Eastern patriarchs and bishops, and to be developed later in practice to its ultimate consequences. Practically the tsar in council acted as if he were supreme from the very day on which Nicon left his chair (July 10th, 1658). But the tsar's personal conduct was inconsistent; and he might at any time reverse it altogether. It was only after the acts of that synod of the clergy which sat from February to September in A.D. 1660, that the new principle was so established by joint legislation of the crown, the council of state, and the clergy, that there was no longer any probability of its being overthrown. Nicon too—after his withdrawal from Moscow had not only failed to recall the tsar to his duty, but had led to the establishment of that as a principle which before had been only an abuse—had done on the first Sunday in Lent, A.D. 1662, February 16th, that last act which, after the decrees of the pseudo-synod of A.D. 1660, alone still remained for him to do; and thenceforth he could only watch the action of divine Providence, and ask, 'What now will Almighty God do to vindicate his own cause?'

Nicon lived long enough to see many judgments, which he could not but regard as punishments, fall upon the tsar Alexis, and upon individuals, both of the nobility and of the clergy, who had been partakers with the tsar in his sin. Some of these we shall have occasion to notice hereafter. But in great and com-

plex historical changes and developments, a certain distance is necessary to enable one to see the full import of particular acts, and the connections of causes with consequences, and of merit or sin with its reward or punishment. And perhaps it is only now, after two centuries, after the *History of the Condemnation of Nicon*, dedicated to the tsar Alexis by Paisius Ligarides, has been brought to light, and that the immorality of that wretched man has been pilloried by himself, that one can see how close has been the analogy between the punishment of the sin committed in the Russian Church and that of the sin committed by the Jewish king Uzziah. There have been other punishments also in Russia of individuals, other punishments of the reigning family, of the monarchy itself, and of those orders of the nobility and the clergy which were parties to the sin: but the most striking punishment of all has been something analogous to the *leprosy* of Uzziah.

'*Immediately*,' it is written, while he yet stood in the temple beside the altar of incense, wroth with the priest for his rebukes, and holding the censer of incense in his hand, there came out a scab of leprosy on his forehead. On the forehead, on the brow of pride and power and irreverence, of the invader of the sanctuary, of the earthly god, there came out first one scab of unutterable shame and humiliation, then another, then a third, spreading each time more widely—loathsome, shocking, repulsive, not only to the holy priest who saw it, but even to profane men of the world, and to himself; and to himself so much the more in whatever degree he was not entirely bad or irreligious. So it was in Russia. *Immediately!* Scarcely had Nicon repeated (on the 16th of February A.D. 1662) against those who had sinned the anathemas of the Seventh Œcumenical Council, when (after only two months, on the 28th of April in the same spring) there came to Moscow of his own will, sent by nobody, accredited by nobody, with no other purpose than that of seeking money, a wretched foreigner, a Greek by birth, who, if he believed anything, was a Latin in his intellectual belief, an exalumnus of the Roman Propaganda, ordained at Rome deacon and priest, and afterwards tonsured and reordained and made metropolitan of Gaza in Palestine by the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem Paisius, but presently (in A.D. 1660) excommunicated and degraded by the successor of that same patriarch Nectarius.

This man, when he had been degraded by his Greek patriarch, after living some time in Poland, and saying mass in the churches (which is horrible to think of) as a Catholic priest,—having still, it may be, in his possession a letter of invitation written to him in A.D. 1657 by Nicon, who had heard of him as a learned man living in Moldavia and wishing to go to Russia; and having besides his original letters of orders given by the former patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisius, and *possibly* also a letter of recommendation to the tsar written by that same patriarch in A.D. 1657, but with no canonical letters dimissory of recent date,—presented himself at the frontier at Poutivl, and was passed on thence by the voivode, after he had written for instructions, to Moscow, where he offered his services first to the boyar Simeon Lucian. Streshneff (president of the prikaz for Lithuania, and uncle to the tsar), who just before had been excommunicated and anathematised by Nicon, and through him to the council of state, and to the tsar himself. And they received him at once as an angel from heaven, and made him their adviser and agent, and conductor of their cause against the patriarch, against whom they seemed to themselves to have as yet done nothing effectual, so long as they were unable to obtain his complete degradation from the priesthood.

Nicon, when he first heard of the arrival of Paisius Ligarides, knew nothing more about him than he had known in A.D. 1657; and so, hoping that he might be an honest man and a good Christian, he wrote to him as if on the basis of his own former letter of invitation, stating his own case, and bespeaking his good offices for a pacification. But it was not long before he discovered his mistake both from Paisius' answer, written to him on the 12th of July A.D. 1662 by command of the tsar, and also through information which reached him from other sources. And then he wrote to the tsar, warning him of the impropriety (an impropriety incurring excommunication by the canons), as well as of the danger of receiving and communicating with such an unaccredited stranger.

To this warning the tsar and the council paid no attention; but they both received Paisius themselves, and caused him to be received by the Russian bishops and clergy; though probably neither they nor Nicon as yet had any idea of that abyss of pollution and infamy into which they were plunging, and in which after-

wards they were to engulf themselves over and over again, still deeper and deeper, with less and less of ignorance to excuse them.

How Ligarides, before Aug. 15 in A.D. 1662, had drawn up for Simeon Streshneff Answers to thirty Questions, suggested probably by himself, about the *innovations* of the patriarch Nicon, showing him on very many points to have incurred excommunication and degradation by the canons, and to be not only a lawless innovator in church matters, but also a disturber of the peace of the empire, and an adversary of the tsar's authority; how he was after that, on a certain day in Lent A.D. 1663, introduced by the same boyar Streshneff to the council and to the tsar, and was consulted by them; how he advised that leading questions should be drawn up in Greek by himself and sent secretly with alms to the Eastern patriarchs, in order to obtain from them an oblique condemnation of Nicon; how he wrote a letter to the tsar on the 7th of June A.D. 1663 to hasten the tsar's decision; and how eventually twenty-five questions were drawn up and sent in the autumn of that year by another Greek recommended for the purpose by Ligarides;—has all been related at full by Ligarides himself in his *History*, and may be seen in our vol. iii. And Nicon's Replies or Objections, written before the autumn of A.D. 1663, both against the *Questions* of the boyar Streshneff and also against the *Answers* of Paisius Ligarides, and embodying the patriarch's statement of his own case, have likewise been printed at full in our vol. i. But in all this Paisius Ligarides appears as yet only in the character of an unofficial partisan and agent.

In order to understand clearly under what circumstances and in what character (viz. as joint commissioner with certain others sent by the tsar, the synod of the clergy, and the council of the boyars) Paisius Ligarides first came into the presence of Nicon, we must revert to the general state in which matters stood when he came to Moscow.

After that personal favour of the sovereign and that title of Great Hossoudar by which Nicon, in the six years of his actual patriarchate, had eclipsed all the nobility, and after that uncompromising impartiality with which he had rebuked injustice —all which was now at an end—the two things which had most provoked the hostility of the boyars were, *first*, Nicon's opposition to the Code, and to the jurisdiction given by it to the secular

prikazes, and especially to the monastirski prikaz, over the clergy and their estates and peasants; and *secondly*, his having obtained licenses from the tsar to found three great monasteries, and to endow them with extensive properties in land, partly granted by the tsar, partly purchased by himself, against the spirit of their legislation. And when attempts to shut him up as a state prisoner or to poison him had failed, and the tsar would neither deprive him of his three monasteries, nor consent as yet to his being treated as a criminal, and degraded absolutely from the priesthood, even when that had been voted by the synod of A.D. 1660, though he made that synod to declare the chair vacant, and to recommend the election of a new patriarch as both lawful and necessary, a certain position—very different, no doubt, from that of a small temporal *sovereignty*, but still a position not of absolute servitude or seclusion—was left to Nicon through the possession of his three monasteries, with their clergy, their estates, and their peasants; and from this position Nicon still continued to disallow the Code, and to decline the jurisdiction of the monastirski prikaz and the other secular prikazes of the tsar. And the boyars of the council themselves were unwilling to act upon that basis on which the tsar was ready to concur with them—that is, upon the synodal resolution of Aug. A.D. 1660—for the election of a new patriarch; considering that so long as Nicon was not absolutely degraded and rendered incapable of doing episcopal acts, it would be dangerous to have at once two patriarchs, who might even agree together to maintain the rights of the Church and the interests of their own order with the tsar; and, besides, the character of the tsar afforded no security that Nicon might not at some future time recover his former favour and influence.

Under such circumstances it was natural that the boyars through the prikazes, which were in their own hands, should prosecute their hostilities against Nicon by attacking his monasteries in their properties and rights and immunities, and by seeking to force, if not Nicon himself personally, yet at least his clerks and monks, and their peasants, to acknowledge their jurisdiction as established by the Code. It was natural too that individual proprietors of lands bordering upon those of Nicon's monasteries should, either at the instigation of others or of their own cupidity or malice, directly, or indirectly through their

agents and peasants, make aggressions, and when these were resisted, institute in the prikazes suits in which they knew beforehand that there would be no defence nor counter-suit, as if they or their peasants had been wronged by the authorities or peasants of Nicon's monasteries, or by the patriarch himself. In every case they would have the advantage, and would be sure of a certain favour in the prikazes, even if the parties sued by them were to plead; but much more when the jurisdiction of the prikazes was declined, and the judges, and even the authority of the tsar himself, were treated with disrespect and contumacy.

The reader will perhaps be better able to understand those documents connected with two particular suits which are now about to be given, if he has first placed before him the skeleton of an abstract case, exhibiting only the method of procedure.

Let us suppose then, 1. That the peasants of the proprietor B encroach on lands belonging to Nicon's monastery of V. 2. The peasants of V expel the intruders, and perhaps thrash some of them. 3. B gives in to some prikaz—say to the chelobitni prikaz, or prikaz of petitions—a petition, or, in other words, he institutes a suit before the tsar in this his prikaz, for recovery and redress; a suit partly civil, partly criminal; for he seeks not only to recover land of his own, which, as he alleges, has been taken or encroached upon, but also to have the peasants of V *punished* for acts of lawless violence charged against them. 4. This suit is sent from the chelobitni to the monastirski prikaz; and 5. Notice of it is served upon the authorities of the monastery of V, to enable them to apply for a copy of it, and to make answer against its allegations, or to institute a counter-suit in the same prikaz. 6. Nicon forbids the authorities of his monastery to take any step implying a recognition of the jurisdiction of the tsar's prikazes over themselves or their peasants. 7. There being no defence made within a certain time, the monastirski prikaz gives judgment summarily for the plaintiff B as to the land, going only on his petition; and it sends commissioners of its own to make inquest on the spot, according to the petition of the same plaintiff, as to the acts of violence and outrage alleged; and they examine whom they please—clerks, monks, and peasants—in the tsar's name. 8. Nicon, on this, writes a memorial complaining of the wrong done to his monastery and to himself by B and by the monastirski prikaz; and he causes,

perhaps, the authorities of his monastery also to write a similar petition to be joined with his own. But these petitions are not made to the tsar through any prikaz; they are presented to him personally, by his confessor, it may be, or by some other person having access to him, and willing thus far to oblige Nicon; or they may be sent and delivered by Nicon's own messenger, as the archimandrite, or some of the elders of his monastery of V.

9. The tsar calls for the papers relating to the suit of B against the authorities of the monastery of V from the monastirski prikaz, and they are brought to him. 10. The president of the prikaz, or the diak who brings them, explains to the tsar that even if any injustice has really been done, the authorities of the monastery V and the late-patriarch Nicon have only themselves to blame for it, since they have neglected to plead in their own defence, or to institute any counter-suit; but, in truth, they *decline the jurisdiction of the prikaz*, and are rebellious against the Code, which is the law of the whole empire, and show disrespect, not only to the tsar's judges in his prikazes, but also to the tsar himself.

11. Here, no doubt, if the tsar were quite consistent, and determined to act throughout in accordance with his own legislation, and with the advice of the council of state and of the boyars, and if there were only before him the petition of any ordinary monastery, he would reply, that if they neglected to plead they must take the consequences: if they had done all that they could, and had failed to obtain justice, in that case he might have attended to their appeal: and so the petition would be refused.

12. But the case is not so simple; *first*, because this monastery of V is the patriarch's own monastery, and its estates are estates granted to him by the tsar, or acquired by him with the tsar's license, personally. And though by the Code all the other clergy, even 'bishops and archbishops and metropolitans,' are expressly subjected to the jurisdiction of the tsar's prikazes, the *patriarch*, with his property and his clerks and monks and people and peasants, is not mentioned with the rest; nay, he is distinctly excepted; and all his clerks and monks and people are to be judged only in his own court or prikaz, 'because such has always been the custom in times past.' So the only ground to be taken in this present case will be to represent to the tsar that

Nicon is now *no longer patriarch*, and that the tsar himself has ordered the monastirski prikaz to assume jurisdiction in other cases also in which, if there had been a patriarch still sitting in the chair, it would have had no competency. But *secondly*, and apart from the exceptional rights and exemption of the patriarch, there was nothing contrary to precedent nor unusual in the tsar, out of mere grace and favour to any applicant, taking cognisance of any cause that he pleased, either *ab initio*, or after proceedings had already been instituted in any of his own prikazes, and at any stage of such proceedings.

Hence, as the tsar really acted inconsistently, he did not always, or uniformly, or entirely disregard Nicon's personal applications to himself. He might hesitate and delay, perhaps even for a long time. In some cases there might be no answer; which meant that he would not interfere with the action of the prikaz; in others, after a time, he sent perhaps the papers which he had called for from the prikaz to Nicon. Let this be supposed to be done now.

13. Nicon sends these papers back to the tsar with his own written answers, and with those of the authorities of his monastery V, and with the written depositions taken by them or by their order, or by the patriarch's officer (sin-boyar), from the peasants or others whose evidence was required.

14. These papers may be communicated by the tsar's order to the plaintiff B, and they may be sent again by the tsar to Nicon, together with the plaintiff's rejoinder. Or the tsar may send his own commissioner or commissioners with an oukaz deciding the matter, or directing a compromise.

In this way Nicon, as he himself writes in one of those letters of his to Ziuzin which have been preserved, sometimes obtained some partial rectification and redress of the wrongs done to his monasteries. But upon the whole the great hossoudar acting through the prikazes prevailed over the great hossoudar acting personally. And even when Nicon seemed to have been successful on some particular point, he lost more, perhaps, for himself with the tsar than he gained for his monastery; not only by his remonstrances and rebukes, which wounded and irritated the tsar, but also through the annoyance and embarrassment caused by these continued appeals to his personal against his public authority, embroiling him in a manner on

points of detail with his boyars and the people of his prikazes, though for his general conduct and policy he had quite broken the promise once made by him to Nicon and to God, and had quite given himself up to their contrary influences. And no doubt thus to embroil Nicon more and more with the prikazes, and through the prikazes with the tsar himself, and to disgust and alienate the tsar from him more and more, was one powerful motive for encouraging unjust attacks upon his monasteries and their properties, though the malice of his enemies needed not to be whetted by any such additional incentive.

We have already seen that while Nicon was staying at his Iverskoy and Krestnoy monasteries from Sept. A.D. 1659 to Dec. A.D. 1660, he had need to write more than one memorial to the tsar for justice and redress in behalf of those monasteries. And it was not likely that the monastery of Voskresensk, which was so much nearer to Moscow, and which drew upon itself, by its name of the New Jerusalem, so much more jealousy, should escape without being subjected to similar attacks. In fact, Nicon, on his return thither in Dec. A.D. 1660, 'found himself,' as Subbotine writes, 'involved in fresh troubles, which, during his absence, had been prepared for him by the boyars of the prikazes.'

Of the suits of Ivan Sitin and Roman Theod. Babarikin.

§ ii. *A petition of Ivan Sitin* (taken by the tsar from the monastirski prikaz, in consequence of a complaint addressed to him by the patriarch Nicon, and sent to Nicon 15 Dec. A.D. 1660; returned by Nicon to the tsar with answers from himself and from the archimandrite &c. of the Voskresensky monastery, and with ten depositions taken by order of the patriarch by his sin-boyar Terenti Ramiekoff):

To the tsar the hossoudar &c., thy slave Ivashko Constant. Sitin does obeisance and makes his suit. I have complaint to make, hossoudar, against my old plunderers, notorious and convicted robbers, for coming and trespassing with violence; against the bandits the peasants of the derevnia Tiutcheva of the monastery of Voskresensk, Kostka Ontonoff, with his sons Vaska, Grishka, and Ivashka, and his neighbours Lazarka Krasnoy, and Gorashka Mordvenka, with his brother Kouska. How I

have been plundered, hossoudar, and how blood has been spilt by those notorious robbers, is known to thee the great hossoudar. And now, hossoudar, those my plunderers and notorious robbers, Kostka Ontonoff &c., have cut by violence hay-cuttings near the same my seltso *Prechistensko*, to the amount of more than 300 cocks, at the same place where those robbers in the past year 7168 (A.D. 1659-1660), having come with violence to the house of me thy slave, shot at me with arquebusses. And now, hossoudar, those same robbers boast themselves against me thy slave and against my people and peasants with thefts and conflicts, calumnies, forgeries, acts of incendiarism, and murderous assaults, and all manner of lawlessness. And it has become impossible for me thy slave to live for those bandits. Gracious hossoudar &c., be merciful to me thy slave: be pleased to order an imperial oukaz to be made for me, to right me against those my plunderers in respect of their present violence, and all their lawless overbearing aggressions; for those robbers threaten me thy slave *from the patriarch* with murderous violence; so that I may not be *murdered* without cause by those robbers, as they threaten, *at the instance of the patriarch*. Tsar, hossoudar, be merciful, be gracious.

a. To the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, thy beadsman the humble Nicon patriarch, praying to God for thee, does obeisance. In this present year 7169, Dec. 15 (A.D. 1660), there was sent to me thy beadsman *from thee* the great hossoudar, *by Greg. Nikeph. Sobakin*, a petition of Ivan Sitin against certain peasants of the derevnia of Tiutcheva on an estate of the Voskresensky monastery, viz. Kostka Ontonoff, with his sons Vaska, Grishka, and Ivashka, and against his neighbour Lazarka Krasnoy, and against Gorashka Mordvenka, with his brother Kouska, as if they had by force cut off hay belonging to him Ivan Sitin near his Ivan's seltso Prechistensko more than 300 cocks, upon the same ground where in the past year 7168 (A.D. 1659-1660) they had shot at him Ivan Sitin, and had done violence and all manner of damage to his people and peasants, and that by suggestion from the patriarch of deadly violence.

And in consequence of that his petition thou the great hossoudar didst order me thy beadsman to send to make examination. And according to thy command, I sent to the derevnia of Tiut-

cheva my sin-boyar Terenti Ramiekoff to make inquiry. And he Terenti sent more than once to Ivan Sitin, that he should bid some one for him point out where on his Ivan's meadow land of the selo of Tiutchevo the peasant Kostka Ontonoff, with his sons and neighbours, had cut hay to the amount of 300 cocks and more, and from what spots. But he Ivan refused,[1] and would not send any one to show whence the hay was cut. And Terenti Ramiekoff made examination by inquiring of the neighbours, and took depositions of those people who were unconcerned in the suit under the hands of their confessors. And I thy beadsman have sent the same depositions to thee the great hossoudar to Moscow, together with this answer, *attached to the petition of Ivan Sitin.*

b. To the tsar the hossoudar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c., thy beadsman Gerasimus, archimandrite of the New Jerusalem monastery of Christ's lifegiving Resurrection, the foundation of the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon, together with the stroitel the elder Joachim, and the brethren, makes his obeisance.

In this present year 7169, hossoudar, Dec. 15 (A.D. 1660), by thy oukaz there was sent to the Voskresensky monastery, to the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon, by Greg. Nik. Sobakin a petition of Ivan Sitin. In that his petition it was written [reciting it, as above]; and that they boast themselves against him and against his people with all manner of coarse and deadly violence. And in respect of the allegations of his Ivan's petition, thy beadsman the patriarch Nicon was commanded to make examination. But he Ivan Sitin makes petition to thee the great hossoudar against us thy beadsmen and against our peasants with falsehoods: he is seeking to possess himself of our monastery's land, of hay-cuttings, and other rights: and now he actually holds by force, in that our estate of the derevenka of Tiutcheva, the lake Ijevo with its fisheries, for more than a year past, without any manner of right. And in the past year 7168 (A.D. 1659-1660), hossoudar, he Ivan made petition to thee the great hossoudar against us with falsehoods, as if we thy beadsmen with many peasants drove to him Ivan to plunder his house. And as to that, it has been made known to thee the

[1] As if ignoring Nicon's right of separate jurisdiction, though in this case he and his sin-boyar were acting at the instance of the tsar.

great hossoudar, that he Ivan therein calumniated us thy beadsmen without any grounds. But he Ivan had a dispute with our peasants of the village of Tiutcheva about a right of fishery. And we thy beadsmen have no concern with nor cognisance of that dispute. And on account of that dispute on the bounds of the respective properties, that our monastery's estate of the village of Tiutcheva has been greatly damaged by him Ivan, and the peasants have been made to suffer extremely; they have been punished, and beaten with the knout; and fines have been obtained by him Ivan against them to the amount of 64 rubles. Gracious hossoudar &c., be merciful to us thy beadsmen: do not allow credence to be given to his Ivan's lying petition; but order, hossoudar, according to thy equitable judgment, some one, whomsoever thou, hossoudar, art pleased to appoint, to make inquest with him Ivan as to the lands and the hay-cuttings, and all other rights, and as to the lake Ijevo, according to the books of boundaries and the official descriptions; and to divide them as they were of old divided when that estate of Tiutcheva and the lake Ijevo belonged to the Troitsa monastery; and to make out a gracious oukaz concerning his Ivan's lying petitions (both the former and the present one) against us thy beadsmen. Tsar, hossoudar, be merciful.

c. Appended to the above and returned to the tsar is the petition of Ivan Sitin: 'To the tsar the hossoudar &c., thy slave Ivashko Constant. Sitin does obeisance and makes his suit,' &c.: as printed above.

d. In the year 7169, Dec. 16 (A.D. 1660), by order of the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon, I Terenti Ramiekoff examined the Voskresensky monastery peasants of the village of Tiutcheva, viz. Kostka Ontonoff &c., on the heads of the petition of Ivan Sitin; and Kostka Ontonoff &c. according to Christ's holy gospel said, 'Nay, nay, we did not cut any hay at all, not a single cock, on any meadow of the estate of Ivan Sitin, near the selo Prechistensko. But he Ivan Sitin encroached upon meadow land of *our* waste Kopilova, and trod it down and grazed with his cattle, to the extent of 50 cocks and more, beyond the bounds of his Ivan's estate of Prechistensko. And against him Ivan and his people and peasants we have not made any overbearing assault with thefts, and conflicts, and calumnies, and forgeries, and acts of incendiarism, or any other

lawless violence whatever. This is our deposition.' To these depositions, made in answer to the interrogation by the peasants of the Voskresensky monastery, the elder (*i.e.* the hieromonach and elder) of the same monastery, Josiah has, at the request of the same peasants, Kostka Ontonoff &c., set to his hand.

e. In the year 7169, Dec. 17 (A.D. 1660), by oukaz of the hossoudar the tsar &c. and by order of the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon, in consequence of the petition of Ivan Const. Sitin, Terenti Ramiekoff went to the Ijevsky stan, on the estate of the Voskresensky monastery of the village of Tiutcheva, and sent the pope of the selo Rojestvenno, Ivan Basilieff, and the streletz Daniel Ontonoff to the estate of Ivan Sitin, to the selo Prechistensko, desiring that he Ivan Sitin should either come out or send out some one to give evidence, and point out where the peasants of Tiutcheva, Kostka Ontonoff with his sons and neighbours, had cut to the amount of 300 cocks and more of hay on meadow land of his Ivan Sitin's estate near the selo Prechistensko, and from what spots; and to ask whether he Ivan Sitin has any extracts from the official books of descriptions or any other title deed to exhibit, showing his right to the hay-cuttings of that meadow land. And he gave a refusal to the pope of the selo Rojestvenno Ivan and to the streletz Daniel. He neither sent out any of his people or peasants, nor came out himself; nor would he show the meadow land where Kostka Ontonoff with his sons and neighbours cut the hay, or from what spots; but he said: 'This examination is not the hossoudar's; it is the patriarch who is making examination in his own cause: but I will get a surveyor appointed by the hossoudar [*i.e.* by the monastirski prikaz] who shall measure the lands of the selo Prechistensko and those of Tiutcheva to a nicety. Though the patriarch himself were to come, I should not be afraid of him: I should be ready to go and meet him, and have a tiff with him [lit. 'a duel']; and were he even to be in Moscow, I would give it him in the cathedral to his face, and he should find that I am his match to dispute with him.'

And according to the order of the great hospodin the most holy patriarch Nicon, Terenti Ramiekoff made examination by inquiring of the neighbouring people of all classes who were unconcerned in the matter and who live round about. To

this deposition, as to what Ivan Sitin said to me, I Ivan Basilieff, pope of the selo Rojestvenno, have subscribed with my hand.

f. And on examination being made, the starosts on the estate of Greg. Boris. Nashchokin of the selo Spasko and the derevnias Popofska and Sharina, viz. Basil Daniloff, Polycarp Carpoff, Ivan Patapoff, Levontey Stepanoff, and all the peasants, and from the estate of the prince Perthily Iv. Shachofskoy the peasant Basil Lucianoff, and from the estate of Sim. Iv. Nashchokin of the seltso Semenovo the starosts Ivan Nikephoroff, Boris Nikitin, Basil Ivanoff, Kirillo Nikitin, and all the peasants, deposed according to Christ's command in the gospel, saying: 'Yea, yea, whether the peasants of the village of Tiutcheva, Kostka Ontonoff &c., cut any hay belonging to Ivan Sitin near the selo Prechistensko or no, about that we know nothing. But from him, Kostka Ontonoff &c., we have not heard any boastful words against Ivan Sitin of all manner of lawless violence, or of murderous assault, or of all manner of plundering or damage. Nor was anything of the kind made known to us from Ivan Sitin. To this effect are our depositions.' To this deposition Ivan the pope of the selo Rojestvenno has set his hand, instead of the people interrogated and named herein above, at their request, because they cannot write.

g. And on examination being made, the agent on the estate of the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff of the selo Akatovo and the derevnia Tilikotina, Mamon Dementieff Baskakoff, and the starosts Michael Abramoff, Probus Philippoff, Alexis Theoduloff, Artemius Archippoff, Metrophanes Aretieff, and of the derevnia Koreneva, Ivan Alpheroff, Evsey Savellieff, Semen Athanasieff, Karp Obramoff, and all the peasants of that estate, according to the command of Christ's gospel, saying, 'Yea, yea,' deposed [in the same words as the preceding]. To these depositions made on examination Eudocimus, priest of the church of St. Michael of the selo Podjigorodovo in the riding of Dmitroffsk, has set his hand instead of his penitents the parishioners, at their desire.

h. And on examination the starost of the village of Kozlova, the property of Constantine Mich. Kaisaroff, and the peasants Thedka Nakvasin and Maximka Cosmin, with their fellows, deposed, according to the command of Christ's gospel, saying, 'Yea, yea,'

&c. [in the same words as the preceding]. Written for his father by Boriska Saroff.

i. And on examination the starosts on the estate of Basil Yakovl. Golochvastoff of the derevnia Parthenkova, Ivan Gregorieff, Oustin Abramoff, Thedor Eustaphieff, Gregory Gregorieff, and all the peasants, &c. [deposed in the same words as the preceding]. To this deposition Michael, pope of the selo Savellievo, the estate of the monastery of St. Joseph of Volokolamsk, instead of his spiritual sons, at their request has set his hand.

k. And on examination the starosts of the estate of St. Joseph's monastery the selo Savellievo, Macarius Michaeloff, Semen Gregorieff, Ekim Ivanoff, Ivan Thedotoff, Michaelo Larionoff, Ivan Demidoff, and all the peasants of the selo Savellievo, &c. [deposed in the same words as the preceding, and with the following added]: 'And in the past year 7168 (A.D. 1659-1660) we heard a report that they had shot at Ivan Sitin on his Ivan's land; but at what spot exactly, and whether it were on the family estate (*votchina*) of him Ivan that they shot at him, of that we know nothing. So we depose.' To this deposition Michael, pope of the same estate of the selo Savellievo, instead of his neighbours and spiritual sons, at their desire has set his hand.

l. And on examination Michael, pope of the church of the Nativity of the Mother of God on the estate of the monastery of St. Joseph the selo Savellievo, according to the command of Christ's gospel, and according to his priesthood, saying, 'Yea, yea,' said: 'This I know: The meadow land of Kopilova and of Prechistensko was cut, and some of it also was not cut. But who cut it, and to the extent of how many cocks of hay, and who carried that hay, I know not. But in the past year 7168 (A.D. 1659-1660), in consequence of that dispute about the meadow land, Vaska son of Constantine shot at him Ivan Sitin on his Ivan Sitin's arable land of his estate of the selo Prechistensko, not on the meadow land above mentioned, but far from that disputed locality, near to his Ivan's dwelling. But of any boastful words from Constantine Antonoff, his sons and neighbours, against Ivan Sitin, of all kinds of lawless outrage and of murderous violence, and of damage done to his people and peasants, I have heard nothing, nor has Ivan Sitin made known

to me any such complaints against him Constantine and his sons, as if they were seeking to kill him or boasting themselves of all manner of mischief that they would do him. But information was given me, about the day of St. Peter, that Ivan Sitin had gone to Moscow.' To this his deposition Michael pope of the selo Savellievo has set his hand.

m. And on examination the starosts of the estate of the Novodiviehy monastery of the selo Pokoevo and of the derevnia Letvinova, Matthew Theophiloff and Ivan Ivanoff Kazakoff, Ivan Terentieff Beznosoi, Philat Denisoff, Chariton Areteeff, Timothy Athanasieff, Gregory Nazaroff, David Ariscieff, Stephen Cornelieff, Ekim Somoeloff, and all the peasants of the selo Poneyevo ('Pokoevo' above) and the derevnia Letvinova, according to the command of Christ's gospel, saying, 'Yea, yea,' deposed: 'This we know: The peasants of the derevnia Tiutcheva, Constantine Antonoff and his sons and neighbours, did not cut any hay on the estate of Ivan Sitin near the selo Prechistensko, not a single cock; but those peasants &c. did cut hay on the land of old belonging to that estate which belonged formerly to the Troitsa monastery, but which belongs now to the Voskresensky monastery, on the meadow land of the waste Kopilova, which borders on crown land held on temporary grant for service (*pomiestna*) by him Ivan Sitin in the selo Prechistensko, but not *belonging* to him Ivan Sitin: and of that same meadow land a part which was not cut, to the amount of 50 cocks, was trodden down and grazed from the border of Ivan Sitin. But who by name trod it down and grazed it, that we know not. But from Constantine Antonoff, his sons and neighbours, we never heard any boastful words of all manner of lawless mischief against him Ivan Sitin, nor of murderous violence and all manner of damage; nor was anything of the sort made known to us from him Ivan Sitin. And where they shot at him Ivan and on what spot we know not. This is what we say.' To this deposition Basil Zacharieff, servant of the Novodiviehy monastery, instead of the starost Matthew Theophiloff and all the peasants, at their desire has set his hand.

n. And on examination the starost of the estate of Ivan Nikitich Koltovsky of the selo Kourovo, Elishah Gerasimoff, and the sworn man (*tsielovalnik*) Jeremy Ivanoff, and the peasants Athanasius Eliin, Martin Alexeyeff, Ivan Panerateff, Ivan

Basilieff, Gregory Michaeloff, Ivan Nikitin, and all the peasants of that selo Kourovo, according to the command of Christ's gospel, saying, 'Yea, yea,' deposed: 'This we know, that the peasant Kostka Ontonoff of the derevnia Tiutcheva with his sons and neighbours did not cut any hay,' &c. [as in the last preceding deposition, down to the words 'but not belonging to him Ivan Sitin;' and then in addition as follows]: 'But the bounds and landmarks of the waste Kopilova, which borders on the land of Prechistensko, on its meadow lands and rights, we know well from of old, because, when Ivan Ivanoff Ostapoff held that land of Prechistensko, we used to cut the grass on it. And from the men of the derevnia of Tiutcheva, Constantine Ontonoff with his sons and neighbours, we have never heard any boastful words,' &c. [as in the other depositions. And then as follows]: 'But where it was in the past year 7168 that they shot at him Ivan Sitin, and on what spot, that we know not. This is what we say.' To this deposition Michael, pope of the estate of the monastery of St. Joseph the selo Savellievo, instead of his parishioners and spiritual sons, at their desire has set his hand.

Letter written by Nicon to the tsar in the spring of A.D. 1662, *respecting the suits of the stolnik Roman Theod. Babarikin and Ivan Sitin* (from vol. ii. of the Moscow Archæol. Soc. A.D. 1862, p. 541-553).

§ iii. To the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich., autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, I, your majesty's beadsman the humble Nicon patriarch, pray to God for you, and do obeisance.

The exordium of our letter to thy reasonableness is made first with those words without which no one of us your beadsmen dares to write to you hossoudars; that is, *I pray to God*, as is my duty, and according to the teaching of the blessed apostle Paul, who commands in the first place to pray to God for kings. And for the second clause, which is, *I do obeisance*, this also I fulfil to thy nobility both in word and in deed. Nevertheless, we cannot hereby succeed in propitiating your goodness, but we are for you not merely not as bishops, or as servants, but as the vilest slaves: we are wronged on all sides, we are persecuted on all sides, we are straitened on all sides; and if there is any

other evil, it has fallen upon us for our sins; and we are brought low above all men.

And now it is some time past that, seeing the holy Church persecuted, and hearkening to the voice of God which says, 'If they persecute you in one city, flee to another;' and again: 'Lo I got me away, and fled, and abode in the wilderness; I waited for God to save me;' I withdrew from Moscow to this monastery of Voskresensk: yet neither here have I found rest.

In truth, there is now accomplished that prophecy of John the Divine which was to be in the last days, which is written of the Woman[1] whose child that was born the dragon sought to devour: 'And the child was caught up to heaven, to God and to his throne; and the woman fled into the wilderness, where there was a place prepared of God for her.' And after the war with the archangel Michael, 'the dragon was cast down to the earth, and his angels with him—the great dragon, the old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world. And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony: and they loved not their lives even unto death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe now unto us, inhabiters of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto us, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time. And when the dragon saw that he was cast down to the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness to her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman, that he might drown her in the flood. And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went and made war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.'

[1] See vol. I. *Replies*, &c. p. 409-412.

This is in truth a mystery of God hidden from the beginning and from many generations, and no one can understand it who has not been tried by temptations. However, theologians understand the woman to be the Church of God, for whose sake we are suffering now, for the sake of that commandment of God which is written: 'There is no greater love than this, that a man should lay down his life for his friend.' For the sake of which in old time Moses, seeing an Egyptian smiting one of the children of Israel, slew the Egyptian, and hid his body in the sand: and he was not for this accounted a murderer, but God's servant, and a great man. Thus also we, seeing our brethren smitten, and having complained to thy nobility, and having gained nothing but disappointment, and reviling, and unjust dishonour, trusting to the word of God which is written, 'Leave vengeance,' he says, 'to me; I will avenge,' gave way, and went away to a desert place.

Nevertheless, the author of evil, the serpent, nowhere leaves us at peace, but attacks us through his chosen vessel Roman Babarikin, disturbing thy nobility. He himself, Roman, unjustly took possession of that which had been dedicated to God and was God's property, certain church land, the waste Bobireva, with other wastes, besides other lands and hay meadows. And we, when we knew of it, spoke to him that he should not encroach on land not his own, nor cut down the forest, nor cut hay there. And as he did not attend to us, we gave in a memorial to thee the great hossoudar, being then at Moscow [*i. e.* at the end of July or beginning of August in A.D. 1659], respecting that land against the princes Gregory and Simeon Khovianskoy, and against Roman Babarikin; and by thy imperial oukaz the church land was *taken away from the princes Khovianskoy*, and restored to your majesty's oratory, the monastery of Voskresensk; and for the buildings of the derevnia money was given them. And for Roman Babarikin thou, great hossoudar, didst make *the same award*, viz. that money was to be paid him for the buildings erected by him, *and that the land*, as described in the old register books, *should be restored to the Leukin monastery*.

But to this day he, Babarikin, holds that land lawlessly: and he has farther taken possession of *other* land in the selo of Kochevaroff and of some meadows in that of Ivanoff. And a

petition was sent in to *thee*, the great hossoudar, by the archimandrite and the vicar and the econome of Voskresensk, for an equitable inquiry according to the register books: and in answer to that petition there was *no oukaz* from thy majesty *for a very long time*:[3] and the time came when the corn on that usurped land should be reaped, and the hay cut: and I gave orders to reap the rye and to cut the hay, for this end, that it might not become a custom [if it could be done without resistance] so to usurp lands belonging to others.

And after that there was sent by thy imperial oukaz [through the monastirski prikaz], but in consequence of a petition from Roman Babarikin, to make inquest, Michael Berdelefsky and the under-secretary Gregory Bogdanoff, with many inventions of Roman, that we ordered our people to kill him &c., of which there is no need that we should here write, but let them remain there where they are written: and they made inquest by examining all the people of the villages about us: and what they deposed that also they have in writing.

And they, that is, Michael Berdelefsky and the under-secretary Gregory Bogdanoff, were also ordered to give judgment between the authorities of the Voskresensky monastery and the said Roman, contrary to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers: and against that their plea (or demurrer) was delivered to Michael Berdelefsky and the under-secretary Gregory Bogdanoff under their hands, setting forth that he, being a layman, could not judge the people of God, and especially not those of the clergy; and that their plea was taken to Moscow.

And after that he, Roman, was intending to carry the hay that had been cut; and we, being informed of this, gave orders to carry it first. And in the present year, hossoudar, 7170, Dec. 3 (A.D. 1661), there was sent by thy imperial oukaz, on the petition of Roman Babarikin, the same Michael Berdelefsky and the under-secretary Gregory Bogdanoff: and in the minute of instruction they had it thus written: 'In the present year 7170, Dec.[4] 17 (A.D. 1661), the peasants of the Voskresensky

[3] Babarikin having obtained previously, on his own suit before the monastirski prikaz, *unpleaded against*, an order as if for the restitution of land taken from him, and the tsar now being slow to interfere with the prikaz in favour of those who declined *his own jurisdiction as exercised through it*.

[4] There is manifestly an error here: it must have been in one of the three preceding months, probably September.

monastery Omelka Ontipin and Sereshka Basilieff, with their companions, having assembled a great number of people, drove to his hereditary estate in the seltso Bobirevo to provoke a conflict and murderous violence, and carried from his meadows the last remaining hay, which had been registered, and which was not to be carried till farther oukaz of the great hossoudar; and he prayed the great hossoudar to be pleased to make order to send and inspect those present arrivals and that last hay which had been carried, on the spot where it had been stacked, and to order that those peasants of the monastery who had carried the same hay should be taken to Moscow and there examined.'

And we now make answer in the fear of God: That hay was carried by our order; and how much of it there was which was so carried we know exactly: if there be occasion, we can state the quantity. But it is false that the peasants went to his village with any plot or design for murderous conflict; and in what he Roman, the enemy of God, invents maliciously against the house of God and against us humble beadsmen, in all that he lies to your majesty.

Therefore we beseech thy clemency to cease from anger, and to give up being wroth, and not to listen to malicious men. 'The meek,' it is said, 'shall inherit the earth, and shall be refreshed with the multitude of peace:' 'Wait with endurance for the Lord and keep his way, and thou shalt be exalted.' Whence hast thou learned such audacity as to make judicial inquiry concerning us, and to judge us? What laws of God are there which authorise you to lord it over us who are God's servants? Is it not enough for thee to have the people of the kingdom of this world to judge in justice? And yet neither art thou careful even for this. But for that command of thine which is written in the minute of instruction, to take the peasants of the Voskresensky monastery, by what law is that? If you do take them, you will not, I expect, discover anything but lawlessness and violence done against us. But consider, for the Lord's sake, what was the consequence in old time of similar presumption. The patriarch Abraham went down into Egypt with his wife Sarah; and Pharaoh the king fell in love with her, and took her to himself: and the Lord plagued him with great plagues, until, repenting, he let her go with gifts. The men of Sodom coming to Lot, desired to force his house, and the Lord God destroyed

them with fire and brimstone from heaven. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, desired to keep the people of God and the portion of his inheritance; and with what plagues did not God plague him, as it is written: 'He sent darkness, and made it dark because they were not obedient to his word'? There is reason to fear lest now also the Lord should darken men's minds with the darkness of ignorance. And again: 'He turned their waters into blood, and slew their fish;' and what follows. And again: Dathan and Abiram rose up with their company against God's priests, Moses and Aaron, and the earth swallowed them up. And again: The children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron because of Dathan and Abiram; and the Lord destroyed fourteen thousand of them with utter destruction, until Moses and Aaron prayed. And again: David took by force Bathsheba from Uriah, and the angel of the Lord sought to destroy him. And again: He numbered the people, and the angel of the Lord smote seventy and two thousand; and there was war, according to the word of God, all the days of his life. And again: Jeroboam, king of Israel, commanded to take the prophet of God, and immediately his arm withered. And again: Ahab sent to take Elijah two companies of fifty, and fire consumed them. The children mocked Elisha, and wild beasts came out from the wood and devoured them. Ahab took away his vineyard from Naboth the Jezreelite, and dogs licked his blood. Nebuchadnezzar the king cast the three Hebrews into the furnace,[5] and for seven years his dwelling was with the beasts of the field. The three children were cast into the fiery furnace; the angel of the Lord delivered them. Paul was cast into prison with his companions; an angel brought him out together with them. And again: Peter was shut up, strongly guarded, in prison; an angel opened it. John the Divine was banished to Patmos, and there he was vouchsafed the greater grace, to write his gospel, and the Revelations concerning the last times. John Chrysostom was driven out: again, after the death of them that had driven him out, he returned[6] to his chair, and righted after his death the wrong that had been done to the widow woman in

[5] So no doubt Nicon wrote; but the printed volume and the MS. from which it is printed have 'Daniel to the lions.'

[6] So Nicon too himself after the death of Alexis, and after his own death, returned to Voskresensk, and recovered for that his monastery and for the Church the lands of which it had been plundered.

respect of her vineyard. The metropolitan Philip was driven out, but he stood again [after his death] confronting them that had wronged him. And what more after these examples shall we add? If thou art not touched by these which we have enumerated, then, though the whole scripture were put before thee, thou wouldst not believe, as it is written: 'If they believe not Moses and the prophets, then even though one were to rise from the dead, they will not believe.' Therefore, again we beseech thee, cease, for the Lord's sake, to persecute us, and to afflict us, and to listen to calumniators. Is it not enough for thee that we have fled, and have left all? Is it the wish of thy nobility that I should yet again fly, and shake off even the dust of my feet for a testimony against thee in the day of judgment? I am now no longer styled great hossoudar. And what do I now to thwart thee? Truly nothing. But thy hand lords it over everything that belongs to the episcopate, both jurisdiction and property. It is dreadful to utter, but it is impossible to endure in silence what we hear, viz. that by thy oukaz they even consecrate bishops and appoint archimandrites and hegoumens and priests; and in the letters of orders or institution write you on a par with the Holy Ghost, writing, 'By the grace of the Holy Ghost, and by oukaz of the great hossoudar.' Is not the Holy Ghost sufficient to consecrate without thy oukaz? What enormity can be greater than this? And will God endure thee? Surely not. For it is written: 'If any man blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, he shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come.' And if this has not alarmed thee, then what can, when, by thy audacity, thou hast made thyself unworthy of forgiveness? Besides this, in all directions, doing violence to the holy churches of the metropolitan and episcopal sees, and to the holy monasteries, without any manner of consultation or blessing [*i.e.* of concurrence or consent of the owners], thou takest by force property both movable and unmovable, unsparingly; and all the laws [to the contrary] made by the holy fathers and the religious emperors and grand princes, Greek and Russian, thou hast regarded as nothing. And, farther, the letters and constitutions of thy father the hossoudar the tsar and grand prince of all Russia, Michael Theodorovich, and thine own; nay, and even the book of the Code: for though there is much in it written unrighteously, on account of the popular

confusion of that time, still even there it is written: 'In the monastirski prikaz there are to sit as judges men of all ranks, archimandrites, and hegoumens, and protopopes, and priests and honourable elders' (*i.e.* monks). And thou hast abolished all this. *Now* in that court secular judges judge, and do violence to bishops, and archimandrites, and hegoumens, and priests, and to all the clergy. And on this account thou hast assembled against thyself a great assembly, who shall cry out against thee in the day of judgment, on account of thy iniquities. As it is written in the gospel: 'The men of Nineveh shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah;' and, 'The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon;' so also against thee shall they assemble themselves and rise up from all generations: first, the Holy Ghost, because thou hast dishonoured Him, making his power and grace to be insufficient without thy oukaz; secondly, the holy Apostles, who are to sit on the twelve thrones, because, contrary to their canons, thou presumest with thine own commands; then the choirs of the seven holy œcumenical councils and of the rest of the holy fathers, who made canons, and commanded that none should transgress them under pain of terrible imprecations, saying that 'if any man take away aught or add thereto,' and what follows; also the religious emperors and grand princes, who enacted and confirmed those orthodox laws which have become a tradition, and which the holy Churches have in aid of the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers; which thy commands have violated and accounted as nothing;—of which there are now in Russia, in the house of the holy Mother of the Churches, the most holy Mother of God by the title of her holy Assumption, letters of Russian tsars, and of grand princes, and yarliks of the tsars of the Tatar horde, showing how they honoured the Church. And these last, above all, shall in the day of judgment be thine accusers, because they, even though they were unbelievers, did not even themselves judge ecclesiastical causes, nor intrude themselves into any ecclesiastical matters, nor afflict the bishops, but wrote thus: 'that they may pray to God with a cheerful heart; that they may pray to God for us and for our tsaritsas and for our children,

and that the holy God may be merciful to us.' And they took not away what had been dedicated to God, but even themselves also gave gifts in addition. In like manner there are many such letters in different metropolitan [or other] sees, and in the holy monasteries, and in cathedral churches on all sides; and until thy reign they were everywhere respected according to the original injunction. And on this account the grace of God filled also the imperial storehouses and treasury, and all the world was in good order. But from the beginning of thy reign all these letters have been disregarded; and what had been given to the Church of God and to the holy monasteries for a perpetual inheritance, immovable property, houses, lands, lakes, salt-pans, woods,—of all these thou hast taken to thyself much, and thou hast not made God to share with thee. On this account God also *has departed from thee*[1] and he will depart still more, unless thou repentest and restorest that which thou hast taken from the churches of God, and confirmest afresh the letters given before thy time to the holy churches and the holy monasteries, and refrainest for the future from appropriating to thyself unlawfully things dedicated to God.

Hear how the holy Church cries out against thee for the things that have been plundered, saying with David of them that have said, 'Let us take to ourselves the houses ('the sanctuary' in the Slav.) of God for a possession,—O my God, make them to be like unto a wheel, even as stubble before the whirlwind. Like as the fire which consumeth the forests, as the flame that burneth the mountains, even so persecute them with thy tempest and with thy wrath; confound them, and cover their faces with shame, and they shall seek thy name, O Lord. Let them be ashamed and confounded for ever and ever; let them be put to shame and perish. And they shall know that thy name is the Lord, thou only art the Most High in all the earth.' And again: 'For as many as are envious against Sion, let them be as the grass that withereth before it be plucked up.' For Christ shall cut their necks with the cutting of everlasting torments.

Lo now, has thy nobility heard how the holy Church prays against them that seek to make her property their own inheritance unlawfully? But thy will has meddled with all this pro-

[1] As seen in the reverses of Konotop, Choudnovo, &c.

perty, as we hear, both corn, and money, and salt, and estates in land. Thou actest without the fear of God, and accountest us as not a whit better than peasants or secular soldiers. In the enumeration of the Latin heresies (in the Kormchay) it is written that even their bishops send out men to war, and go out to war themselves; and we have lived now to see the day that we also go out to war even as simple laymen. How long will it be before thy nobility will send out even us ourselves to war? Has not thy nobility heard in the books of Moses God himself saying: 'And if ye will not be reformed by me by these things, but will walk contrary to me in unrighteousness, then will I also walk contrary to you, and will punish you yet seven times more for your sins. And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant. And when ye flee into your cities, I will send the pestilence upon you, and ye shall be delivered into the hand of your enemy. And when I have broken the staff of your bread, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver you your bread again by weight; and ye shall eat, and not be satisfied. And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me either for these things, but walk contrary unto me, then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury in proportion; and I, even I, will chastise you seven times more for your sins. And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons and the flesh of your daughters. . . . And I will make your land desolate, and your enemies shall be astonished at it; and I will scatter you among the heathen, and he that cometh with a sword shall destroy you, and ye shall be in the land of your enemies. And upon them that are left of you I will send a faintness into their hearts in the land of their enemies, and the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them; they shall flee as fleeing from a sword; and they shall fall when none pursueth: and brother shall look upon brother as upon enemies, when none pursueth: and ye shall have no power to stand before your enemies; and ye shall perish among the heathen; and the land of your enemies shall eat you up. And they that are left of you shall pine away for their iniquities; and for the iniquities of their fathers they shall pine away in the land of their enemies. Then shall the disobedient heart be humbled' (Levit. xxvi. 23-40). And has not all this been fulfilled in us, for our sins? Or if we think ourselves valiant, yet, as the prophet

Jeremiah says: 'Valour is naught where there is not God.' But how should God be with us when we have made war against God himself? No! he will war against us. Let us hear him who knew himself by experience the truth of what he wrote: 'A king,' he says, 'shall not be saved by the multitude of his host, neither shall a mighty man be delivered by his much strength. A horse is a vain thing for safety, neither shall they be delivered by their great force' (Ps. xxxiii. 16, 17). And again another prophet says: 'Let not a man strengthen himself in his might; the Lord has made his adversary weak; the Lord is holy.' And again in another psalm it is written: 'It is thou thyself, my king and my God, who commandest deliverance for Jacob. Through thee will we break the horns of our enemies, and in thy name shall we tread them under that rise up against us. I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me. But thou hast saved us from them that straitened us, and them that hated us thou hast put to shame. In God we boast all the day long, and praise thy name for ever' (Ps. xliv. 4-8). But thou, whatever thou hast done by the help of God, hast not given the glory of it to God, as former tsars after every victory gave glory to the Lord God, some founding holy churches, others holy monasteries. Thou hast done nothing of that kind, but hast impoverished and robbed the old churches and monasteries founded in time past; and instead of first glorifying God, thou hast exalted thyself above measure. Therefore, also, God has rejected thee, and has put thee to shame, and *has not gone forth with thine armies;* he has made thee to turn thy back before thine enemies, and they that hated thee have made a spoil of thy forces; *as sheep for the slaughter* he has scattered them. And we have been a reproach to our neighbours, an occasion for mockery and insult to them that are round about us; and we have become a byword among the heathen, *and the people shake their heads at us.* Nor have we either been sober in our pleasures, but, like children not yet come to understanding, we have been idling away our time in hunting hares and wolves, leaving the work of God for very trifles. We proclaim to the people a fast, and we ourselves go off to amusements. Not so did Joshua, the son of Nun, when Achan had stolen of that which had been dedicated to the Lord a golden vessel, and vestments, and fifty shekels of silver, and the Lord was wroth

against Israel, when he was sent against the robbers, and they slew of the children of Israel thirty-six men; but he himself first put ashes on his head, and all his princes with him, until he had entreated the Lord. But thou proclaimest to all to fast when now one knows not who there is that does not fast perforce, owing to the dearth of bread. In many places they fast, even so as to die of hunger, because there is nothing to eat, and there is no one who is better off than his neighbours. But from the beginning of thy reign all together have been numbered with the unrighteous numbering of David; the poor, the weak, the blind, the lame, widows, monks, and nuns; and all are laden with heavy imposts, and hard to be borne. Everywhere there is weeping and mourning, everywhere groaning and sighing, and there is no one that is merry in these days.

Yet farther, with no artifice of speech, I have a mind to tell you something which happened to me. Whether it were from God or not, I will not pretend to know. However, it shall not be left untold to thy nobility. In the year 7169 (A.D. 1661), Jan. 12, as we were in the church of the holy Resurrection here at matins, after the first cathism (of the Psalms) had been read, at the *siedialni*,[8] we sat in our place, and while they were reading we dozed a little, and during that doze we seemed to be in the cathedral of the Assumption; and we looked, and behold it was full of flaming fire, which raged and rolled in waves very terribly and awfully. And I looked, and I saw no man of visible (*i.e.* of living bodily men), but I saw the bishops departed in time past rise each from his tomb, clad in pontifical robes, and many more than them. And after that they all came together as if to make the great introit into the holy sanctuary (lit. *oltar*); and we joined them. And the great imperial crown was borne by some one before them; and it was set up on the edge of the altar (lit. of the *throne*, *i.e.* the holy table), and it stood there in front of the holy gospel; and all the bishops were standing around. And again they all vanished through the prothesis which adjoins the tomb of the metropolitan St. Peter. And I saw, and the metropolitan Peter arose from his tomb; his countenance was not different, but the same as it is painted. And when he had come to the holy throne (the holy

[8] Anthems to be sung or read between the cathisms of the Psalter; the word means, anthems of the cathism at which one may *sit*.

table or altar), he stretched forth his right hand across the imperial crown, and placed it on the gospel; and in like manner all the rest also after him placed their hands on the gospel. And when we too, in like manner, together with them had stretched forth our hand to the gospel, the metropolitan Peter began to say: 'Brother Nicon, say to the tsar: Why hast thou wronged the holy and great church, and hast plundered the sacred immovable property acquired by us for it without fear? and that this is not to his profit. But speak to him that he restore it; for he has drawn down great wrath of God on that account on himself. Twice there has been a pestilence; and how many thousands have died? and the lands and cities have been desolated; and they that are now with him shall not stand before their enemies.' But I answered: 'He will not listen to me; it were well if one of you appeared to him.' But he said to us: 'The judgments of God have not ordered that this should be; but speak thou. If he listens not to thee, then neither will he listen though one of us appeared to him. And behold, this shall be a sign to him.' And he turned himself from the throne to the west, and said: 'Look!' pointing with his hand towards the imperial palace. And the western wall of the church had vanished, and the tsar's house was visible. And the fire, which was rolling about in waves in the church, collected itself together, and went forth to the imperial palace; and it flamed up terribly. And after this he said: 'If he will not return to sober-mindedness, there shall be added punishments more than the first from God.' And behold, one of them, a grey-headed man, said: 'Behold now the house and yard which thou didst buy for the clerks; the tsar wishes to take that also, and to make it a place of trade for the sake of his mammon. But he shall have no joy of his gain, but dogs shall litter their puppies there, and it shall be a joy of unclean spirits, and from them many men shall die.'

And these things were so, whether from God or by any natural phantasy, we know not—God knoweth—only so it was. If any one thinks of human suspicion that I have of myself invented this, then [if it be so] may that fire which I saw consume *me!*

Of this I spoke by word of mouth to the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff; whether he told thy nobility or not, we know not.

After this, we beseech thy nobility not to listen to calumnies against us thy headsmen coming from bad men, and not to meddle with us, who are God's anointed, by judicial processes and by judgment, contrary to the canons. Does not thy nobility know what is written in the books of Moses, how Balak the king of Moab feared Israel, and called to him the wizard Balaam, saying: 'If thou wilt curse Israel, they will be cursed; and by thy curse I shall overcome them'? How much more when *we* are wronged and weep shall God hear *our* prayer and petition against them that afflict us? Our soul waiteth for the Lord; for he is our defender and avenger, and in his holy name do we trust. But for thee, if God has allowed thee to persecute, thou canst continue, and make an end with us as thou pleasest.

The minute of instruction given to Michael Berdelefsky and to the under-secretary Gregory Bogdanoff we have received, and we apply to it those words of Psalm xxxiv.: 'Judge thou, O Lord, them that wrong me; fight thou against them that fight against me;' and the rest that is to the same effect. And I will betake myself weeping to the life-giving cross of Christ, because that is our hope against them that persecute us. Though thou regardest, perhaps, much that I have written to thy nobility as written offensively, nevertheless I beseech thy nobility to read with patience, and to reflect on what I have written; for there is no injustice in it.

So deeply and in such sort are we insulted by thy councillors, that whereas we bless, according to the divine precept for blessing, with both hands, as Christ gave us an example of doing when, as he was ascending to heaven, he lifted up his hands and blessed, he (to whom I allude) so mocks us, that as one possessed he calls himself the patriarch, and, under the inspiration of Satan, makes as though he were a bishop; or rather he crucifies Christ afresh with his lawless and accursed hands. And not this only, but he has also taught a certain dog like himself, by the influence of his father the accursed Satan, to mimic with his fore-feet what Christ did with his hands when, ascending up into heaven, he blessed his disciples. And if thou,[9] knowing of

[9] Comp. vol. i. p. 16. This letter, being written early in A.D. 1662, was Nicon's last appeal to the conscience of the tsar before he anathematised the metropolitan Pitirim and the boyar Simeon Luc. Streshneff on the first Sunday in Lent. In his *Replies*, written in A.D. 1663, Nicon more than once speaks of Streshneff as a man excommunicate and under anathema, when he took upon

this, endurest such an accursed scoffer without punishing him, the wrath of God will overtake thee, and before long. But for ourselves, we are ready for Christ's sake not only to welcome insult and reviling, but also to die. To thee it seems a small thing that a man should lay down his life for his friend. However, with God there is no greater love than this, through which Christ himself died for us. And so now also we by persecutions and afflictions die. In all manner of ways we die. Nevertheless, the sacred word teaches us not to fear them that kill the body, but cannot kill the soul (see vol. i. p. 417). Woe unto them that, after being killed, shall be cast into the lake of fire. That is what they ought to fear who now, in the glory of this world, are lifted up and pride themselves as if they were immortal, and as gods, who are glorified by foolish men, and hear with complacency such senseless words as these: 'Thou art a god upon earth' (ib. p. 401). But us the sacred scripture teaches thus: 'Our God is in heaven and on earth; whatsoever pleaseth him he does.' With such senseless words Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, having been pleased, was deprived of the kingdom' (ib. p. 402). Through such words the prince of Tyre was lifted up, to whom God by the prophet Ezekiel said: 'And thou, son of man, say to the prince of Tyre (ib. p. 403), Thou liftest thyself up as God; but thou art not God, but a man.' So of old Lucifer, the star of the morning (ib. p. 402), said: 'I will set my throne above the heavens, and I will be like unto the Most High.' And what he had he lost, and instead of the morning star he became the blackness of darkness. But may the holy God give thee grace, and a good inclination to be humble and meek, and to attend to all the commandments of God, and to do them, not to wrong us your humble beadsmen, nor to drag us before a secular tribunal contrary to the laws, nor to injure in anything the holy churches, nor to do violence to the monasteries; that the Lord may not 'add,' as it is written, severer judgments 'to the vainglorious men of the earth.' And so may the Lord God order thy kingdom in peace and quiet-

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him to concert with Paisius Ligarides accusations against the patriarch; and in his letter to the patriarch of C.P. written in Dec. 1665, Nicon writes of Streshneff: 'And we, having heard of that impiety, anathematised him: but the tsar commanded that no account should be taken of that excommunication, and kept him still with him in honour as before.' Vol. iii. p. 398.

ness, that we also may live our time in all godliness and purity in Christ our Lord and Saviour; to whom be glory and dominion with the Father and with his Divine Spirit, now and world without end. Amen.

The empire is transferred from one nation to another, for injustice and encroachment upon properties (*Proverbs of Jesus the son of Sirach*).

§ iv. *Later Petitions of Ivan Constant. Sitin against the peasants of the most holy patriarch Nicon, of his estate of the Voskresensky monastery, and the Answers and Examinations of the same most holy patriarch (abridged by omission of some mere forms and repetitions).*

a. To the tsar, &c., Ivan Sitin,[10] &c.: From the merciless plunderer the patriarch Nicon and his beloved brigands his servants and peasants there have been perpetrated against him Ivan many intolerable plunderings and violences.

How in past years there was inflicted from him the patriarch Nicon on him Ivan extreme plundering, and a wound which might have been mortal, and unchristian insult, is known to the great hossoudar.

And now the patriarch Nicon is doing acts of plundering against him out of revenge, because *redress has been afforded* from the great hossoudar to him Ivan against his the patriarch's peasants.

The patriarch negotiated with him Ivan to sell to him his estate of the seltso Prechistensko with its derevnias, which had been granted him by the great hossoudar; and he refused to sell them. And the patriarch Nicon on that account directed his servants and peasants to do all kinds of merciless violence against him and against his people and peasants. And he Ivan through that violence has suffered great loss and damage. From two derevnias there have fled away twelve families.

And the peasant Kostka Ontonoff, of the patriarch's derevnia of Tiutcheva, with his companions, hanged one of his peasants, Ivashko Larionoff; they hanged him on a tree on the property of him Ivan near the seltso Prechistensko.

Also they tampered with a peasant belonging to him Ivan

[10] His petition or bill given in to the *monastirski prikaz* at some date later than Jan. 24th in A.D. 1663.

of the same derevnia of the seltso Prechistensko, and carried him off with his son and their wives and children, and now he is living with the patriarch Nicon in the monastery. And he Ivan sent repeatedly about that peasant to the patriarch Nicon to make petition (*i. e.* suit), and sent also the title-deeds; but he did not give him up.

And in the past year 7170 there came from Moscow some of his Ivan's people, and a clerk, a diachok, and brought the things necessary for the consecration of a church. And when they were come to the patriarch's selo Rojestvenno, the staretz of that selo, with the peasants, ordered his people and the diachok to be beaten, and took away from them the church furniture, and their money and horses and clothes, and sent them away in their shirts only.

And the patriarch's peasants hold possession by violence of much land belonging to him Ivan, and hay-cuttings, and forest-rights.

And he Ivan made many petitions on account of those injuries to the great hossoudar, that he should order him to be righted and protected against the plundering and the injuries caused him by the patriarch Nicon.

And all those petitions were made known in the chelobitni prikaz (the prikaz of requests); and the secretaries of the prikaz made no reports of those petitions to the great hossoudar, but wrote on them that they were 'refused.'

And he Ivan did not dare often to petition the great hossoudar verbally (personally).

And in this present year 7171, Jan. 3d (A.D. 1663), the patriarch Nicon sent his stolnik, the notorious robber Alexander, with peasants and with many people, near his Ivan's selo, on to his Ivan's land, to the river, and they broke down his Ivan's dams, and made others of their own; and they are there taking fish.

And on the 24th of January the same Alexandrka, near his Ivan's selo at the watering-place, took a man of his named Grishka, and another youth, and beat them, and carried them off to the patriarch Nicon, to the monastery; and those people are still with him in the monastery.

And in consequence of the patriarch's plunderings, the last of his people also have fled away in different directions.

And he Ivan prays that the great hossoudar would be pleased to give order to protect him Ivan against the intolerable plundering and violence inflicted on him by the patriarch Nicon and by his servants and peasants; and for that end grant a personal confrontation; and the result of that personal confrontation will be, that the plundering and violence and injustice committed will be made very clear to the great hossoudar.

And as regards the people whom the patriarch Nicon has, without any just cause, taken from him Ivan, and keeps with himself, that the great hossoudar should be pleased to give order to issue a gracious oukaz.

b. To the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich., autocrat &c., I your beadsman, hossoudar, the humble Nicon patriarch, praying to God for your majesty's spiritual salvation and bodily health, make my obeisance.

In this year, hossoudar, 7171 (A.D. 1662-3), a petition was addressed to thee the great hossoudar by I know not what sort of a man named Ivan Sitin, pretending that I your beadsman had examined his peasants with tortures, and some I had hanged; and whatever else he has written maliciously to thee the great hossoudar, it all appears in his memorial: for me to write of that is only to waste paper. And I declare to thee the great hossoudar, by the true, sacred, holy gospel, that Nay, nay, I acknowledge not that business, nor have any cognisance of it. That was done, whatever it was, by a foreigner, a layman of the lower sort, who having caught trespassing on his water some peasants of Ivan, beat them with sticks, without our knowing anything about it. I gave him no order to do anything of the kind: but he beat them for this, that those people and peasants of Ivan stole his fish: and on that account I your beadsman have sent the same man to thee the great hossoudar. Be thou pleased, great hossoudar, to examine him with what severity thou pleasest, whether there was any such order from me for that. On this account, that you may be able to do so, I have purposely sent him as the bearer of this answer to thee, great hossoudar, without saying anything to him. And having taken knowledge of the whole matter—having heard of the judgment of God—do thou make a righteous judgment, as thou wilt have thyself in the day of judgment to give answer for everything to the just Judge Christ our God, according to his word that 'with what

judgment thou judgest, with the same thou shalt be judged; and with what measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured to you again;' and addition shall be made to you. Remember your promise made in the holy cathedral at our election, before God and the holy Mother of God and all his saints, how thou didst then give a promise to us, before all the sacred synod and before all thine own synclete, that thou wouldst not, contrary to God's holy commandments in the gospel, and to the canons of the holy Apostles and the holy fathers, intrude into any sacred matters, as thou now doest, and doest acts of great injustice towards us, and listenest to malicious calumniators, who are enemies of God, and receivest their calumnies as evidence, and involvest people of all orders in sin through the proceedings which go on in the patriarchal antechamber (the hall called the krestovaia). Will God spare thee? Thou didst promise to be to all of us poor clerks a protector and avenger against all injustice, so as to resolve even to die rather than leave his commandment unvindicated. And thou hast not kept thy word (lit. 'hast sinned with thy lips'). It may be that thou wilt have to taste of the wrath of God before the time, for there are many who cry out against thee. I beseech thee, *cease from wrath*, and follow out the remaining words for thyself; and 'there shall be judgment without mercy to him who has not shown mercy.'

Be in good health, and do according to truth for many years. I would have written more than this, but the lack of paper prevented me, for I have no more paper. I will add only one word more to this, though there is scarcely room: The unjust judge had himself to be judged justly.

Appended to the preceding.

c. In the year 7171, Feb. 22 (A.D. 1663), Alex. Luskin, sinboyar of the patriarch Nicon, deposed: Soon after Christmas, the patriarch sent him to the lake Ijevo to take fish, and there were with him twenty-five fishermen. That lake is twenty-five versts distant from Voskresensk on St. Joseph's road. And he was employed in taking fish on that lake with drag-nets (*nevodami*) about seven weeks. Bordering on the same lake there is the derevnia of Khoutsova, which belongs to the patriarch; and at the distance of half a verst from that village there is a selo of Ivan Sitin; by what name this last is called he does not know.

And at the mouth of the small stream Noudol (which there runs into the lake), opposite to the selo of Ivan Sitin, we put into that stream three baskets also at a time for taking fish; and of those baskets they twice lost two out of the three, but who stole them was not known. And after this had happened the second time, that two out of the three baskets were stolen, about three days afterwards, as they were beginning to fish on the lake, there came towards them to the lake two men, and took their stand within the wood; who they were, he knows not. And he sent after them, and they brought them to him; and he began to question them and to threaten them, asking them who they were and what they wanted, that they came thus looking after them. And they said that they were peasants of Ivan Sitin; and they began to ask him to give them some fish. But after that they also said that they had been sent by Ivan Sitin's agent Ivashko Tugaeff, and that he had told them to watch and to find out for whom they were fishing, and whether there were many fish taken, and how many there were of the fishermen, and whether there were any guards set to watch the fish taken; and if there were no guards, the same agent meant to get together a number of the peasants and people, and take that fish away from them by night, and give the fishermen a threshing. And he Alexander beat those peasants with sticks, without the patriarch's knowing anything of the matter, for what they had admitted to him of Ivan Sitin's people stealing their baskets and their fish. And having beaten them, he sent them off. And they, having gone away, began to brag and to threaten to burn the patriarch's village of Khoutsova. And he, having taken them, carried them off to the patriarch to the Voskresensky monastery. And the patriarch, for their brag and threat to burn (the village of Khoutsova), ordered them to be beaten with sticks again, and sent them away. But whether Ivan Sitin has any joint right in the fisheries of the lake Ijevo and of the stream Noudol he knows not.

d. In the year 7171, Feb. 23, Alex. Luskin deposed: I was sent by order (oukaz) of the hossoudar the patriarch to take fish on the lake Ijevo, to the village Khoutsova. That village is on the great road, St. Joseph's road; and the lake Ijevo is distant from the village at most a dessiatine, and out of that lake there issues a small stream, the Noudol; and opposite to the place

where the Noudol issues, at the distance of about half a verst, there is the dwelling of Ivan Sitin. And in that mouth of the Noudol and in the stream itself there were put trap-pits (*yazi*) and baskets, by order of the hossoudar the patriarch, to this end, that the fish might not get out of the lake. And when I had come to the lake to fish there, in the second week after Christmas, with my own drag-net, but having orders from the patriarch to take from his estate of the selo Rojestvenno as many people as were needed for the fishing, I established myself in the village of Khoutsova. And when I began to take fish in that lake of Igevo for the supply of the hossoudar the patriarch, we suffered a loss at the mouth of the Noudol. Some one (we knew not who) stole one of our baskets; and another basket, at the same place where the stream issues from the lake, some one rifled and damaged; who he was we know not. And at that time, about a week later, we suffered another similar loss at the same place where the stream issues: some unknown person took away two baskets. And about ten days later we again had a loss: there were lost from our dammed preserve in the lake of large live fish 400 plotitsi (flat fish?) and 50 pikes; and we know not who did it. And about a fortnight after this, after all these losses, as I was fishing in the lake, having with me twenty-five fishermen, there came towards us two unknown men near to the edge of the lake, and stood in the wood, and watched us thence about half an hour. And I, when I noticed those men, sent some of my fishermen and bade them bring them to me, and bring them down to the lake, and ask them who they are. And they brought them to me to the lake, and I began to question them who they were. And they at first would not say who they were. And I bade my men cut some sticks, and began to question them, saying: 'Speak before you are beaten; you had better do so.' And they said: 'We belong to Ivan Const. Sitin; we are not free men; we do what they bid us. We were sent by Petruska Tugaeff, Ivan Sitin's agent, and he ordered us to watch for whom they are fishing, and what fish are taken, and whether there are many fishermen, and where is the stew on the lake into which they put the live fish taken to keep them, and whether there is any guard set over that fish at nights; and if it were so that there were but few fishermen, and that there were no guards set by nights over the fish taken, perhaps that same night the agent

would take with him some of the people of the house and the peasants, and take away the fish, and thresh the fishermen.' And I began to question those people of the house: 'Don't you know, brothers, who it was of them that took away one of our baskets from the mouth of the stream, and broke up another?' And those people of the house said, according to the command of the gospel: 'Yea, yea, they were our house people, of the house of Ivan Sitin: Samoshka the foreigner, the Tatar, with his fellows, brought one of the baskets to the house, and broke up the other.' And I began to question them further about the second loss; and they said: 'Those, too, were carried away by our people, by the same Samoshka with his fellows; but they took the fish out of those baskets; the baskets they carried empty to the house, and they sold the fish to us.' And I then questioned them about the third loss; and they said that the same people of the house did it. And I questioned them about every point; and they confessed to all, that all the losses we had suffered had been caused by them. And I, having beaten with sticks those people of the house, let them go away home; and they, when they had gone from me homewards, began with words of falsehood to brag what they would do in the way of arson and deadly violence against that village of Khoutsova, and against those peasants. And I, hearing from them such words, gave orders to take them, and carried them to the hossoudar the patriarch, to the Voskresensky monastery; and he ordered them, for such lying words, to be beaten again a second time with sticks, and so sent them away from the Voskresensky monastery to their homes. This deposition was written with his own hand by Alexander Luskin.

e. And on the date —, Alexander Luskin, in his written deposition, wrote the same, and added these words:

'By order of the patriarch there were made and put in the stream Noudola weirs and dams and baskets, with narrow passages, in order that the fish might not go out of the lake; but they stole at the first only one basket, and the other they damaged, and from the stew there were let out into the lake pike and plotitsi.

v. *Two Reports of Commissioners sent to Voskresensk.*

b. Report made after their return to Moscow by the okolnik Osip Soukin and the secretary Basil Brechoff.

In the year 7171, Feb. 25th, by oukaz of the great hossoudar the tsar, &c., on his imperial matters of state and of wrongs done to his petitioners, it was said to the most holy patriarch Nicon that:

He wrote to the great hossoudar, and adduced in witness of his own having nothing to do with it the holy gospel, that the people of Ivan Sitin were beaten without his cognisance.

But his foreigner Alex. Luskin at Moscow, in his examination, deposed that those same people of Ivan Sitin were beaten *in the monastery* by his the patriarch's order: and that was done not in agreement with his written statement.

And the patriarch said that he adduced the holy gospel in witness of this, that his foreigner [at the lake] had beaten those people of Ivan Sitin without his cognisance, but not as if he denied this [of which there had been no mention], that they had been beaten also *in the monastery* for their rudeness, because they spoke insolently before him, and he ordered them to be slightly beaten. And of that let it be as the great hossoudar pleases. His foreigner was sent on purpose to the great hossoudar that he might be examined, and that there might be a full and exact discovery of the truth of the case. And for that his fault [in beating Ivan Sitin's people, if the tsar thinks it was a fault], let there be such punishment as he the great hossoudar shall decree against that his foreigner.

Also the patriarch was asked: How does the great hossoudar intrude into sacred things? and what acts of injustice does he do to him the patriarch? and who by name are the calumniators of whom he complains?

And the patriarch said: How can it be pretended that the great hossoudar does not intrude into sacred things? From himself everything has been taken away. The great hossoudar lords it over the metropolitans and the archbishops, and all the spiritual order. He appoints men to be made priests and deacons; and for this and for other spiritual matters of all kinds they write under petitions: '*By the great hossoudar's oukaz.*'

But that is not within his the hossoudar's province. The great hossoudar gave his promise in the catholic apostolic church (the cathedral) that he the great hossoudar would in nothing intrude into sacred things. And that his the hossoudar's promise has not been kept; and for that he the great hossoudar will be judged by God. But against himself also there are acts of great injustice done in all manner of ways. They seek out and suborn and bribe many people to speak and to write against him all sorts of unjust accusations. They revile and insult him in all sorts of ways, and *compare him to a dog;* and the great hossoudar is not pleased to order that he should be protected against those people. The calumniators are they who unjustly make petitions (or suits) against him to the great hossoudar, such as Roman Babarikin and Ivan Sitin.

And it was said to the patriarch, that he abandoned the patriarchal chair of his own will, not in consequence of any expulsion: and was it not impossible to let the cathedral church remain deserted so long a time? And how could the metropolitans and archbishops do otherwise than appoint priests and deacons, and administer spiritual matters? And if in anything there were in truth any irregularity, God would visit all that upon him, because he of his self-will abandoned his chair. But now in the cathedral the name of the great God is glorified, and all the divine church singing is duly performed as it used to be under the former primates, the most reverend metropolitans and the most holy patriarchs of all Russia.

And the patriarch said: In the cathedral church at present there is no true singing (*i.e.* no divine service properly so to be called). And the cathedral church has now been made into a den of thieves, because now it is in widowhood. And if there were to be a new patriarch, she would be an adulteress: for he went away from Moscow in consequence of many acts of injustice, and in truth by an expulsion: for the injustice done to him, as he would have it, was, in fact, an expulsion on the part of the great hossoudar.

And it was said to the patriarch that he was devising mischief against the great hossoudar, and for that he would incur punishment from God; but from the great hossoudar he had experienced nothing else than the greatest kindness and condescension. And when he went away from the cathedral, the great

hossoudar sent a message to him that he should not leave his episcopal chair.

And the patriarch said: How could it be pretended that there had been no injustice done him by the great hossoudar? Not only had they invaded the things belonging to his province, but they had begun even to strike his patriarchal officers. The okolnik and oroujnichey Bogdan Matv. Khitroff struck without any cause a sin-boyar of his household; and the great hossoudar was not pleased on his petition to order any inquest to be made about that matter.

And about similar injurious acts he the patriarch, at later times, also wrote more than once from the Voskresensky monastery to the great hossoudar; and about such matters of complaint no oukaz from the great hossoudar was ever granted him. But *against* him inquests and interrogations are granted to all who apply for them. And there was *no message* sent to him, at the time when he went away from Moscow on account of [a virtual] expulsion, *to induce him not to leave Moscow*, except what was said in the cathedral.

And the patriarch was asked: Who insults him, or compares him to a dog? and who told him of that? for we never heard of that from any one before.

And the patriarch said: Everything that is secret is made manifest by God.

And the patriarch was asked: Has he, then, a spirit of divination?

And the patriarch said: Yes; there is one outside.

And it was said to him: It is known that they who come to him, and they in particular who told him this, are liars and mischief-makers.

Also it was said to the patriarch, that about whatever acts of injustice petitions against him the patriarch and the authorities of his monasteries have before this present time been presented to the great hossoudar, he the great hossoudar has sent them to him for inquisition to be made about those matters; and he the patriarch does not make inquisition, nor do justice to the petitioners.

And the patriarch said that it was not about every case that they so send to him; there are many other cases also of which he has no cognisance. But of whatever he himself me-

morialises the great hossoudar, he never obtains any oukaz at all.

Also the patriarch was asked: In the patriarchal antechamber, the krestovaia, how do they lead people into sin?

And the patriarch said: In the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate they lead people into sin because they there suborn many people against him, and concoct all manner of injustice.

And it was said to the patriarch that they suborn nobody at all against him, nor concoct any kind of injustice; but by oukaz of the great hossoudar the archbishop Hilarion of Riazan and a boyar, the boyar Peter Mich. Soltikoff, with his assistants now sit in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, and make examination about all articles of church furniture and books, what articles and books are from the cathedrals and monasteries, and of all that belongs to the *house* of the patriarchate; all, that is, that has been given to those churches and monasteries, or to the house of the patriarchate, in the time of former grand princes and the great hossoudars the tsars, or in the time of the present great hossoudar, but not of anything of the nature of personalty (lit. *cell*-property). But it is only of all that belongs to the Church that they make examination for the great hossoudar; and so they will continue to do.

And the patriarch said: Who, pray, gave the archbishop authority to act as master and regulator? All my own private *cell*-property was by oukaz of the great hossoudar overhauled and examined and inventoried by the boyar the prince Alex. Nik. Troubetskoy and his fellows; and from that my cell-property the great hossoudar was pleased to take to himself all the best articles. And now, too, it is not only about what belongs to the Church that they are making examination, but also they inquire about presents and bribes which I, when I was in the patriarchate, may have taken from any one. And letters, too, of the great hossoudar are sent to the monasteries of all the towns about this. And in what style these letters of the hossoudar are written, if you please, you shall hear. And he read a copy from one of those letters.[11]

[11] One of these letters, sent out in A.D. 1663, but dated a little later, May 3, has been printed from the original, which was found in the archives of the Gloushitz monastery in the diocese of Vologda. The hegoumen and brethren are to deliver their report to him whom the voivode at Vologda, Nikita Streshneff, and the secretary Anicius Cheerstoff may send for it.

[*Letter of the tsar to the N. monastery at N.* to question the community about the patriarch Nicon, to what amount and at what dates, during the time that he sat as patriarch or after he had relinquished the patriarchate, had he taken from the said monastery money, church furniture, gold and silver articles, books, bread, provisions, horses, estates, &c. Written in the year 1663, at such a date:

From the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, to N., to the hegoumen and brethren of the N. monastery: We the great hossoudar have made order that ye are to send a report to us the great hossoudar to Moscow, and to send depositions and lists under your hands: What, while he was at Moscow, did the most holy great hospodin Nicon, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, take to himself from the N. monastery, of any kind of church furniture, or of money from the treasury of the monastery, and of corn, flour, &c., and of horses, and of anything else that there may have been? And what did he take from the N. monastery in the way of estates, in exchange, or for a price, or without price, and in what cities, and in what years? And after he, the late patriarch Nicon, had left his primatial chair, what did he take from you, from the N. monastery, in any sort of church furniture, or money or valuables of the treasure of the monastery, or in bread, or horses, or estates for a price, or in exchange? And when this our imperial letter reaches you, ye are to write a report to us the great hossoudar; and ye are to send depositions and lists under your hands of what, during his continuance at Moscow or after leaving the patriarchate, the late patriarch Nicon took to himself from the N. monastery of all manner of church furniture, and from the treasury of the monastery in money and vessels of silver or gold, and books, or anything else; and from the estates all manner of bread provisions, and horses, and from estates in what ridings, and how many chetverts of every kind of bread-stuffs he took; and who carried the same bread-stuffs to him, and to what place, and what was the amount of anything that he the patriarch took from you, from the N. monastery, and in what year and month and day of the month he took whatever it may be, and what estates of the N. monastery he took in exchange, and for a price or without price, or what he took without purchase and without exchange, and in what towns

or districts belonging to them, and in what years, and in the time of what authorities of the N. monastery, and what lands or other rights and advantages of any kind of the said monastery he annexed to his own villages. Of all this ye are to write a report to us the great hossoudar exactly, and separately in columns; and ye are to deliver that your report and deposition and the lists under your hands to him whom our voivode N. N. and the secretary N. N. shall send to you from N. for those reports and depositions and lists: and an imperial letter from us is sent to him bidding him to send that your report and the depositions and lists under your hands from N. to us the great hossoudar to Moscow by a special messenger, with instructions to deliver them personally to our beadsmen, the most rev. Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, and Hilarion archbishop of Riazan and Mourom, and to our boyars the prince Nikita Ivanovich Odoefsky and Peter Michaelovich Soltikoff, and to our dumni dvorianin Procopius Cosmich Eleazaroff, and to our secretaries of the council Almiaz Ivanoff and Lucian Golosoff. But ye are not to send expressly any monks or servants from the N. monastery with those depositions to us the great hossoudar. Written at Moscow in the year 7171, A.D. 1663, at such a date.[12]]

But how the patriarch came by that copy he did not say. Having read it, he said: I know too that *by oukaz of the great hossoudar* the metropolitan of Gaza (Paisius Ligarides) is composing and making extracts (*i.e.* is employed to compose and to make extracts) against me. And other similar false witnesses to serve in the synod have been suborned against me, to the number of about 500 persons; and agents have been sent to buy others in Palestine (*i.e.* in the Levant); and money for this purpose has been sent to Palestine (to the Levant), to the amount of 30,000 rubles. And what the metropolitan of Gaza is roguishly concocting[13] and extracting, that also I know. And so saying he showed a copy of that writing in cahiers: but where he got that

[12] 'What malice,' Nicon asks, after mentioning these letters, 'can be greater than this? But by the mercy of God from all such things' [such, that is, as it was sought to impute to him] 'I am free.' See vol. i. p. 99, 116, 117; vol. iii. p. 392.

[13] The sense is 'has already concocted and written,' viz. the thirty Questions of the boyar Simeon Streshneff and the Answers to them, which Nicon means to answer 'on every point' in his *Replies*.

writing he did not say. 'That there should be a synod,' he said, 'I should myself be glad: only it must be a *legitimate* (canonical and free) *synod, not a bought one.* And as for the metropolitan of Gaza, I will answer him,' the patriarch said, 'on every point; but only from the canons and from the holy gospel.'

And it was said to the patriarch that if he meant to call the authorities (spiritual and temporal, *vlasti*) of the Muscovite empire false witnesses, he would for that be punished by God.

And the patriarch said: What kind of authorities? Who of them has any learning? or can speak from the canons? Why, they cannot even read and write.

And the patriarch was asked: Was he the only one in the Muscovite empire who could read and write? and was there not any one besides?

And the patriarch said: There may be a few; but the metropolitan Pitirim does not know even why he is a man.

And it was said to the patriarch that there was nothing to justify him in saying thus, that he alone knew letters. On the contrary, there were people from all classes who were ready to meet him with book-learning, and to argue with him by the canons; and there was enough to be said; only all was suspended by the condescendence of the hossoudar till the synod; and at the synod there will be present the œcumenical patriarchs.

Report sent before their return to Moscow from Voskresensk.

a. To the hossoudar the tsar, &c., thy slaves Oska Soukin and Vaska Brechoff make their obeisance.

On the 25th of February, hossoudar, by thy oukaz, we thy slaves were at the Voskresensky monastery with the patriarch Nicon, and spoke with him of thy imperial matters, of which we thy slaves had instruction by thy imperial oukaz, and of the wrongs of thy petitioners (*i. e.* of those who had suits against him).

1. With regard to thy imperial matters, what he the patriarch Nicon said to us thy slaves we will report to thee, the great hossoudar, when we see thy majesty's bright eyes.[14]

2. But as regards the petition which *the dvorianins and dieti-*

[14] See above, the report *b* already given at p. 419.

boyarskie of Novgorod, in the name of all the city, presented to thee against the authorities and the servants and the peasants of the Iversky monastery, respecting all their wrongs, the patriarch Nicon said: If any wrong had been done to any man it was his business to bring a written statement of that to him, the patriarch; *he*, certainly, was not in the habit of directing any wrong to be done to any man; and if any wrongs, hossoudar, *had* been done to any man, he certainly had no knowledge of it; and before this present time he had never heard of any petition of the Novogorodians about any wrongs. And whenever at other times some few people of other orders had petitioned him against the peasants of the Iversky monastery, he, hossoudar, upon receiving such petition had always written to the monastery, giving the strictest orders that in all matters of dispute they should make judicial inquiry and make award to the parties concerned on all points according to justice, at once, without any delay. And now by thy imperial oukaz, on the petition of the dvorianins and dieti-boyarskie of Novgorod, he the patriarch will send to the Iversky monastery to cause examination to be made, and will give orders to examine into all their alleged wrongs, and to surrender up at once all runaway people and peasants, if there are any such, according to the title-deeds produced. But if any of them in future, hossoudar, should have any matter against the servants or peasants of the Iversky monastery, he the patriarch requested the tsar that they should be required in those their suits, according to thy former imperial oukaz and according to thy imperial letter of grant and charter, to make suit against the same before the authorities of the Iversky monastery. But if any of the servants and peasants begin to sue in any matters they may have against them, the Novogorodians, in Novgorod before the boyar and the voivode, and they, the Novogorodian respondents, without declining the court, present counter petitions against those people of the monastery, then, in that case, those people of the monastery shall be obliged to plead in those matters and make answer to the Novogorodians at Novgorod before the boyar.

But as touching this, hossoudar, that the Novogorodians have written in their petition, that they take no soldiers from the peasants of the Iversky monastery, he the patriarch said: From the estates of the Iversky monastery in thy majesty's campaigns

there were at one time in military service 500 men, and at another time 300 men. But the Novogorodian petitioners petition thee that thy majesty would be pleased to order that in all other matters except spiritual their suits should be determined at Novgorod, by the boyar and the voivode; and to order that they should not be liable to be judged before the authorities of the Iversky monastery, because they, favouring their own servants and peasants, do great injustice in deciding causes, and they, the Novogorodians, are also exposed to great loss by delays.

But for this, hossoudar, that Procopius Khmieleff of Novgorod petitioned thy majesty against the peasants of the Iversky monastery for attacking and wounding him, saying that they beat him, the patriarch said that he Procopius had been to him, and he had examined him by ocular inspection, and the result of the inspection was this, that on his back there *was a slight mark*, whether it had been caused by a plitt or by anything else I cannot say: but for anything else to be called *wounds* on his body, hossoudar, there was nothing of the sort; and he had been informed of this fact, that he Procopius had been beaten for theft; and he the patriarch had given him a letter to the Iversky monastery, that judicial inquiry should be made into his case, and had sent him away with it, before we thy slaves arrived.

3. But as regards the petition of *Roman Babarikin*, hossoudar, the patriarch said, that about the disputed land by oukaz of thy majesty an inquest had been made before now; and as thy imperial oukaz after that inquest shall decree, so let it be; he the patriarch makes no petition to thy majesty about that land; and for the corn that he may have carried from that disputed land, he will pay [if it be awarded to him] for it to him Roman Babarikin, at the price at which corn was selling at the time in the market, in silver or copper money; but of *corn*, hossoudar, in the monastery he is very short. But against the peasants of the Voskresensky monastery, against whom Roman petitions for assaulting his nephew and his people and peasants, he has obtained an award already. But he Roman Babarikin petitions thy majesty to be pleased to order that that his corn which was carried should be either repaid in kind, or else in silver money at the price at which corn is selling *now;* and to order that he should have

redress and protection against the peasants who beat his nephew and people and peasants. And for what the patriarch says that those peasants have already been punished on that account, he knows nothing of that; in his Roman's presence there was no punishment inflicted on them; and if they *were* punished then, he supposes it was for some other causes, but not on account of his matter.

4. But with respect to the petition of *Ivan Sitin*, the patriarch Nicon said: About the disputed land there has already, by thy imperial oukaz, been made an inquest; and as thy majesty upon that inquest shall decree, so let it be; or let that disputed land be measured off according to the award to him Ivan by chetverts. But as regards his Ivan's people whom his the patriarch's foreigner took at the lake and beat without his knowledge for stealing his fish, for that the same foreigner has already been punished (or reprimanded) by him: and now that foreigner is at Moscow: and when they shall let him go from Moscow, he will for that his fault (if the tsar pleases) order him to be punished over again. But to pay a fine for dishonour and assault to those people of Ivan Sitin, this, hossoudar, he will *not* do. And for that in the monastery he the patriarch ordered those people of Ivan Sitin to be slightly beaten with sticks for this, that they in his presence spoke insolently: for this, hossoudar, let it be as thy majesty may please.

And we thy slaves said to him the patriarch, that he wrote to thee the great hossoudar as if the people of Ivan Sitin had been beaten [*at the lake*] without his knowledge, and adduced in witness of that the holy gospel; but his foreigner at Moscow, when examined, said, and he the patriarch now admits, that those people of Ivan were beaten *in the monastery* by his order: and that was done not in accordance with his written statement which he wrote to thee the great hossoudar, and in which he adduced the holy gospel in witness of his own not being cognisant of *that*. And the patriarch said to us thy slaves, that he wrote to thee the great hossoudar of *this*, that those people were beaten *at the lake by his foreigner* without his knowledge; but not of this, that for their insolence they were punished in the monastery.

But respecting the peasant of Ivan Sitin who is living with the patriarch, the patriarch wished to settle the matter with him

Ivan Sitin, according to the title-deeds which should be produced. But with respect to the robbery of his Ivan's people, and of a church diachok, who were said to have been robbed on his the patriarch's estate in the selo Rojestvenno, the patriarch said, that there had already been an inquest made about this before him; and the depositions as subscribed are still with him; and by the depositions no assault or robbery of those people of Ivan or of the church diachok was proved. But for this, that Ivan Sitin petitioned thee the great hossoudar against the patriarch's peasants, on account of a peasant of his who was hanged on a tree, of that he knows nothing [or, he takes no cognisance of that], and has no means of making inquisition about it; but if thou the great hossoudar makest an oukaz to make inquisition about that by torture, let thy imperial will be done in the matter. Only, if he tortures his the patriarch's peasants, he ought also to examine by torture, as to the same matter, his Ivan Sitin's peasants and Ivan Sitin himself. But the vicar of the Voskresensky monastery, hossoudar, said to Ivan Sitin, in presence of him the patriarch, that that peasant of his, Ivan's, hanged himself, because he Ivan threatened him with severe floggings for having, while playing with another peasant of his, run a fork through his foot. And we thy slaves questioned the same vicar how he knew of that? And the vicar said, he heard it from his Ivan's peasants; but from whom by name he did not say. And we questioned Ivan Sitin. He says, that there are no eye-witnesses or positive witnesses to prove who hanged that peasant of his. We bade him say how any inquisition could be made about it? And Ivan said, that order should be given to examine by torture those peasants of the patriarch against whom he petitions thee the great hossoudar, without witnesses or positive grounds of charge, on the ground of previous reasons for suspicion; also to examine by torture the wife of that his peasant who was hanged. That woman is now married to one of the patriarch's peasants. And of that, what may be your majesty's orders to us thy slaves?

vi. In the year 7171, Feb. 28, the great hossoudar &c., having heard these reports, decreed, and the boyars counselled and concurred, to grant to Ivan Sitin, in the matter of his peasant who was hanged, a trial against the patriarch's peasants, such of them as may be suspected, and to make judicial inquisition

without [torturing to] blood; and after having made the inquisition, that the okolnik and the secretary charged with it were to come to Moscow.

vii. Of this a letter was despatched, Feb. 28, by the undersecretary of the prikaz of requests Mikitka Zotoff.

Memorial from Nicon to the tsar.

viii. In the year 7171, A.D. 1663, June 16, by oukaz of the great hossoudar, &c. there came to the monastery of Voskresensk to the humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, the doumni dvorianin Ivan Iv. Baklanofsky and the secretary Basil Brechoff, and brought with them an imperial letter issued upon the petition of Roman Babarikin. And the patriarch Nicon, having heard the hossoudar's letter, said, according to the command of the gospel, Yea, yea: In the past year 7169 (A.D. 1661) the peasants of the Voskresensky monastery cut rye of Roman Babarikin's sowing by order of me the patriarch Nicon, not of their own will. And I the patriarch Nicon gave orders to cut that rye for this reason, that in the years preceding I had sent petitions to the great hossoudar against him Roman Babarikin, praying for an order to make inquest according to the title-deeds, for the purpose of proving that he Roman had possessed himself by force of land belonging to the monastery. And there was no imperial grace nor oukaz of any kind on that matter. And the patriarch Nicon *wrote about that to the hossoudar*,[15] that if there were still no grace (*i.e.* no gracious attention) to notice his petitions on that subject, he should defend himself as well as he could: and with that view that rye was cut and carried and stowed in the granary till further oukaz from the hossoudar. And that affair was protracted, and it was long before there was an oukaz from the hossoudar; and the patriarch Nicon gave orders to thresh that corn, that it might not be eaten by the mice, and the amount that it yielded he ordered to be written down; and the yield of that corn, according to the entry in the books, was sixty-seven chetverts. And in the year 7170 (A.D. 1661-2) Roman Babarikin, having come repeatedly, requested him amicably to give up that corn: but that corn in the mean

[15] In the petition mentioned at p. 400, or in a subsequent complaint of the delay.

time, without any application to him the patriarch Nicon, had been consumed by the authorities of the monastery, as they were short of provisions. And the patriarch Nicon said that he would buy other corn and give it instead, but for the present asked him to wait. And he Roman, without waiting, petitioned the hossoudar with falsehood, as if the patriarch Nicon were refusing to settle the matter with him amicably.[16] And in this present year 7171 (A.D. 1663), in consequence of his Roman's lying petition, there were sent by imperial oukaz to the Voskresensky monastery the okolnik Osip Iv. Soukin and the secretary Basil Brechoff, and *I was commanded to make a composition with him Roman, according to all that was sought for in his lying petition.* And I the patriarch Nicon, in obedience to the imperial oukaz, *was willing to make composition with him for all fairly;* and I ordered, with a view to this composition, the treasurer to bring whatever silver money there was in the treasury to my cells; and there were found and brought in silver money 600 rubles. And I the patriarch Nicon bade Roman, in the fear of God [that is, if his conscience allowed him], take money for that rye which had been cut; for sixty-seven chetverts, at the price at which rye had been selling at Moscow at the same time for silver money. And he was willing to take it at that price: and the price of corn for that year is registered at Moscow in the imperial office of weights and measures, at what rate corn was sold during the three preceding years.[17] But the extent of the disputed land was, according to the depositions of the people who were examined, about thirty dessiatines. But he Roman said that there had been cut and threshed from that land about 600 chetverts and over. And he took the whole of the 600 rubles from the table; and said: 'I have the money now for *half*.' And on that account the patriarch Nicon, seeing his injustice, refused to have anything more to do with him in the way of composition, because it was not possible to provide money to satisfy the demands made in his lying petition; and one could not redeem oneself from that lying petition with the whole monastery. And the patriarch Nicon said to the okolnik and to the secretary, that it was impos-

[16] Babarikin having obtained a decision previously in his favour, however unjustly, as regarded the land?

[17] It was fifty kopecks the chetvert. See *Replies*, &c. p. 585. So for sixty-seven chetverts he should have taken thirty-three rubles and a half.

sible for him to make hereafter any sort of compositions with Roman on account of his injustice, and that in years past, when he was in the patriarchate, when he purchased[18] from Roman Babarikin the estate of the selo of Voskresensk with its derevnias and its wastes, and after that, having applied to the great hossoudar and having obtained his permission, began to build the Voskresensky monastery, the corn that was standing in the fields in shocks was given in by Roman Babarikin as a gift, towards the building: how much of that corn there was when it came to be threshed the patriarch Nicon does not remember exactly, but he thinks that of that corn in all, of spring wheat and of rye, there were about 300 chetverts; and as regards the price at which they were then buying and selling wheat and rye, the prices for that year were registered at Moscow in the hossoudar's office of measures; but here, in the country, corn is always cheaper than at Moscow. But those people can speak about the corn who, by order of the patriarch, were employed on the building of the monastery in those years from the patriarchal dvor. And there were no petitions at all from Roman about that to the hossoudar or to the patriarch, down to the time of the quarrel. And the patriarch did *not* take that corn by force; he took it as from a friend by gift. But if Roman, forgetting the fear of God and his own vow, like Ananias and Sapphira, having changed his mind, wishes to take that corn back, the patriarch also petitions on that subject the hossoudar [as if in aid of Babarikin's wish], and requests that the hossoudar would make order to institute a strict inquiry about that corn, by examining the people who were employed in the building of the monastery from the patriarchal dvor, and who threshed out that corn, and at what rate in those three years they bought corn in the country, both at sowing time and at harvest, such corn as that land produces, as was said before the okolnik Osip Iv. Soukin, and before the secretary Basil Brechoff, because the patriarch has coming in to the mon-

[18] There is a letter written from Nicon to the tsar, probably about the time of this purchase, in A.D. 1656, to intercede for Babarikin, who was then in disgrace, as follows: 'To the great hossoudar, &c.: Gracious tsar, &c. may it please you to be favourable to Roman Theod. Babarikin, and to us pleading in his behalf; and *give him out from prison to us*, on our being security for him. Your majesty's humble beadsman, Nicon patriarch.

'I write from the selo Chashnikovo, on the property of the prince Iv. Alex. Vorotinsky, past two o'clock. Health to thee, holy tsar, and happiness, with all that belong to thee!'

astery no sort of revenues in money, and the patriarch will pay the amount, whatever it shall be, with the church furniture, vessels and icons, books and bells, and whatever else there may be belonging to the foundation of the monastery.

And in years past he Roman petitioned the patriarch to found on the old site of Voskresensk a monastery of nuns in memory of his parents, and he Roman would give the money which he had received for the estate of Voskresensk and Kashino towards that foundation, and after his death he would give also the village Bobirevo and the dvor there for a perpetual commemoration [of his soul and the souls of his parents]. And the patriarch Nicon in pursuance of the agreement began on that spot to prepare materials, and erected a wooden church, and they made cells, and carried thither lime for mortar, and nuns were got together. And the patriarch spoke to Roman that he should send money for the building, and give for the nuns corn and money according to his agreement; and Roman did not stand to that his word; he sent no money. And the patriarch, seeing his dishonesty, gave orders to build the monastery in another place. And hereby the patriarch incurred great losses. And now in that monastery there are fifteen nuns, and sometimes more. And to this day, according to that his agreement with Roman, the patriarch feeds them with his own bread, and finds them shoes and clothing. And for those nuns there have been issued from the patriarch Nicon in these dear times, and are still issued, for each one of the fifteen nuns yearly, from the year 7166, of rye corn a chetvert and a half, and of oats the same quantity, making in all forty-five chetverts, and at the rate of half an osmina of griesha grits, and a like quantity of oaten grits, making for the fifteen nuns seven chetverts and a half [an osmina being half a chetvert], eight poods of salt, ten poods of fish, of semgi; and to the hegoumena and the sisters of that nunnery an allowance in money at the rate of a ruble to each nun, and to the dvornik yearly at the rate of three chetverts of rye and the same quantity of oats, making six chetverts, a pood of salt, and in money four rubles; and further to the nuns, for whatever is wanted or falls short during the year, there is given in full tale, without any refusal, every sort of thing that may be necessary. And they, the nuns, come into the monastery to the liturgy on all Sundays and festivals of our Lord, to

the number of ten persons or more. And they all, after the liturgy, receive refreshment of the food of the brethren. But he Roman has never, in fulfilment of his agreement, up to this present date given so much as one chetvert of corn or one single ruble in money for those nuns. And for those losses the hossoudar may be pleased make gracious consideration.

And the okolnik and the secretary spoke to the patriarch, desiring him to give satisfaction against the peasants. And the patriarch subscribed with his hand, below the detailed statement of Roman petitioning for an inquest, an order to the authorities of the monastery to make inquest, and to make order afterwards accordingly; and he sent to him Roman for the inquest the vicar the hieromonach Joseph. And he Roman, without waiting, went off to Moscow. And a second time after this he came to the monastery, and petitioned the patriarch according to his former agreement about the building of the nunnery, that he should remove to the old site of Voskresensk the wooden church and the cells. And the patriarch said he was willing to remove it, but he Roman must find the workmen who should remove it, and he Roman must remove it with his own peasants, or by hiring others, and set up the wooden church. And he sent him a detailed minute of the agreement, with the words which he the patriarch had used in speaking to him Roman. And Roman, forgetting his promise and amicable agreement, wrote another minute; and in it he wrote such falsehood that it was impossible for terms ever to be agreed to; and of the estate and the dvor in that his minute he made no mention; nor of the money did he make any mention either. But yea, yea, according to the holy gospel he agreed to give, after my departure from Moscow, the dvor and the estate, and the money which had been received for the estate of Voskresensk, for his own spiritual and bodily welfare, and for a perpetual commemoration of the souls of his parents. And we pray to God for him Roman at this present time, and make commemoration for his parents; and if he Roman will keep his word, as he promised, we will pray to God specially for him in the holy ectenias, in like manner as we pray for others who have been lovers of God and great benefactors. But as for the written minute which the patriarch gave to him Roman with the words which were spoken, and for the minute which he Roman sent to the patriarch, copies of those

minutes, word for word, are appended to this affidavit. But about the inquest against the peasants and satisfaction, if due, the patriarch sent to him Roman the archimandrite, on purpose, the second time: and the archimandrite went and collected the peasants against whom he Roman had made complaint. And he Roman said to the archimandrite: I have no matter to pursue against those peasants, and may God forgive them for all; only he Roman demanded satisfaction against three individuals. And now the patriarch petitions the great hossoudar that he would order the doumni dvorianin Iv. Iv. Baklanofsky and the secretary to make inquest against those peasants against whom he Roman demands satisfaction; and after the inquest make an order in presence of our authorities of the monastery, that it may be satisfactory to him [*i. e.* that he may not be able to say anything against it]; and the disputed land the patriarch would give up to him Roman for the sake of an understanding, that he should no longer on any other pretext wage war against him.

And in the imperial letter it was written: 'In this year 7171, May 26 (A.D. 1663), there was sent to the monastirski prikaz from the prikaz of petitions a minute under the signature of the secretary with respect to the petitions of Roman Babarikin and the elder[19] Aaron, the stroitel of the Voskresensky monastery; and order was made to decide the matters pending between them in the monastirski prikaz, according to the Code (the Oulojenie), *there having been no counter petition* in that matter *from the authorities of the Voskresensky monastery to the great hossoudar*.'[20]

In making this assertion the okolnik *lied*, and wrote in that minute what was false, when there *had been a petition* to the hossoudar in that case, and the petition was appended to the case itself. And in the same imperial letter there was mention of the affidavit of the patriarch Nicon which was given in the past year 7170, Aug. 26 (A.D. 1662), to the same doumni dvorianin Iv. Iv. Baklanofsky and to the secretary Peter Maligin about that disputed land of the village Katchaborova, and the wastes Dokoukina and Yakovitzina, and the separate meadows of

[19] Rather 'against the elder.'

[20] Ignoring the petition or plea which *had* been made to the tzar, but not in ordinary course, through the prikaz.

Shastova and Ivanova. But the patriarch Nicon wrote in the affidavit thus: 'They know about our land, who were at an earlier time owners of estates and old inhabitants hereabouts, the boyar Peter Bas. Sheremetieff and the stolnik Ivan Andr. Poleff: and the land of Roman is known by Greg. Greg. Koledinsky, and his peasant Danilko Semenoff, called Meskoff. And whatever they shall say of that land, the patriarch Nicon is ready to accept their witness, and to set the landmarks accordingly.' And the patriarch Nicon petitioned the great hossoudar that examination should be made about that land by the evidence of those landed proprietors and old inhabitants, and by the written official registers, and by the title-deeds. And in consequence of that petition the hossoudar's confessor, the rev. protopope Lucian Cyrillovich, delivered verbally an oukaz of the hossoudar to the doumni dvorianin Iv. Iv. Baklanofsky, that till such time as those former landed proprietors and old inhabitants should have returned from the hossoudar's service, they should not apportion the boundaries of the land.

But when those former proprietors and old inhabitants had returned from the hossoudar's service, no questions were asked of them whatever respecting those disputed lands, nor was any search made of the official written registers of the pomiestni prikaz;[21] but order is now made to him the doumni dvorianin Iv. Iv. Baklanofsky and the secretary Basil Brechoff to mark off the boundaries of that disputed land, without any manner of evidence or examination, according to his Roman's lying petition, and not according to the patriarch's references which he made to the old landed proprietors and inhabitants: and the doumni dvorianin and the secretary *refuse to take any notice of our former petition and affidavit, or of the present petition of the authorities of the monastery;* they grant no inquiry concerning that our land, but are going to mark it off, and award it according to his Roman's lying petition. Without any cession having really been made by the patriarch, that petition speaks of the Katchaborova land as what was formerly '*ceded* by the patriarch by agreement.' But hitherto the patriarch has never ceded that land, because he Roman did not keep his word. And they award to him Roman the Yakovitzina waste instea' of his Roman's waste of Dokoukina, according to his Roman's lying

[21] The prikaz of *pomiestie, i. e.* of estates granted temporarily for service.

petition, without any inquiry. But with regard to the Dokoukina waste, the old inhabitants know that Roman took that waste into his fields. And to kill him Roman or to kill his people, the patriarch never gave any orders; but he did give orders to reap the corn and to cut the hay, till Roman should give up the possession of the land. But in the event of Roman's sending with a notice that he gave up the land, then the patriarch's orders were that they should go off from the fields and from the meadows.

But for that which is written in the imperial letter, that *the authorities of the Voskresensky monastery are commanded to send a man to appear before the court*, the patriarch has no one whom he would have appear in a suit with such an unrighteous man. And even though he had, the patriarch, contrary to the divine commandments and the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, will neither go himself before a secular court nor send any one else. For the patriarch swore in the cathedral before God and his holy angels and all the saints, and before the tsar and all the sacred synod and all the tsar's synclete, and all the people, to observe the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, saying thus: 'Though any one bidding me to do something contrary to these were even to threaten me with death, I will not listen to him.' And the Lord, with an asseveration, says: 'Ye shall be brought before kings (tsars) and rulers; fear them not.' And again, with words to inspire fear, commanding us rather to fear himself: 'Fear,' he says, 'Him who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell fire.' And he says: 'If any one will go to law with thee and take from thee thy cloak, forbid him not to take also thine inner garment.' And the great hossoudar is well aware of that our promise and oath made to God in his presence at our appointment. Likewise in the appointments (*i.e.* coronations) of emperors or kings (tsars) there is nothing either written or said by the bishop who anoints an emperor to the empire of his judging the sacred order, but that he is to be a defender of the Church &c., as it stands in the prayers for the anointing of an emperor to the empire, and in the admonitions addressed by the bishop to the emperor after he has been anointed to the empire. Nor is it to the advantage of the great hossoudar that the sacred order should be under the jurisdiction of laymen. According to the

sacred canons, neither is the prayer of such rulers acceptable to God, nor the oblation [that they bring to be] offered for their imperial health and spiritual salvation, and for their prosperity in all secular matters. The Lord has commanded religious emperors to *hear* their teachers, not to lord it over them. For 'he that heareth you,' he says, 'heareth me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me.' In like manner also the divine Apostle teaches: 'Brethren, obey your teachers, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls.' How shall they so watch, if they are wronged and insulted? Likewise the Lord admonishes them that have received no commission to judge, saying: 'Judge not, and ye shall not be judged.' And the divine Paul says: 'Therefore, brethren, judge not before the time, until the Lord shall come in glory, and shall reveal the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God.' And the Two Canons of all the Apostles together: 'Let every man abide in the order given to him; and transgress not ye the commandments, for they are not ours, but God's:' as the Lord says: 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that heareth me heareth him that sent me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me.' Canon ii.: 'They that take to themselves what has not been given to them provoke God, as the sons of Korah and king Uzziah; for he who presumes to do such things fights not with us, but with the great high-priest Christ. For though Philip baptised the eunuch, and Ananias baptised me Paul, yet they did not usurp to themselves the sacred order, but received power from God, from the incomparable High-priest.' Canon xv. of the council of Carthage: 'Bishops and priests and deacons accused of any crimes, if, leaving the ecclesiastical tribunals, they betake themselves to secular, even though they be acquitted, are to lose their order.' Canon civ. of the same council: 'He who applies to the emperor for a secular trial is to be deposed from the episcopate.' And canon ix. of the Fourth holy Œcumenical Council decrees the same. On the other side of the roll there is the following inscription: 'The humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, testifying in the fear of God, that such is the truth.'

Appended to the above.

ix. (*Copy.*) *In the year* 7171, *May 5, the detailed minute given in by Roman Fedor. Babarikin, to the most holy patriarch Nicon.*

'In the selo of Voskresensk' &c., as given below in the Appendices to this volume.

In repeating and enforcing the anathemas of the councils and the fathers on the first Sunday in Lent in A.D. 1662, Nicon had abstained, as we have seen, from naming the tsar, for whom he never ceased to pray publicly (giving him still, in all probability, the conventional titles of 'most religious' and 'orthodox'), though he excommunicated by name the advisers and instruments of his irreverence and injustice. And though some who were sent as commissioners to Voskresensk reported that Nicon had threatened to excommunicate the tsar and to cut him off from Christianity, this, like Paisius Ligarides' story of his appealing to the Pope, was probably only a misrepresentation of something quite different really said by Nicon. Nicon had said that by the same rule by which Paisius Ligarides argued that Nicon was deposed and degraded by the canons, because he had been improperly reordained, it would follow that the patriarchs of Moscow, his predecessors, had equally been degraded, and all their acts rendered null; and he might show that the tsar himself, who had been baptised by the patriarch Philaret, was unbaptised (at least, according to the canons called the Canons of the Apostles) and cut off from Christianity. In the same way later words spoken by Nicon against a misquotation of canon xvi. of the First and Second Council, adduced by the Greeks as if out of their Greek Πηδάλιον printed at Venice, were taken to prove that Nicon rejected all councils held after the Seventh Œcumenical, when yet he himself quoted from the Slavonic Kormchay that very same canon of that same council which he was falsely said to reject. Nevertheless, Nicon did not shrink from saying that the tsar himself was subject to the judgment of the bishop, and liable to excommunication; that the tsar's public acts showed little Christianity; and that so far from having a right to appoint to spiritual offices, or to enter the sanctuary to communicate, he had lost, according to the sentences of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, the right even to cross the threshold of the

church, having broken his oath made to God not once only, but three times over. For one oath broken was that made by him, in common with all Christians, in his baptism; another, that which he made at his coronation; and a third, that which he made, together with all the boyars, in order to induce Nicon to undertake the patriarchate (see *Replies*, &c. p. 581-3). And after that (in his *Replies*, &c. p. 584-604), he goes on and gives an abridged account of the way in which the tsar had acted in the suits of Ivan Sitin and Roman Babarikin, down to the last commission sent by him through the monastirski prikaz for the final termination of those suits, as follows:

And the hossoudar the tsar from that time [of the patriarch's withdrawal from Moscow to Voskresensk] has persisted, and still persists, in his anger against the patriarch Nicon, and believes all manner of false accusers who bring accusations against him; and he has banished on his account many good men, priests and deacons and laymen; and he has taken upon himself the functions of the episcopal order and the ecclesiastical authority, contrary to the divine laws, and in breach of his own oaths, made first in holy baptism, again when he was made tsar, and the third time when Nicon was appointed to the patriarchate, that he would not be otherwise minded than as becomes orthodox emperors.

x. But he the hossoudar not only dragged to his will bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, and priests and deacons, but *many times* he sought to force the patriarch Nicon himself also *to be a litigant* in his court (prikaz) with Roman Babarikin and with Ivan Sitin, before his okolnik Osip Soukin, and before his doumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky.

And the patriarch Nicon said on those occasions to those people of the council and to the secretaries sent with them, that 'that is improperly done by the tsar's majesty, to cause us bishops, contrary to the divine canons, to be judged by secular judges.'

And [on the first occasion of the two, Feb. 12, A.D. 1663] Osip Soukin said to the patriarch, looking at the instruction of the hossoudar: '*If thou wilt not plead* in these suits, in answer to Ivan Sitin and in answer to Roman Babarikin, the hossoudar will give order to draw up an oukaz according to his own judgment of the cases [*i.e.* on the statements of the suitors]; and to

make a settlement of the matter he will send two companies of streltsi, and order them to make such a settlement as he thinks proper.'

And the patriarch Nicon said that he feared not those threats of the tsar, because Nicon has his own tsar, the Lord Christ, who says: 'Fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. Yea, I will tell you whom to fear: fear Him who, after he has killed, has power also to cast into hell: yea, I say unto you, fear Him.' And Nicon said to the okolnik Osip: 'If ye have an oukaz from the tsar even to kill me Nicon, Nicon is not afraid.' And opening his breast, Nicon offered it to the okolnik, bidding him strike, if he would. And he said: 'When there *is* such an oukaz from the tsar, we shall not be ashamed to execute it.' And Nicon said to Osip that 'Nicon cares neither about his own death, nor about any property; but he will not *go to law* [in the tsar's courts], contrary to the divine commandment, which says: If any one will go to law with thee, and take thy cloak from thee, forbid him not to take thy coat also.'

And Nicon bade his treasurer bring him all the money in silver which was in the treasury. On examination, there were found 600 rubles; and they put them on the table in the entrance-hall. And Nicon said: 'If Nicon has wronged any man, let him come and take his damages in the fear of God; and if there is not enough, I will then give order to let him have the sheathed icons from the church, and the church books, and the bells, and whatever cattle and sheep there may be found in the stables and cattle-sheds of the monastery.'

And he Osip bade Roman Babarikin to take his money. And Roman, for the rye which had been cut (which Nicon had given order to cut on his own land—land which Roman had forcibly occupied), for sixty-seven chetverts of rye, took *all* those 600 rubles. Now when that rye was cut, they were buying rye at a poltina, *i.e.* at half a ruble, for the Moscow chetvert; so that the price for sixty-seven chetverts should have been thirty-three and a half rubles, and Babarikin took 566 and a half rubles more than the value. Having thus satisfied themselves and Babarikin, the commissioners returned to Moscow.

xi. And after that [on the 25th of June, Nicon's petition to the tsar given above, no. viii., having had no better success

than those which had preceded it], by oukaz of the hossoudar, there were sent to the monastery of Voskresensk from the tsar and grand prince the doumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky and the secretary Basil Zviereff, with many other people, with clerks and streltsi. [And they had orders to make inquest on the spot concerning the acts of violence alleged against the peasants of Nicon's monastery by Ivan Sitin, which they did; and the result of this inquest was, that it was made clear by the evidence that in all his lying petitions he had been falsely accusing the patriarch; and the commissioners themselves of the monastirski prikaz, which had then already awarded him all his demands in full, found no grounds for *punishing* anybody. They had orders also to announce to Nicon the final decision of the monastirski prikaz in the suit of Babarikin, according to which Nicon was absolutely to give up to him all the disputed land.]

And they spoke to the patriarch Nicon, that the patriarch should make a compromise with Roman Babarikin. And the patriarch Nicon said that he held possession of no land belonging to Roman, but only of his own land which he had bought; and that Roman, without any pretence of right, had trespassed upon it. And they, the doumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky and the secretary Basil Zviereff, said: 'We have orders to put Roman in possession of that disputed land, according to his own affidavit.' And they drove to the land in order to mark it off.[22] This was on the afternoon of the 25th of June.

And while they were about this, the patriarch Nicon went into the church with the brethren, and sang a moleben (a παράκλησις) to the holy and life-giving Cross of the Lord, and said prayers, together with the psalms appointed as proper to be said by them that are suffering violence, according to the rule of St. Athanasius the Great, archbishop of Alexandria. [These are in the Greek and Slavonic versions psalms lxviii. *Salvum me fac*, and cviii. *Deus laudum;* in the Hebrew, lxix. and cix.; and they contain the following passages: Save me, O God: for the waters are come in, even to my soul. . . I am weary of

[22] Eventually the lands unjustly taken in A.D. 1663 from the Voskresensky monastery were restored to it by a judgment given upon the suit and petition of the archimandrite and brethren in the time of the tsar Theodore and the patriarch Joachim, and that land in particular which had been unjustly awarded to Babarikin was restored with the addition of a selo taken from his estate.

crying; my throat is dry: mine eyes fail while I look for my God. They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of my head; they that are mine enemies and would destroy me wrongfully are mighty. I restored that which I had never taken away: God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my faults are not hid from thee. Let not them that trust in thee, O Lord, be ashamed for my cause: let not those that seek thee be confounded through me, O Lord God of Israel. Because for thy sake I have suffered reproach; shame hath covered my face. I am become a *stranger* unto my brethren, even *an alien* unto my mother's children. For the zeal of thine house hath even eaten me: and the rebukes of them that rebuked thee are fallen upon me. I wept, and chastened myself with fasting; and that was turned to my reproof. I put on sackcloth also; and they jested upon me. They that sit in the gate (the men in power and office) speak against me; and the drunkards (and jesters) make songs (and jokes) upon me. But, Lord, I make my prayer unto thee; . . . . hear me, O God, in the multitude of thy mercy. . . . Take me out of the mire, that I sink not: O let me be delivered from them that hate me, and out of the deep waters. . . . Draw nigh unto my soul, and save it; O deliver me because of mine enemies. Thou hast known my reproach, my shame, and my dishonour: mine adversaries are all in thy sight. Reproach hath broken my heart; I am full of heaviness: I looked for some to sympathise, but there was none; and for comforters, but I found none. They gave me also gall to eat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink. Let their table [their endowments, and salaries] be made a snare before them; and let that which should have been for their welfare become unto them a *trap*. Let their *eyes be blinded*, that they see not; and ever bow thou down [*in servitude*] their backs. Pour out thine indignation upon them, and let thy wrathful displeasure take hold of them. Let their habitations be made void; and no heirs to dwell in them. For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten; and they talk how they may vex them whom thou hast wounded. Let them *fall from one wickedness to another*, and not come into thy righteousness. Let them be *wiped out of the book of the living*, and not be written among the righteous. &c. But as for me, thy help, O God, shall lift me up. For God will save *Sion*, and build the cities of Judah; the *posterity*

also of his servants shall inherit it; and they that love his name shall dwell therein.

And in the other psalm: O God, the mouth of the ungodly, yea, the mouth of the deceitful, is opened upon me. And they have spoken against me with false tongues: they compassed me about also with words of hatred, and fought against me without a cause. For the love that I had unto them, lo, they take now my contrary part: but I give myself unto prayer. Thus have they rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my good will. *Set thou an ungodly man to be ruler over him.* When he shall be judged, let him be condemned; and let his prayer be turned into sin. Let his days be few,[23] and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow.[24] Let his children be vagabonds, and beg; let them seek their bread also out of desolate places.[25] Let the extortioner consume all that he hath, and let the stranger spoil his labour.[26] Let there be no man to befriend him, nor to have compassion on his fatherless children.[27] Let the iniquity of his fathers (his predecessors, as John III. and John IV. Bas.) be had in remembrance in the sight of the Lord, and let not the sin of his mother (of his mother's family and relations the Streshneffs) be done away. Let

[23] The tsar Alexis died in January A.D. 1676, before he had completed his forty-seventh year.

[24] His children were left fatherless prematurely, and his wife, his second wife, a widow; and they were exposed to great dangers and calamities in consequence.

[25] His son Peter, not having had the benefit of a father's care, nor of religious nurture, begged as it were dust and poison as bread from irreligious strangers, and was a vagabond far from God and from his country: he sought food for his natural capacity out of desolate and barren places, from fields of lava or of sand, which grow no bread.

[26] His kingdom was impoverished by long wars, and the fruits of his early victories were taken from him and spoiled by strangers, by the Swedes, the Kozaks, the Poles, the Tatars, and the Turks; and above all, the labour of himself and that of his successors was spoiled by the bousourmantsvo of the Niemtsi.

[27] There *was* no man: Matveyeff was in exile when his presence was most needed, exiled by the tsar Alexis' own connections and favourites; Theodore, as soon as he was old enough to do good, died; Peter was first spiritually starved and murdered by his own half-sister Sophia, and miseducated into a monster capable only of developing the consequences of his father's sins, and of exhibiting the criminal as his own executioner. The right of hereditary succession was cut off from the posterity of Alexis, and the heir to it put to death by his own father, the son of Alexis; and in the second generation (the *next* after that of his son, the third from himself) his *name* (the name going with heirs male) was clean put out.

them be before the Lord continually, that he may cut off the memorial of them from off the earth.[28] And that because his mind was not to do good; because that he remembered not to show mercy, but persecuted the poor distressed man, that he might even slay him that was vexed at the heart. He loved the curse, let it come to him; he had no mind to blessing, let blessing be far from him. He clothed himself with the curse as with a garment; let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones. Let it be unto him as the cloak which covereth him, and as the girdle with which he is always girded. Let it thus happen from the Lord unto mine enemies, and to those that speak evil against my soul. But deal thou with me, O Lord God, according unto thy name. O deliver me; for I am helpless and poor; and my heart is wounded within me. I became also a reproach unto them; when they looked upon me, they shaked their heads. Help me, O Lord my God; O save me, according to thy mercy. And they shall know how that this is thy hand; and that thou, Lord, hast done it. Though they curse, yet bless thou: and let them be confounded that rise up against me. Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame; and let them cover themselves with their own confusion as with a cloak. As for me, I will give great thanks unto the Lord with my mouth; for he shall stand at the right hand of the poor, to save his soul from unrighteous judges and persecutors.]

And on the second day (*i.e.* on the morrow, after celebrating the liturgy) the patriarch with the brethren sang again a moleben after the same manner. [At the end of this moleben, he placed before the icon of the Mother of God and under the holy cross the letter of grant given by the tsar to the Voskresensky monastery, and read over it the prayers.] And at that time Roman Babarikin was within the monastery; and he was present during the moleben; and he at that time said nothing.

xii. Here, before coming to the last commission, sent in consequence of what Nicon had done, and of the account given of it by Babarikin at the prikaz at Moscow, let us pause, and go back a little, so as to have fully before us the state in which things were when that commission was sent.

[28] It has been cut off from the earth: neither does the family of his mother or that of his first wife any longer exist.

On the 2d of January A.D. 1663 the tsar had sent out letters summoning the Russian bishops to appear on the 9th of May at Moscow for a synod (as had been recommended by Paisius Ligarides in A.D. 1662, in his Answers to the xxx. Questions of the boyar Streshneff), and to bring with them such of the archimandrites and hegoumens as were most skilled in the canons. There is still preserved a letter written in consequence on the 8th of Feb. from Marcellus, archbishop of Vologda, to the archimandrite of the Cyrilloff monastery on Bielo-ozero, requiring him to go to the tsar's synod. On some day in Lent between the 8th of March and the 12th of April, Paisius Ligarides, who had already become a prominent personage through his Answers to Streshneff, was called for privately, and asked by the grandees of the council in what way the Church, which all these years past had been suffering damage, and had been left deserted and in widowhood, might be definitively delivered from this widowhood, the synod of A.D. 1660, in spite of the resolutions passed by it, having failed to bring them to this end? for it seemed very scandalous that the Church should be headless, and this patriarchal chair so long be seen empty, without any lawful pastor and good hierarch. The metropolitan of Gaza—so he himself relates the matter—replied, that this wish of the grandees, and this their reflection, was reasonable and just; and that the bride of Christ, the holy Church, might very easily obtain her deliverance, if only his potent majesty the emperor were willing to assent to his Ligarides' counsels, and would carry them into effect with his whole soul and resolution. Hereupon the heaven-crowned monarch made his appearance, and, after many questions and proposals, said: 'Tell me, in the name of truth itself, thy mind plainly about the rectification of our ecclesiastical affairs.' The metropolitan of Gaza replied: 'Send letters to the four œcumenical patriarchs, and make known to them the case respecting Nicon, stating briefly his *demands* or *presumptions;* for so you will at once obtain your object.' The monarch said: 'Well, you must let me have a little time to think about it, and to consult with my boyars, and then I will send and call for thee again, so soon as I have fixed all, and turned over this counsel in my mind. In the mean time, *give me thy hearty blessing.*'

In the mean time, on the 10th of May, the synod met; but what it did, or whether it did anything, does not appear. And

on the 7th of June, which was Whitsunday, Paisius Ligarides wrote a letter to the tsar, repeating his advice, and urging as a motive for acting upon it without delay that it was already known, even beyond the frontiers of Russia, that Nicon had been in danger of being secretly slain; and it was rumoured that when he withdrew from Moscow it was in order to escape this murderous malice, which thus was imputed not only to the grandees of the council, but even to the tsar himself. Till, then, something were done publicly to clear up the true nature of the case, the tsar's own reputation was in danger of being stained by a most foul imputation. And after a few days,[29] the emperor sent again for Paisius, and told him that it was his pleasure that letters should be written to the œcumenical patriarchs. And so they were written in Greek by Paisius, with xxv. Questions, and sent by the hand of his friend and countryman the Greek Meletius, whom he recommended to be their bearer (vol. iii. p. 74, 75).

xiii. It was made one of the principal accusations against Nicon afterwards, that, in consequence of his desertion of the chair, during its long vacancy the new sect of the raskolniks had taken deep root and spread widely. But, in truth, the enemies of Nicon had reason to blame themselves rather than him for this. For when things were at a standstill after the synod of A.D. 1660 (from August 14th in that year to June 7th in A.D. 1663), the tsar not consenting as yet to the absolute degradation of Nicon as a criminal, and the boyars being unwilling without this security to proceed to a new election, they, in order to multiply assaults against Nicon, and to move the tsar, obtained in A.D. 1661 that the protopope Abbakoum and some other leaders of the *raskol*, whom Nicon had caused to be banished and imprisoned, should be set free and allowed to return to Moscow, where they were invited, and even urged, to accuse Nicon to the tsar as a heterodox innovator, and to petition for his punishment, and for the creation of a more religious patriarch. Nicon himself mentions this fact in his Replies: 'What can show more rancour,' he writes, 'than this, which a certain man of our ene-

[29] So Paisius continues, as if only a few days had passed from that day in Lent when he was introduced to the council-chamber, and asked his opinion by the tsar: but it is clear that the 'few days' must be reckoned from the 7th of June, when he wrote that letter to the tsar in which he repeated the advice given in Lent.

mies' (that is, of the leaders of the *raskol*) 'confessed to me, saying: "Now in truth thou art well baited. Thou seest it is no longer the old time. Now they seek out *even us* to complain against thee; and if any one now is backward to make a complaint against thee, and afterwards the great hossoudar receives and hears any accusation [against the same raskolnik], he is sure to be treated with severity. I myself now of constraint, when I had scarce risen from my bed of sickness, have come hither [to Voskresensk] from Moscow by the tsar's command."'

xiv. At the same time they banished to Siberia the Servian Youry Krijanich, who, though baptised after the Latin fashion by affusion, and even ordained a secular priest in union with Rome, and so far like to Paisius Ligarides, was the very contrary of him in all other respects. The Catholicism of Krijanich might be imperfect—for he was ready to acknowledge the Russian Church as orthodox, and to communicate with it, if only it would have admitted him without rebaptising him, or requiring of him any other indefensible conditions; but he was a man of virtuous life, sincere and uncompromising in his religious convictions; a man much more learned than the patriarch Nicon, and representing even more distinctly than Nicon that true religious civilisation and enlightenment which was needed for Russia; an ardent and devoted but Christian *Panslavist*, seeking the union and improvement of all the Slavonic races not through democracy, not through foreigners, Poles or Germans, but through the absolute monarchy of the tsars of Moscow; a man whose only faults were these, that he maintained in his own humble way as a man of letters the same principles with Nicon, and defended all Nicon's reforms, and that, for his learning and his thorough knowledge of all the Slavonian churches as well as of the Greek, he was obnoxious to the leaders of the *raskol*. This man the boyars, when they brought back Abbakoum from his exile and imprisonment to Moscow, exiled to Siberia, and imprisoned, as it were in Abbakoum's stead; and he remained in exile fifteen years, to the accession of the tsar Theodore, not finding any one in all that time charitable or bold enough to forward for him or present to the tsar a petition on behalf of his innocence. But innocence is an inadequate word: for he was a man of extraordinary and, for his age and nationality, of unparalleled merit: one who might have repeated of himself, with even more force than Nicon, those

words of the psalm: 'They rewarded me evil for good; and hatred for my goodwill. For the love that I had unto them'—to their race, their language, their monarchy, and their Church—'they became my enemies,' and persecuted, and banished and imprisoned me: 'but I give myself unto prayer.' And not only did he give himself unto prayer; but he continued during all those years in Siberia to work unsoured in the same spirit as before, and with a good and generous courage, indefatigably, hoping against hope, writing against the ignorant and uncanonical custom of rebaptising those baptised by affusion; writing on the moral causes of the judgments of Divine Providence upon states and empires, and on Christian politics, showing that, though insubordination and anarchy, such as prevailed in Poland, and the schism dividing the Greek from the Latin Church, were ruinous both generally to Christendom and to the Slavonic races in particular, and though monarchy, and absolute monarchy too, was the best form of government, and though he recognised in the Muscovite autocracy the only hope of union and greatness for the Slavonic races in time to come, still it was essential to any good development that the Muscovite autocrat should obey God and the law of God, and leave to the Church the free exercise of her spiritual authority, her jurisdiction at least over all clerks and monks, and the administration of all property once dedicated to God, and that he should also grant and secure to all his people certain reasonable liberties. Krijanich wrote also a refutation of the petition of the raskolniks of the Solovetsky monastery. And these his works were brought from Siberia to Moscow, and found their way even into the palace, and were just beginning to attract the favourable attention and study of the young tsar Theodore and his advisers, when Divine Providence—that the sins committed in the preceding reign might receive their due punishment—translated Theodore to a better kingdom, and let loose upon the clergy, the boyars, and all the nation that 'ungodly ruler' and that suicidal 'legislator' which had been indirectly called down upon them in those verses of the psalms which had been recited by Nicon against Roman Babarikin. This ruler and this legislator were the ambitious tsarevna Sophia, and her half-brother—whom she had had already spiritually murdered, when she failed to murder him literally—Peter, called by the world, 'The Great.'

xv. There were individuals, as is known, among the boyars who actually held with the raskol; but when the council of state, in A.D. 1661, either moved the tsar, or assented to those who moved him, to bring back from their exile Abbakoum and others of its leaders, this was certainly done only to make use of them temporarily against Nicon; and perhaps also with a hope that they might be won over by this relaxation of severity, and by hopes of future favour. But the actual result disappointed such expectations. Many of those men were real fanatics, who could neither be cajoled nor terrified into submission; and it was found before long that unless their opinions were to be allowed to become dominant, they must be treated, as before, with severity. But during the time that the attempt was making to win them they made full use of their opportunities, and their influence extended itself in Moscow greatly. In illustration of this phase of the war waging against Nicon, it may be in place here to give some extracts from the Life of the protopope Abbakoum, written by himself.

I arrived, he writes (that is after being recalled from his banishment and imprisonment), at Moscow. And they received me as an angel of God; the tsar and the boyars were all glad to see me. I went, as I was passing it, to the house of Theodore Rtischeff. He came out himself from his chamber to meet me, took my blessing, and began to talk to me unreservedly. During three whole days and nights he did not let me go away from his house: and then he reported my arrival to the tsar. The tsar immediately ordered that I should be brought to him to kiss his hand, and spoke graciously to me, thus: 'How is your health, protopope? So God has been pleased that we should see one another again.' And I for my part kissed his hand, and pressed it; and I said: 'The Lord liveth, and my soul liveth, O tsar, hossoudar! For the future, the will of God be done.' And he, the dear man, sighed; and so he went away to his own affairs. And there was something else. But why should I multiply words? That is now past. He ordered that I should be lodged in the podvorie of the monastery in the Kremlin. And when he went out anywhither and passed by my dvor, he often bowed low to me, and said, 'Bless me, and pray for me.' And at other times passing on horseback, he would take off his cap and bow. From his carriage he would lean out and bow to me:

and then all the boyars of his suite would bow too, one head after another, saying, 'Protopope, bless us, and pray for us.' How should I do otherwise than feel pity for that tsar and for those boyars? It was touching to see how good they were. They would give me any place I pleased: and they asked me to come and meet their confessors, and confer with them, hoping that I might unite with them in belief. But I regarded all these things as dung, that I might win Christ; and I thought of the hour of death—how these things all pass by. And already, at Tobolsk, in a light sleep I had been forewarned: 'Beware of me, lest I cut thee asunder!' I started up, and prostrated myself before the icon with fear and trembling, and exclaimed: 'Lord, I will not go where they sing in the new fashion; I will not, O my God.' Now, before that I had gone to the matins in the cathedral on the name's-day of a tsarevna, and had played the fool with them in that church in presence of the voivodes and the rest; and after my arrival, I had two or three times looked on while they took out the particles from the oblations (the *προσφόραι*) in the offertory (the *προσκομιδή*) before the liturgy, standing within the sanctuary (the *altar*) at the side altar (or *πρόθεσις*, often called in Russian *jertvennik*, i.e. *θυσιαστήριον*); and I scolded them. But when I got used to going, I ceased to scold them, as if the evil spirit of Antichrist had stung or infected me. So Christ, my life, frightened me, and said to me: 'Meanest thou, after suffering so many things, to go to perdition? Beware, lest I cut thee asunder.' I went not after that to the liturgy: but I went to dine with the prince Ivan Andr. Khilkoff, and I told him all that exactly. And he, the good boyar, shed tears. p. 63-65.

But to return to Moscow: When they saw that I would not join them, the tsar ordered Rodion Streshneff to talk to me, and to engage me to be silent. And I to amuse him, said: 'The tsar, no doubt, is set by God to govern; and he is very good to me.' I had been hoping gradually to obtain information; and, lo and behold, they ordered that I should be kept for some time about the beginning of the year (of September, lit. 'the days of St. Simeon') in the printing dvor, and made to correct sheets for the press (lit. 'to correct books'). And I was extremely glad; that was just what I wanted; it was better for me than being confessor to penitents. The tsar was so good as

to send me ten rubles in money, the tsaritsa sent me ten rubles, Luke the confessor also ten rubles, Rodion Streshneff also ten rubles, while as for our old friend Theodore Rtischeff, he bade his treasurer drop into my cap sixty rubles, and others I need not name. Every one sent to me or brought to me all kinds of offerings. With my dear friend Theodosia Procopievna Morozova I lived, almost without going out, in her dvor, because she was my penitent; and her sister the princess Eudocia Procopievna was also my penitent. My dear friends, martyrs of Christ! And there was the late Anna Petrovna Miloslafska—I was constantly in her house: and to the house of Theodore Rtischeff I used to go to dispute with the apostates: and so I lived *for half a year*. And I saw that in the affairs of the Church there was no good success at all, but rather there was caused disturbance and obloquy. So I again grumbled obliquely, and wrote to the tsar at some length, petitioning him that he would seek out the ancient piety, and defend our common mother the holy Church from heresy, and appoint to the patriarchal chair an orthodox pastor instead of the wolf and apostate Nicon, that *felon* and heretic. And when I had made ready my letter, I *fell very sick:* and I sent it to the tsar, as he was passing, by my penitent Theodore the *Simple*, whom the apostates afterwards hanged at Mezen. He went up with my letter to the tsar's carriage boldly; and the tsar ordered that he should be put with the letter under the palace stair (the 'krasnoe kriltso'). He did not know that the letter was mine. And after a while he took from him that letter, and gave orders to let him go. And he, after being often with me, would go to the church before the tsar, and begin to speak in his idiot way. And the tsar, getting angry, ordered him to be sent to the Choudoff monastery. There the archimandrite Paul put him into irons; and by the will of God those irons burst asunder and fell off in the sight of a number of people. And he in the bakery there, after the bread had been drawn, crept into the hot oven, and sat on its floor on his bare hams, and picked up the crumbs and ate them. And the monks, astonished and awestruck, told it to the archimandrite Paul, who is now metropolitan, and he told it to the tsar. And the tsar went to the monastery, and ordered that Theodore should be let go with respect; and he returned to me. And from that time the tsar began to be displeased with me. It

did not please him that I had begun again to speak freely: he desired that I should be silent: but that did not suit my own conscience. And the vlasts (the spiritual dignitaries) began, like goats, to butt at me: and they thought to banish me again from Moscow because for Christ's sake many came to me, and having come to the knowledge of the truth, no longer went to the deceiving worship [of the government party]. And there was a reprimand sent to me from the tsar thus: 'The vlasts complain against thee, that thou hast emptied the churches; go again into banishment.' This sentence was spoken to me in the tsar's name by the boyar Peter Michael Soltikoff. And they carried me off to Mezen. Charitable people would have given me for Christ's sake alms and offerings in abundance; but all was left behind: they took me away with only my wife and my children, and my house-servants. And in passing through the towns I again taught the people of God, and refuted those parti-coloured wild beasts. And they brought me to Mezen.

And after keeping me there a year and a half, they took me again, only myself, to Moscow: however, my two sons Ivan and Procopius accompanied me: but the protopopitsa and the rest all remained at Mezen. And when they had brought me to Moscow, they took me thence under guard to the Paphnutieff monastery. And thither also they sent to me, saying the same thing over and over again: 'How long dost thou mean to cause us pain? Unite thyself with us, Abbakoum; be a good fellow ('Abbakoumoushko'). I refused to have anything to do with what came of devils which creep in at the eyes (*i.e.* I would not join in worship with them, nor so much as look at their diabolical service). I wrote to them there a confession of faith, with no end of invectives, and sent it by Cosmas, a deacon of Yaroslaff, and a poddiak of the patriarchal dvor. As for that Cosmas, I know not of what spirit the man was. Before others he reasoned against me, but in private he encouraged me, saying thus: 'Protopope, do not thou give up that ancient piety; thou wilt be a great man with Christ, if thou endurest to the end. Look not on us who are going to perdition.' And I thereupon spoke to him, that he should return to Christ; but he said: 'It is impossible. Nicon has made me go wrong out of the way.' That is, to say it distinctly: he, when he stood before Nicon, denied Christ; and now, poor wretch, he cannot recover himself. I

wept, and blessed him, the pig (*gorinna*): that was all I could do with him: what is to become of him God knows.

Then, when I had lived ten weeks in the Paphnutieff monastery, in the furnace, they took me again to Moscow, to the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate; and there the vlasts disputed with me. They took me to the cathedral, and after some altercation degraded me and the deacon Theodore: then they cursed us, and I cursed them in return: it was very grievous to me to be present at that liturgy. And after keeping us in the mean time in the patriarchal dvor, they took us by night to Ougriesh, to the monastery of St. Nicholas, and there the enemies of God cut off my beard.

They kept me there in an unwarmed chamber seventeen weeks. There I had a visitation from God: read in the tsar's missive, and you will find it. And the tsar came to that monastery, and he walked near to my prison, and groaned, and went out again from the monastery. So it seems that he was sorry for me, and that it was the will of God that so ordered it, and he could not help it. When they degraded me, they had a great disturbance in the palace above with the late tsaritsa. She took our part at that time, the dear lady, and begged me off from being punished capitally. Of that I will say only, God forgive them! I seek not vengeance for my persecutions against them, neither in this world nor in the next. It is my duty to pray for them both while living and when dead; the devil put division between us; but they were always [personally] good to me. Enough of this.

The prince Ivan Vorotinsky too, poor man, without the tsar, came there to pray, and asked to be admitted into my prison; but they did not admit the poor man (*gorinna*). I only saw him from the window, and wept for him. He fears God; and Christ will not abandon him. He was always such a good Christian towards us; and, indeed, all the boyars were good to us: only the devil was malicious, and did what he did, so far as Christ suffered him. The dear prince Ivan Khovianskoy they even beat with cudgels, and burned like Isaiah; and the boyarina Theodosia Morozova they utterly ruined by confiscating her property; they caused the death of her son; and they ill-treated her and her sister Eudocia, beating her with sticks: and they separated her from her children, and they even divorced her

(Eudocia) from her husband, and married him, the prince Peter Ourousoff, to another. But to return:

After this they took me again to the Paphnutieff monastery, and there they kept me ironed, shut up in a close chamber a year, all but a little. Here the kellar Nicodemus at first was good to me: and I, poor wretch, had besides to swallow against my will his tobacco-smoke, from that tobacco of which they got afterwards from the metropolitan of Gaza sixty poods, besides silk stuffs; and there are other secret things which they got and did in the monastery dishonestly. But I am wrong; forgive me: that is no business of mine; that is his affair; to his own master he standeth or falleth. They had some highly-esteemed teachers of the law. This kellar Nicodemus I begged on Easter Sunday, for the festival, to grant me a little indulgence—to open the doors, and to let me sit out on the threshold. But he only scolded at me, and refused harshly; so it pleased him. And then, having gone to his cell, he was suddenly taken ill: and they anointed him with oil, and communicated him. And then he was continually sighing. This was on Easter Monday. And in the night between Monday and Tuesday there came to him, as it were, a man in my likeness, with a thurible, in bright robes; and having incensed him, he took him by the hand, and lifted him up, and immediately he was healed. And he ran to me with his cell-companion by night, to my prison. As he went he said: 'Blessed is the monastery which has such a prison; blessed is the prison which has such prisoners; blessed are even their bonds.' And he fell down before me, and caught hold of my bonds, and said: 'Forgive me, for the Lord's sake; forgive me. I have sinned before God, and before thee. I behaved cruelly to thee, and God punished me for it.' And I said: 'How did he punish thee? tell me.' And he said again: 'Why thou thyself didst come and incense me, and didst lift me up; why, then, dost thou dissemble it?' And the cell-companion, who stood by, said: 'I, father, hossoudar, attended thee out of the cell, and did my reverence to thee, and thou didst return hither.' And I charged him not to tell the people of this secret. And he asked me how for the future he was to live in Christ? 'Or wouldst thou have me,' he asked, 'go away and live in solitude?' And I instructed him, and told him not to give up his place of kellar, but only, even though it were in secret, to hold to the old

tradition of his fathers. And he, having done his reverence to me, went away to his own cell; and after dinner in the refectory he told what had happened to all the brethren. And the people came continually and boldly to me, asking for my blessing and prayers; and I taught them from the Scripture to their edification with the word of God. At that time all those who before had been my enemies were reconciled to me. Alas, when shall I leave this vain world? It is written: 'Woe unto him of whom all men speak well!' In truth, I know not how to live on to the end. Good works I have none: but God glorified me. Why, he himself knows. Such was his will. p. 70-79.

When they took me from the Paphnutieff monastery and put me in the podvorie, they took me many times to the Choudoff, to appear before the œcumenical patriarchs: and all our Russian vlasts too were there, like foxes, sitting. I spoke much with the patriarchs from the Scripture. God opened my sinful lips, and Christ put them to shame. The last words they said to me were these: 'Why art thou so obstinate? All our Palestine (all the Levant, that is), and the Servians, and the Albanians, and the Vlachs, and the *Romans*, and the Poles, all cross themselves with three fingers: thou standest alone, persisting in thy obstinacy, and crossest thyself with two fingers. That is not right nor reasonable.' And I answered them in Christ thus: 'Œcumenical teachers! *Rome* long ago fell, and lies still fallen without any sign of rising again; and the *Poles* too, together with Rome, have gone to perdition, and have become utter enemies of the Christians. And with *you* orthodoxy is piebald. Owing to the tyranny of the Mahometan Turks ye have become weak and sickly. And for the future ye ought rather to come to us to be taught. With us, by the grace of God, there is an empire. Down to the time of the apostate Nicon in our country of Russia, with our religious princes and tsars, all was pure and undefiled orthodoxy, and the Church was untroubled and undivided. That wolf Nicon and the devil taught that men should cross themselves with three fingers. But our first pastors, because they crossed themselves with two fingers, so also they in like manner blessed with two fingers; according to the tradition of our holy father Meletius of Antioch, the blessed Theodoret bishop of Cyprus, Peter of Damascus, and Maximus the Greek.

And farther, the local synod held at Moscow in the time of John IV. orders that so men, putting together two fingers, are to cross themselves, as the ancient holy fathers Meletius and the rest have taught. Then in the time of John IV. there lived the standard-bearers of orthodoxy, such as Goury and Barnosophius the wonder-workers of Kazan, and Philip the hegoumen of the Solovetsky, of our Russian saints.' And while the patriarchs, hearing this, were at a loss, and were thinking about it, our Russian vlasts, like young wolf-cubs, began to yelp, and to calumniate their own fathers, saying: 'Our Russian saints were simple rough men, who did not understand: they were unlearned; who can trust them? They knew not letters.' O holy God! how didst thou endure that thy saints should be so greatly insulted? I, poor man, felt it bitterly; but there was nothing to be done. I scolded at them as much as I could; and the last words I said were these: 'I am pure; and the dust that cleaveth to my feet I shake off from them before you, as it is written: "Better is one man that doeth the will of God than tens of thousands of transgressors."' Then they cried out upon me, 'Away with him! away with him! he has insulted us all.' And they began to push and to strike me. And the patriarchs themselves came down upon me—there were about forty men of them, as I remember—a great antichristian force was collected together. Ivan Ouvaroff seized me, and was dragging me. I cried out: 'Hold! don't beat me!' Then they all jumped aside, and I began to say to the archimandrite [Dionysius?], the interpreter: 'Say to the patriarchs: The Apostle Paul writes, Such a high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, &c. (Heb. vii. 26); but ye, if ye kill a man, how will ye celebrate the liturgy?' Then they sat down. I went out to the doors, and there lay down on my side, and I said to them: 'Sit ye; but I will lie down.' Then they laughed, and said: 'This fool of a protopope respects not even the patriarchs.' And I said: 'We are fools for Christ's sake. Ye are glorious, but we are despised: ye are mighty, but we are weak.' Then the vlasts came to me again, and began to speak with me about the *Alleluia*. And Christ enabled me, and I put to shame in them that lewd Roman error by the testimony of Dionysius the Areopagite, as has been related above at the beginning. And Euthymius, the kellar of the Choudoff, said: 'Thou art right; we have nothing more to say to thee.' And they put me into

irons. Then the tsar sent a pol-golova with his streltsi, and they took me to the Sparrow Hills.

Thence they took me to the podvorie of the monastery of St. Andrew . . . . thence to the Sabbin slobodka . . . . thence to the monastery of St. Nicholas, to Ougriesh. While I was there the tsar sent to me the golova Loutochin to *ask for my blessing*. Then they carried us again to Moscow, to the podvorie of St. Nicholas, and took from us fresh confessions of orthodoxy. After that, people of the chamber (*kommatnie*) were sent to me many times, Artemon [Matveyeff] and Dementius [Bashmakoff]; and they said to me in the tsar's name: 'Protopope! I know thy pure and unblemished and godly life; and I ask for thy blessing, together with my tsaritsa and my children: pray for us.' The envoy spoke, making a low reverence. And I am ever lamenting for him; I am very sorry for him. And again he said: 'Be so good as to hear me: Unite thyself with those œcumenical patriarchs, if it be only by some small concession.' But I said: 'Though God should permit that I die for it, I will not unite myself with apostates. Thou, I will say, art my tsar. But what have they to do with thee? They have lost their own tsar, and now they have come here to swallow thee up. I, I will say, will not cease holding my hands lifted up to heaven, till God gives thee to me.' And the tsar sent to me in that way many times. And the last words spoken to me from him were these: 'Wherever thou shalt be, forget us not in thy prayers.' Even now also, sinful man that I am, I pray for him as much as I can. Then, punishing capitally my brethren, but not punishing me capitally, they sent me to Poustozersk. And I from Poustozersk sent to the tsar two letters, the first short, the other longer, about certain signs from God which were shown me in the prison. Further, we sent to Moscow a writing of the deacon: a book entitled *Answer to the Orthodox, and a Confutation of the Apostatic Adultery*. Also from the priest Lazarus there were sent two letters, to the tsar and to the patriarch: and in return for each of these there was sent to us a *quid pro quo*. p. 83-88.

xvi. But let us return to that interval of time—between August A.D. 1660 and June A.D. 1663—when the course of referring the difficulty about Nicon to the Eastern patriarchs had not yet been determined on by the tsar, nor the XXV. Questions to be sent to them prepared by Ligarides, but the boyars were

seeking to turn to their own purpose the hostility even of the starobratsi, even of the raskol, and were encouraging or moving its leaders to make accusations and present petitions against Nicon. One such raskolnik petition, which has been preserved and printed, is no small curiosity, for it exhibits the starobratsi as speaking through the mouth of the Greek Paisius Ligarides, and Ligarides as making himself the representative and spokesman, not only of the boyars, but even, when this suited their purpose, of the starobratsi. This petition is anonymous. It is written as if in the name of the Russian bishops; and therefore one must suppose it to have been written and presented by some one of them at least; as, for example, by Alexander bishop of Vsatka, who is known to have shared the opinions of the starobratsi, and even to have presented a petition in their sense, though he was not an open schismatic, and eventually he retracted and made his submission in the synods of A.D. 1666 and 1667. It starts with the announcement, that the conscience of the bishops has been alarmed by the virtuous and learned metropolitan of Gaza, who has shown them that they are not without sin if they neglect to move the tsar to make a full end of existing scandals and difficulties, by convoking another Russian synod to affirm the absolute degradation of Nicon, and to elect a new patriarch to the vacant chair. Here there is a distinct allusion to the Answers of Paisius Ligarides to the XXX. Questions of Streshneff; showing the petition to have been written after the composition of these Answers and their circulation among the boyars, that is, after August 15 A.D. 1662. On the other hand, after June A.D. 1663, when the tsar had determined to refer the matter to the Eastern patriarchs, and had commissioned Paisius Ligarides to prepare those XXV. Questions which were sent in the autumn of A.D. 1663 to C.P., such a course as is argued for in the Answers to the XXX. Questions of Streshneff, and in the petition of which we are now speaking, could no longer be urged upon the tsar—at least, not by Paisius and the boyars—without inconsistency. Nor was there any longer the same reason either for urging that course, or for seeking to make use of the raskolniks as auxiliaries. The petition, then, would seem to be referable to some date during the first five months of A.D. 1663. It so extols Paisius Ligarides, and its contents are so plainly derived in the main from his Answers to Streshneff, that no one

could think it to be a genuine and spontaneous production of any leader of the raskol, nor hesitate to ascribe it to Paisius Ligarides himself, were it not for the fact that Paisius could not write a petition in Russian. But that it is virtually from him appears not only from its contents, but also from the curious fact that it is based ostensibly, not upon those Answers of Paisius to Streshneff, to which it refers, and of which MS. copies were multiplied and circulated among the boyars, but upon that letter written in Russian to Paisius Ligarides by Nicon, of which Ligarides tells us only that it found its way into *the tsar's archives*, and that it was answered by himself not without the tsar's knowledge and command. Besides this, those passages near the end of this petition which give it a raskolnik character are worded in such general terms as to avoid specifying any one of those peculiarities on which the thorough-going and absolutely schismatical starobratsi insisted so fanatically, imputing to Nicon only *innovation* in matters of ritual, some undue deference to the patriarch of Constantinople, and disrespect towards the former Russian saints and patriarchs and metropolitans. Thus the petition scarcely goes farther than the XXV. Questions sent to C.P. by the tsar and the council, in which there are similar imputations or insinuations against Nicon, as if he had *innovated* not only in respect of the relations of the spiritual to the civil power, but also in ritual customs. It is pretty clear, then, that Paisius, in conjunction with one or more of the boyars—probably in conjunction with Simeon Streshneff—suggested the contents of this petition to some one of the Russian bishops who favoured the starobratsi without being an absolute schismatic, and who so worded it that even while representing the spirit of the starobratsi, he might still, without any flagrant inconsistency, urge the arguments of Ligarides, not merely in the name of one but of all the Russian bishops. But no genuine petition of any leader of the starobratsi would ever have put forward such a consideration as this, which we find in this petition, that to leave the patriarchal chair still vacant, besides being *uncanonical*, would provoke unfavourable suspicions and criticisms among strangers,—that is, among the *Greek* bishops and monks coming for alms or otherwise sojourning at Moscow. With these observations we subjoin some brief extracts—scarcely amounting to an epitome or abridgment—from the petition itself.

Petition to the tsar Alexis Michaelovich &c. from some starovier, seemingly a bishop, written as if in the name of the Russian bishops—against Nicon.

§ 1. The writer begins from his fear—a fear inspired into him by reading the Answers of Paisius Ligarides to the xxx. Questions of the boyar Simeon Streshneff—that the bishops sin greatly if they do not move thee, the great hossoudar, to put an end to the widowhood of the Church after three months at the longest (see *Replies*, &c. Question xxi. p. 134).

§ 2. He calls Paisius Ligarides a '*speaker of truth*' (and so he continues in separate sections, all enforcing the arguments of Paisius, till he has made xxx. sections in all, as if to correspond in number to the xxx. Questions and Answers of Streshneff and Ligarides). 'And yet,' he says, 'after having *renounced* his see, Nicon dares to write to Paisius [in the summer of A.D. 1662; see vol. iii. p. 51-69], "Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch"!' &c. and he adds that Nicon not only renounced, but renounced 'with an oath' or imprecation (see vol. iii. p. 41, 51, 180).

§ 3. 'Himself a *simple monk*, he Nicon gives his blessing forsooth to a *real bishop*,' *i.e.* to Paisius Ligarides, 'calling himself patriarch' (see vol. iii. p. 51, 48-50).

§ 4. 'And he still acts' (*i.e.* does sacerdotal and episcopal acts) 'and ordains' (vol. i. Question iv. p. 20; iii. p. 46).

§ 5. 'He writes to *thee* (see above, p. 154) and accuses thee of invading the province of the clergy, and complains that thy lay judges judge all the sacred order: and that jurisdiction and power of government, he says, which the holy Church had received from the holy Apostles &c., thy majesty has appropriated' (see above, p. 115; and vol. iii. p. 52, 55).

§ 6. 'But of all this he said nothing at the time of his abdication, as if this were his reason' (see vol. i. Question xix. p. 103, 104, 105; iii. p. 179).

§ 7. 'But now he audaciously writes to a foreign bishop' (*i.e.* to Paisius Ligarides, in A.D. 1662), 'reviling thee &c., in defiance of canon lxxxiv. of the Apostles' (and the writer quotes the text of this canon, and quotes it *accurately:* see vol. i. Question xxvii. p. 604-15).

§ 8. 'Again Nicon writes about the banquet given to Teymouraz, and complains that the okolnik struck his strapchi, say-

ing: "Eh! why are we so much to honour the patriarch?" He was a very *low* man of himself, but received honour from thee' (see vol. iii. p. 52 and 40, 41).

§ 9. 'The boyar did only what was *right* (see vol. iii. p. 421, 422, 429). And thou too in absenting thyself from the cathedral on the festivals, if this was done *to bring Nicon to meekness*, didst also what was right. . . . Many think that Nicon was vexed because he was not asked to dinner. And as for what he says of the prince Romodanofsky, that he was sent to him to his cell with a message of many unedifying words, he himself knows best if this too is not a *lie*' (see above, p. 119-121; and vol. iii. p. 41, 419).

§ 10. 'O audacity! O mad folly! When Troubetskoy was sent to *entreat* thee, to go off for this! . . . I will call his New Jerusalem a *Neikopolis* (from νεῖκος, *i.e.* a city of strife, punning with Paisius Ligarides on Nicon's name, and making it *Neikon*), that is, a confusion or disturbance of the city (see vol. i. p. 89; iii. 27, 195). Nicon took away the treasure of his patriarchal house and of the other sees; and he went near to lay hands even on thine. He went off as with the baggage-train of an army' (see vol. i. Question xiv. p. 68, &c. and xvii. p. 93).

§ 11. "After a year and two months," he says (vol. iii. p. 53), "he went off to another monastery—and then to a third—from being *in want*," when he had 300 podvods of provisions, and was burning and plundering—so they say—the houses of the poor! "And when he had been there *a year*," he writes, "thou didst convoke different spiritual dignitaries (*vlasti*) living here at Moscow, and didst object against him only these his departures, producing depositions of false witnesses written against him,"' &c. (see vol. iii. p. 53, 54).

§ 12. Then the writer speaks of these testimonies to his abdication; of Nicon's rejection of that synod, which he called a conciliabule (*i.e.* a pseudo-synod), or Jewish synagogue; and of canons xvi. of the First and Second Council, ix. of the Third Œcumenical Council, xviii. of Sardica, and lxii. of the Apostles (see vol. iii. p. 43, 46, 48).

§ 13. This section is about the sense of canon xvi. of the First and Second Council, and its application to the case of Nicon (see vol. iii. p. 48).

§ 14. And this against Nicon's defence of his withdrawal

from the examples of Christ himself, of his Apostles, and of many holy fathers (see vol. i. Question xviii. p. 107).

§ 15. Of the examples of St. Gregory the Divine abdicating, and of St. Athanasius flying from persecution (see vol. i. Question xviii. p. 114, 305).

§ 16. How Nicon exalted himself overmuch. Of the argument drawn by him from the oath taken by patriarchs and by bishops.

'And if thou, O tsar, *didst really do anything against the Church, then we ought not to obey* even for fear of death. *But now* thy care for the Church *is righteous and canonical*. . . Therefore it is necessary for us all that the Church should not remain in widowhood. . . A *vacancy* of more than three months *is not allowed*. . . . As it is, we must incur the suspicion of *foreign bishops*' (*i.e.* of the Greek bishops visiting Moscow, and of others in the Levant who must have heard of our delay: see vol. i. Questions xix. xx. xxi. xxii. p. 136-38; and vol. iii. p. 51, 61, 221, 298).

§ 17. 'Nicon went away *without finishing the liturgy*, or conducting in procession the Tunic of Christ, according to the custom. . . . In vain he objects that *we, the bishops*, met (*i. e.* in Feb. A.D. 1660) *only* by thy command . . . We also beg that he may be *imprisoned in some lavra, under strong guard*. Let this irreligious man be taken away from the midst of *us, that the just wrath of God may* not *come upon us*' (see vol. i. Questions v. xvii. p. 23, 102; vol. iii. p. 46).

§ 18. Of Nicon's pretence, that he was driven out by injustice. 'He says that he was told by Rodion Streshneff that thou, O tsar, wilt no longer endure him. It were well if this were so indeed. But he writes that he only writes and speaks against thy injustice. He says that the monasteries are impoverished by thee, and enslaved,' &c. &c. (see vol. iii. p. 55, 48-50).

§ 19. 'Again he writes of thy appointing persons to ecclesiastical places, and against the monastirski prikaz, &c. But he now is *not a bishop* (and so has no right to meddle with such questions). And concerning the trial and judgment of bishops, that it can be made only by a synod' (see vol. i. Question xxvi. p. 292, 549, and xi. p. 60; vol. iii. p. 181, 420).

§ 20. How bishops were thus judged in all the synods, recounting them in order.

§ 21. 'How has Nicon power to bind and to loose? or to

curse? Whom of the bishops and of all the holy fathers has he with him? *Not one.* He drew his sword against the poor, and it has gone through his own heart. His New Jerusalem he has so named in opposition to the old' (see vol. i. Question xxii. p. 154; vol. iii. p. 48-50, 164, 165).

§ 22. Of Jerusalem (see vol. i. Questions xiv. xv. p. 67-89).

§ 23. 'Whence has he such audacity as to call his own dwelling New Jerusalem?' And the writer quotes Amos and David against them that speak ill, or have evil will against Sion. Paisius Ligarides rightly calls it a *Neicopolis*. And he quotes Paisius's exclamations at length; and suggests with him that there must be some bad woman also there, who may become the mother of Antichrist; as Antichrist may be expected to arise from a new and false Jerusalem (see vol. i. Question xiii. p. 68).

§ 24. Of Nicon's writing that he cursed Pitirim for doing what he did on Palm Sunday (in A.D. 1659, 1660, and 1661: see vol. i. Question xxii. p. 154-172; and vol. iii. p. 50, 56, 68).

§ 25. That Nicon is not a son of peace, but irregular from the first. 'For he was originally ordained not for any church; but the bishop who ordained him was deceived; and so he was from a mere layman made a priest for the house of a dvorianin, and became one of the house priests or domestic chaplains: then he, out of ambition, deserted his wife, who cursed him for it. He deceived the metropolitan of Novgorod Aphthonius, and called himself Nicon before he had received any tonsure; at the skeet of Anzer he was insubordinate. If all his life were known, he would be found unworthy even to cross the threshold of the church.'

§ 26. 'Pitirim, though he *does* hold three sees (see vol. iii. p. 56; and comp. *Replies*, &c. p. 157-72), has not taken improperly any chair not his own. Thou, O tsar, didst send to Nicon to recall him three times, to the cathedral, to the podvorie, and to Voskresensk. But he would not return. Then, *by thy will*, and by the counsel of the bishops in the capital, Pitirim took the guardianship. And so too he took the see of Souzdal by thy will, when the archbishop [Stephen?] was accused, and was *not received by the citizens*.' And the writer quotes in justification of what was done, canon xviii. of the council of Antioch. 'So either another archbishop must be made, or for the interval there must be some provision' (see above, p. 284; and vol. iii. p. 42, 419, 426).

§ 27. Of Nicon's charge of spiritual adultery against Pitirim (see vol. iii. p. 56; and comp. vol. i. p. 164), and incidentally of Nicon's calling himself father, and Pitirim and the other bishops only sons (see vol. i. p. 61-64). 'And as for this, that Pitirim (on the 4th of May A.D. 1661) consecrated Methodius to be bishop of Orsha, this was *not done without thee* (that is, not without thy command, O tsar; and *therefore* he was not to be cursed for it). And certainly as to this, we must ask pardon of the patriarch of Constantinople with regard to Kieff.' And the writer quotes canon vi. of the Second Œcumenical Council, and canon iii. of Antioch (see vol. iii. p. 56; and vol. i. p. 158, 160).

§ 28. 'In the time of the grand prince Basil Basilievich, after the metropolitan Photius, there was no true pastor at Moscow for the space of eighteen years. Within that time it was that Isidore was metropolitan at Moscow four months. So the grand prince and all the synod in A.M. 6956 (A.D. 1448) made Jonah to be metropolitan, while a disciple of Isidore, Gregory, a Latiniser, was consecrated for Kieff by the patriarch of Constantinople, also then named Gregory. The metropolitan Jonah of Moscow wrote in A.M. 6961 to the grand prince of Lithuania not to receive this Gregory, but to no purpose. And hence[30] the metropolitan see of Kieff was split off from that of Moscow and all Russia through the heretics. Theodosius, the successor of Jonah, consecrated after one year an ecclesiastic named Joseph, who had come to Moscow from Jerusalem, to be metropolitan of Cæsarea Philippi. And *this is a precedent* for such a consecration as that of Methodius made by Pitirim' (see Mouravieff's *History of the Russian Church*, p. 84).

§ 29. 'Nicon writes that Pitirim was never once in his own diocese. But he *lives* in his own diocese.[31] We beseech thee, O tsar, cause now that there be elected a fit and skilful patriarch &c., not less than sixty years old, so as to be likely to think of his own death, and not of erecting stone buildings; one not tonsured on the White Sea, not insubordinate in past time, nor wilful. *What need is there of a synod for that?* Basil Basilievich *by his own authority alone deposed Isidore, and confined him*

[30] This account is not historically accurate.

[31] His proper title was that of *Sarai and Podonsk*, and in this diocese of Sarai and Podonsk he had never been; but he *lived* in the diocese of Moscow, acting as vicar-bishop to the patriarch, and commonly called, from his residence on the steep bank of the Moskva, metropolitan *of Krutitz*.

to the Chouloff. And six Russian bishops, with archimandrites and hegoumens, deposed Zosimus, and made Simon, who had been hegoumen of the Troitsa, metropolitan in his room, without having the canonical number of twelve bishops, which cannot well be brought together in Russia; though the sees might, indeed, be multiplied' (see above, p. 251-3; and vol. i. Question xxi. p. 131-151; and iii. p. 260).

§ 30. 'Nicon writes that he cursed three monks for reviling the orthodox creed sent to him from Constantinople, from the patriarch Paisius, and for opposing his correction of the church books, made with the counsel of the œcumenical patriarchs.' Then the writer shows how Nicon made the edition of the Kormchay printed under the patriarch Joseph to be inconsistent with itself; and he finds fault with the other books corrected and printed under Nicon, as the Slujebnik, the Skrijal, &c. 'And if he speaks of Paisius, at that time patriarch of Constantinople, what then? Were, then, our own five patriarchs his predecessors, and our tsars &c. &c. all wrong? O the audacity! Why, O tsar, didst thou allow—I will not say this man, but rather this wild-beast—to do thus? Also why didst thou allow him *to send away the books* which had been collected—as he writes to Paisius Ligarides that he has done—to distant monasteries?' (see vol. iii. p. 57.)

§ xvii. *Letter from Nicon to Ziuzin at Novgorod, dated 29th June* (*in* A.D. 1662).

Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, &c. I received your letter on the 28th June, and rejoiced greatly on reading it to see that you were in good health. In it I found written that you have no other pleasure, yea, yea, except that of hearing of us, that we are alive. Yea! we also are not forgetful of you, but have you always, as our spiritual children, in our prayers. And as for this, that here ye are deprived of worldly consolations, rejoice; for on this account it is promised you that ye shall have joy in the kingdom of God. Ye know moreover, my children, that we also have here no sort of consolations, nor from any quarter; but we trust, as it is written in many places of the Scriptures, to receive the reward of our patience from the Lord God. I cannot write at length, so as to tell you of all our afflictions which happen to us; but for what regards the estates of the

Iverskoy monastery of the holy Mother of God, the Lord's will be done. Whatever happens, we brought nothing into this world, and it is plain that we can carry nothing out. I wrote before to the hossoudar the tsar at length[32] of those unjust proceedings [in the monastirski prikaz, to the prejudice of Nicon's monasteries]. Some things were stayed in consequence; but on other points, what I wrote was treated with ridicule and contempt.

Two months before [before this? or before it happened? that is, in the letter just before referred to], I *wrote* of the fire which was to break out in the tsar's palace, by revelation; and they made a great jest of it. But when it actually happened, then nothing was said of it *seriously*, but only: 'He prophesied by Beelzebub.' The grace of God be with you! Written on the 29th June. On the other side there is written: '*To Nikita Al. Ziuzin.*' It is an autograph.

Another letter, dated the 3d Sept., perhaps in the same year 1662.

Nicon, &c. [to Nik. Al. Ziuzin and his wife]. We, by the mercy of God, this day, Sept. 3d, are alive. Ye write of your health. Thy letter reached us, and we read it. I read also that [enclosed with it, and addressed to Ziuzin?] of the bishop of Pskoff; and there is nothing to wonder at in it. He is old and stupid.[33] Thy nobility knows that an enemy *rejoices not that his enemy should be safe and sound.* So to us also it is no reproach that they do not come to repentance, nor seek peace. 'They loved the curse,' the Scripture says, 'and it shall come to them; they desired not blessing, and it withdraws itself far' from such. The Saviour says: 'I came not to bring peace, but a sword.' Keep in health.

§ xviii. *From the Acts of the Cyrilloff monastery: Imprisonment of a priest for still commemorating Nicon as patriarch.*

(No. 1.) 'A.M. 7171, July 17th, A.D. 1663. The tsar &c. to Nikita the archimandrite of the Cyrilloff monastery, the elder Matthew Nikephoroff, and the kellar Paul Remetsoff, with the brethren: Ye are to know that by the decree of the synod there is sent to your monastery, to be in your custody, the pope Ivan

[32] See the letter printed above, p. 397-412.

[33] Macarius, previously archimandrite of the Pechersky monastery at Pskoff, was consecrated bishop Feb. 2, A.D. 1650. In 1664 he retired, and died in 1665. He has been named above at p. 224 as one of those who by the tsar's order were to make extracts from the canons for the synod of A.D. 1660.

Thokin, because he, in disobedience to the oukaz of us the great hossoudar and to the sacred synod, *after the departure* of the late patriarch Nicon from Moscow,[31] *commemorated his name* in the *ectenias* and in the *polychronion;* whereas by *oukaz of us* the great hossoudar, and by the *adstipulation* of all the sacred synod, orders had been given to pray to God in the ectenias and in the polychronion for the '*most holy œcumenical patriarchs.*' And you are commanded to keep him the said Thokin under strict guard *in chains and irons*, and never to let him go any whither out of the monastery till farther order of us the great hossoudar.'

This letter was sealed with a seal of red wax (now damaged), having on it the representation of *a right hand in the act of blessing* [Nicon's own seal and hand, the letter being sent from the patriarchal prikaz], and around it an inscription no longer legible. On the other side this letter is countersigned by the [patriarchal] secretary, '*Ivan Kalitin.*'

Under this letter there is, gummed to it, a *Report* made by the authorities of the monastery to the tsar, to the effect that the pope Thokin had been brought to them, and had been placed under strict guard, in chains and irons, &c.

(No. 2, *ib.*) A.M. 7172, October A.D. 1663. The tsar &c. to the same: to set at liberty the pope Ivan Thokin, and to make report of this having been done *to the patriarchal prikaz.* Sealed with the same seal of the patriarch as the letter preceding, and having on the other side, where the two ends are joined together, the countersign of the secretary, '*Parthenius Ivanoff.*'

§ xix. After these insertions, let us return to Roman Babarikin, of whom we have been told above by Nicon that he was himself present in the church at Voskresensk on the 25th June A.D. 1663, when Psalms lxviii. and cviii., with their imprecations, were sung in a moleben against Nicon's enemies. And Babarikin, having some occasion or other to speak to Nicon, even went into his cell to him on that day after the liturgy. But about those imprecations and prayers, which he must have felt to be directed against himself, 'he at that time said nothing.

'But after that, when he had let a long time pass in silence, he informed against the patriarch Nicon at Moscow that Nicon had cursed the tsar, with the tsaritsa and the tsareviches and the

[31] See canons xiii. xiv. xv. of the First and Second Council, vol. i. p. 622.

tsarevnas, and all their house.' Babarikin stated also that after the liturgy, in his cell, Nicon had spoken words of reviling against the tsar, vol. i. p. 585-6.

But from the account given by Paisius Ligarides we extract as follows: 'While we were thus occupied,' he writes (that is, in preparing the xxv. Questions against Nicon's 'claims or presumptions' to be sent to C.P.), 'there broke out another mischief. For Satan instigated Nicon openly to curse the tsar. But he cunningly disguised his malicious wickedness. He spread out certain imperial letters, sealed with the great seal, on the top of a low stand, and caused to be sung the Psalms lxviii. and cviii., containing thirty curses against the traitor Judas, with these words of imprecation: "Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow; let his days be few," &c., aloud, in the hearing of all.

'This was reported immediately[35] to the emperor, who, as soon as day dawned (being very angry), called together all the bishops, and related to them, not without tears, what Nicon had done. "Grant," he added, "that I myself have sinned, yet of what sin have my dear children been guilty? But he said in imprecation, 'Let his *children* be destroyed; let his posterity be clean put out.' Or wherein, again, has my wife and empress offended? Yet he has imprecated curses on all my house and court." We all blushed for shame.' [Shusherin writes that 'the Russian bishops and those from Palestine—*i.e.* from the Levant—advised the tsar to arrest the most holy patriarch at once, and send him into distant exile and close imprisonment; but one of the bishops, or two, spoke to the tsar that he should be pleased first to question about such an accusation the patriarch himself, and if he does not answer distinctly, then to examine very particularly those of the clergy who officiated with him, and all the servants who were present at that moleben; and after that to pass sentence.

'And the great hossoudar was pleased that so it should be. And *he* sent to the Voskresensky monastery, *from the sacred synod*, the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius, and the archbishop of Astrachan Joseph, and with them archimandrites and hegoumens,

[35] But from the 25th June, when Nicon caused that moleben to be sung, to the 18th July, when imperial commissioners were sent in consequence of the information given by Babarikin to Voskresensk, there was an interval of more than three weeks, which agrees well with Nicon's account, but not with this of Ligarides.

and from the tsar's synclete the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, and the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and the secretary (logothete) of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, the colonel Basil Philosophoff, with fifty streltsi, and other dvorianins and dieti-boyarskie not a few.' Shusherin, *Life* &c. p. 72]. But Paisius Ligarides, in his *History*, continues thus:

'And we all unanimously besought the emperor for a searching investigation of the matter. He assented: and later on the same morning he called together again both the sacred synod and the council, to consult with them as to whom he should send. And by common consent the metropolitan of Gaza was appointed [to represent the clergy]. He was called, therefore, to kiss the emperor's hand, having as his fellow-commissioner the archbishop of Astrachan Joseph, and as their subordinate colleague Theodosius archimandrite of the Theophany.

'And having taken permission' (λαβὼν ἄδειαν, as from an ecclesiastical superior, for what was to be done) 'from the emperor, he departed to the synod of the bishops to consult with them and to learn how he was to accost Nicon. "Am I," he said, "to give him the due salutation and kiss his hand, or not? am I to try to soften his stern heart, or to be blunt and plain-spoken, *as representing the person of the emperor and the synod?*" They determined that I was *not* to salute *him, nor to kiss his hand*, nor to be altogether courteous till I had first ascertained what he had really done: "after which, as a wise and discreet man," they said, "you can act according to circumstances." The boyars also—they were three, the prince Nik. Iv. Odoefsky, the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff—asked whether they were to kiss Nicon's hand and take his blessing; and they were directed to do so, as, it was said, though no longer patriarch, he is still a priest, and they laymen,' vol. iii. p. 77.

xx. Of the going of the commissioners to Voskresensk, and of what they did there, there are four accounts, which may be compared together: one by Nicon himself, printed in our translation of his *Replies*, &c. vol. i. p. 586 to 604; one by Paisius Ligarides, printed in the translation of his *History*, &c. vol. iii. p. 77 to 82; one in the Life of Nicon, written about A.D. 1685, by his disciple Shusherin (to be given in a later volume); and besides these the official reports of the lay commissioners, which

are printed in vol. iv. of Roumantseff's Collection of State Papers as follows:

Reports to the tsar Alexis Mich. &c. of the boyar prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky &c. who had been sent to the patriarch Nicon to question him: Against whom did he utter a curse? and for what cause does he speak evil of the great hossoudar? Written the 19th of July A.D. 1663.

No. 1. *The First Report.* To the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c. we thy slaves, Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and Almiazko Ivanoff, do our obeisance. By thy oukaz we thy slaves were sent to the Voskresensky monastery to the patriarch Nicon, together with certain spiritual dignitaries: and we were ordered, together with the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius Ligarides, and the archbishop of Astrachan Joseph, to go to him the patriarch; and the archimandrite of the Bogoyavlensky monastery was to be there also. And we were ordered, after having come there, to ask him, from you the great hossoudar, of his health, and to take his blessing.

And on the 18th July, hossoudar, the metropolitan of Gaza, and the archbishop of Astrachan, and the archimandrite, and we thy slaves came to the Voskresensky monastery three hours before night. But the patriarch at that time was at vespers. And having caused ourselves to be announced,[36] the spiritual dignitaries (*vlasti*) and we thy slaves wished to go to him all together.

And the patriarch Nicon sent to the spiritual dignitaries and to us your slaves the monk Joseph, the namiestnik of the Voskresensky monastery. And the monk, having come, said to us that we might go to the patriarch, with the archbishop of Astrachan and the archimandrite of the Bogoyavlensky monastery: but to the metropolitan of Gaza he said that, unless he had with him letters from the œcumenical patriarchs to him Nicon, he was *not* to

[36] Paisius writes: 'And after resting a short time in the hospice, the most illustrious Nikita Odoefsky sent a man to announce us to Nicon, to say that there had come certain *bishops* (*vlasti*) as *commissioners* to speak and confer with him. But he was greatly disturbed at hearing that there was such an array of soldiers come, and said to those about him: "Their coming bodes no good; they want to send me away to a distance." Nevertheless, outwardly assuming a look of self-possession, he asked who they were; and on hearing the name of the metr. of Gaza, asked what he could do among them, being a foreigner, of another tongue, who has never been to salute us, or to pay us the *due* obeisance, or, *what is more essential*, to exhibit to us his letters *commendatory* and *dimissory*, according to the rule and custom.' Vol. iii. p. 78.

go to him. And we thy slaves said to the namiestnik, that the metropolitan of Gaza and the archbishop and the archimandrite were sent from the sacred synod; and we thy slaves were sent from you the great hossoudar; and that by oukaz of thee, the great hossoudar, we thy slaves *were ordered to go to him* the patriarch with the spiritual dignitaries *together*. And having thus said to the namiestnik, we thy slaves together with the spiritual dignitaries went to him.

[Nicon writes of himself that the message sent by him was as follows: 'If *they*, the boyar the prince Nikita &c., are sent from the tsar, let them come. But there is with them, it is said, the metr. of Gaza Paisius: he too may come, if he has letters *dimissory* from the œcum. patriarchs, as the canons require, and letters also to us from the same our brethren the œcum. patriarchs. And the boyar said: "Yes; he *has dimissory* letters from the œcum patriarchs."' *Replies*, &c. p. 586. But Ligarides writes: 'And the boyar on hearing Nicon's message said: "He *will come* himself, and *make his own excuses* to the patriarch. Come, let us go, with God's help." So he went forth from the hospice: and having come to the gate of the monastery, we chanted the "Ἄξιον ἐστὶν as usual, and went in, and went to the cell of the patriarch, a long line of monks standing on either side, and the soldiers following us,' vol. iii. p. 78.]

And the patriarch came out from his cells to us thy slaves into the vestibule. And having come out, he said in the vestibule the "Ἄξιον ἐστὶν" and the λιτεία.

[Paisius writes: 'Then he stood a moment, awaiting our episcopal salutation: but when he saw that we did *not* go up to him, he looked us in the face and reddened, and drawing back abruptly, entered into his inner chamber, and there awaited us, standing upright, and leaning on a bent-topped thick staff, and silent as one dumb. Then I began to speak in Latin,' &c. ib. p. 78. But Nicon writes: 'And after the prayer, the boyar &c. [in the tsar's name, asked after his health, and he in return asked after the tsar's health], and then the boyar said, Where am *I* to speak to thee the business of the hossoudar; here in the antechamber, or in thy cell? And the patriarch said, Will you not come into the cell? And they went in; and the boyar stood in the place of honour, but the *vlasts* at the stove.' vol. i. p. 587.]

And after that I thy slave Nikita, in the name of you the

great hossoudar, asked him of his health, and he did obeisance twice: but of your the great hossoudar's health *he did not ask;*[37] and we thy slaves went up to him and took his blessing: but the spiritual dignitaries did not go up for his blessing.

And when the spiritual dignitaries and we thy slaves had followed him the patriarch into his cell, the metropolitan of Gaza *would have begun to make a speech;* but the patriarch did not suffer him[38] to speak his speech, but dishonoured him and called him 'a thief, no Christian, a dog, a self-made metropolitan, and he knew not what sort of mujik.' And he asked: 'Is it long that thou hast put on that dress?' and demanded of him that he should produce letters addressed to himself from the œcumenical patriarchs. 'And this,' he said, 'is not the first time that thou goest about into different states fomenting troubles: and here thou wishest to do the same.' But to the archbishop of Astrachan he said: 'Dost thou remember, wretched man, thy vow? Thou didst vow, at thy ordination, not to obey even the tsar [against thy duty to the canons, and to ourselves the patriarch]. But now thou speakest [as in the tsar's name]. They may have given thee something, poor wretch; say, what have they given thee?' And he *refused to have anything to do with the metropolitan of Gaza*, saying that he would not listen to anything that he said, nor speak with him.

And *we* thy slaves said to the patriarch that the metropolitan and the archbishop and the archimandrite had been chosen by the sacred synod, and the synod had made report of that their choice to you the great hossoudar; and that he now dishonoured them, and by that dishonour done to them did also much insult to you the great hossoudar. But the metropolitan of Gaza came to you the great hossoudar, and brought a letter written to you the great hossoudar by the patriarch of Jerusalem Paisius.[39] Also

[37] 'And the patriarch Nicon said: "How is the great hossoudar the tsar &c.?" And the boyar said: "When we set forth he was in good health."' Ib. p. 587.

[38] P. Ligarides in his *History* dissembles this, and relates how he spoke, and how all that he said was translated from his own Latin by the tsar's translator Simeon from beginning to end, before Nicon began to answer him in words nothing to the purpose, as the hog answered Menecles; and he represents himself as taking the lead afterwards, and questioning Nicon of his having cursed our emperor, first, before the boyars. Vol. iii. p. 79.

[39] As Paisius Ligarides in 1657 had shown a wish to go to Moscow, and Nicon, learning this, had invited him to come, it is likely enough that he then provided himself with letters both to the patriarch Nicon and to the tsar

the metropolitan of Gaza said that he the patriarch called him the metropolitan a thief and a dog, and self-ordained without cause, whereas in truth he the metropolitan is sent to him the patriarch to rebuke his madness from the sacred synod, after report made to you the great hossoudar: and hereby he does dishonour to you the great hossoudar, and to all the sacred synod. And of that he will write and report to the œcumenical patriarchs. But for that he calls him self-ordained, for that he will be punished by God: but he the metropolitan was ordained by the patriarch of Jerusalem Paisius; and he has still his *letters of orders* under the hand of him the patriarch Paisius. And if he Nicon were in his patriarchal chair, he Paisius would show him those his *letters of orders:* but now he Nicon is not patriarch; his rank and his chair he of his own will abandoned. And of that the œcumenical patriarchs are well aware; viz. that he abandoned the patriarchal chair of his own will long ago. And there is no other patriarch now at Moscow: and *for this reason* he has *no letters* from them to any patriarch. But if there had been a patriarch at Moscow, the œcumenical patriarchs would have sent a letter by him to the patriarch. And the patriarch Nicon spake to the metropolitan Paisius with vehemence, and called him a thief, and refused to speak with him, saying that *he would hold no conversation with him about anything.*

And after that, *the archbishop of Astrachan and we* thy slaves questioned him Nicon with reference to the information of Roman Babarikin: wherefore in the moleben had he brought out thy imperial letter of grant, and placed it under the cross and under the icon of the Mother of God, and had caused thy letter to be read, and had uttered words of malediction chosen from the Psalms.

And the patriarch said that on the 26th of June, at the liturgy, after the prayer behind the ambon, together with all the assembly, he sang a moleben, and caused thy imperial letter of grant to be read, and put it under the cross and under the icon

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from his own patriarch of Jerusalem, who in 1657 was Paisius. But in 1660 P. Ligarides was degraded and anathematised by Nectarius the successor of Paisius; and it was only in 1662, when coming from Poland into Muscovy, that he resumed (perhaps) the Greek dress, and called himself again metropolitan of Gaza.

of the Mother of God: but the curse he uttered against a man who was wronging him, that is, against Roman Babarikin, but not against you the great hossoudar. But for you the great hossoudar he then in the ectenias prayed to God.[40]

And *the archbishop and we* thy slaves said: Even though any wrong had been done to him from that Roman or from any other, it was not right for him to curse them; and that in thy imperial letter of grant there was nothing written about the land of Roman. And we questioned him, and that *not once only*, that he should tell the truth, *why* he brought to the church thy imperial letter of grant, and ordered it to be read, and placed it before the icon? and against whom he uttered such curses?

And the patriarch repeated what he had said before: That he uttered a curse against Roman, and not against you the great hossoudar. But if we thy slaves thought that he chose and uttered those words of imprecation against the person of you the great hossoudar, let him be anathema if he did so. But your imperial letter of grant he brought to the church and caused to be read for this reason, that in it the lands of the Voskresensky monastery are all written [or inclusively mentioned]. Also that estate (*votchina*) of Roman is written and registered in the pomiestni prikaz by your own imperial oukaz. But for you the great hossoudar in that moleben he prayed to God, and after the end of the moleben he read over the letter a prayer, and carried away the cahier. 'But,' he said, 'the prayer that I read over the letter was on this wise:' And he would have begun to read it.

But we thy slaves said to him that he might show us some other prayer if he pleased; but that in that moleben he uttered from the psalms words of imprecation. And this he himself did not deny, that he said such psalms in the moleben.

[40] Nevertheless the consciences of the tsar and the boyars might tell them that those curses could not be uttered against Babarikin without falling also upon themselves. For which was the more guilty, that private malice and covetousness in a man seeking some gain of land or favour, or their public gratuitous malice indulged for its own sake? And if the tsar were now acting the part of Saul, could the imprecations of David touch only Doeg the Edomite, or those of Nicon only Odoefsky, Streshneff, Babarikin, and their fellows? Surely they must strike also the persecuting king himself; and with the more force the less this was desired or intended by David, who reverenced even the skirt of Saul's robe, or by Nicon, who prophesied, as it were, reluctantly against the tsar Alexis.

And the patriarch said: Even though he were speaking now to you the great hossoudar personally, he for such wrongs would even now also begin to pray: 'Bring, O Lord, evils &c. upon the glorious men of the earth.'

[Nicon's own account is as follows: 'That moleben I sang, and those psalms I said, according to the form of St. Athanasius the Great, as fit for a time of affliction: and against them that were wronging us I said such prayers as were composed by king David, who prayed in his afflictions and persecutions against his enemies. I said those same prayers. But as for what is written in them, I cannot cut it out. But if ye wish to know how it was, ye have only to follow us into the church, and ye shall hear it yourselves.'

And the boyar refused, saying: 'We have *churches of our own*, and we will not go with thee. But thou didst also place before the cross and before the icon of our Lady a letter of the tsar spread out: and after the moleben thou didst read that letter of the tsar. Why didst thou that?' And Nicon said: 'Because that land which they by oukaz of the tsar awarded to Babarikin was bought and dedicated to our Lady for the Iversky monastery: and in the letter of the tsar [there are curses against the man who shall in any way infringe the tenor of it, or wrong that monastery]. And I read the letter because that curse of the tsar was incurred by that man Roman Babarikin.'

And the prince Nikita with his colleagues began to say: 'We have answers made by thy econome (*stroitel*) Aaron, admitting that thou didst curse the tsar.' And Nicon replied: '*Ye say* that I cursed him:' and he demanded that they should show him those answers of the stroitel Aaron: but they did not show them. And Nicon asked the boyars, *Who examined* him? And they said: 'Eh! the metropolitans and archbishops examined him *in the synod:* and they have sent hither *from the synod* ecclesiastical dignitaries, *the metropolitan of Gaza*, and an archbishop, and an archimandrite.' And the patriarch asked: 'For what purpose have they sent them? and in virtue of what holy canons? But that man whom ye call metropolitan of Gaza said that he had *a letter* from the œcumenical patriarchs: and *he should now give it to us.*' And the boyar said: 'Well, there *is a* letter, which the hossoudar has, from the œcumenical patriarchs.' And Nicon said: 'The letter which is in the hands of the hossoudar

is for the hossoudar, but not for us. We, according to law, *require* letters *to ourselves*, according to the rule of the apostles and the holy fathers. It is not becoming either for the tsar to receive such persons contrary to the divine commandments.' . . . And (after quoting from the scriptures, that even Christ came not *unsent*, but divinely accredited, and to do the will of Him that sent him) he sought out and read from the divine canons, canon xi. of Antioch, and xxi. of Sardica, xxiii. and cvi. of Carthage, x. xi. xii. of the Apostles, xiii. and xxii. of Antioch, v. of Chalcedon, ii. iii. xii. and xiii. of Sardica, xx. of the Sixth Œcum. Council, and xxix. of Chalcedon (see vol. i. p. 589-595).

And the metropolitan of Gaza, when he heard these holy canons, began, like one possessed, to cry aloud *in Latin*. And Nicon said: 'Every bad tree beareth also bad fruit; as the Lord has said. Thou wicked servant! out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, that thou art not Orthodox, since in lewdly reviling us thou usest the Latin tongue.' And from that time the patriarch spoke no more to him.

But the archbishop of Astrachan said nothing, except this only: 'Thou wert our father!' and stood with his eyes cast down. The archimandrite of the Theophany said: 'I was a priest before thou wert;' and uttered other contentious unseemly words.

And the boyar the prince Nikita said to the patriarch: 'Why, pray, dost thou deny our hossoudar to be Christian?' And the patriarch Nicon said: 'If thou wishest to know, I will give it thee in writing.' And the boyar said in reply to that: 'Since thy tongue has become wicked, God does not endure thee. It were well, ay, if thou wert confined to thy cell: so perhaps thou mightest become tamer.' And the patriarch said: 'I am not only ready to be confined to my cell by your wickedness, but I am ready even to die.'

And the boyar said: 'Thou thyself hast written thyself "*late*-patriarch." Why "*late*"? Therefore it is plain that thou didst give up the patriarchate.' And Nicon said: 'The patriarchate and the episcopate I did not give up: but on account of your malice I went away, giving place to wrath, so fulfilling the commandment of Christ,' &c., speaking at length from the Scriptures of departures and flights, of shaking off the dust from our feet, &c., and objecting to them their own inconsistency when they had all in the summer of A.D. 1659, when he was again at

Moscow, recognised him as still patriarch, and had taken his blessing. Ib. p. 595-597.

And the boyar said to the patriarch: 'Eh! thou givest thy hand to be kissed to all manner of people, after the manner of kings and emperors (of *tsars*)! In that thou doest amiss.' And the patriarch said: 'Who bade thee speak of that? Was it the tsar? or sayest thou this of thyself?' And the boyar answered: 'The tsar bade me say it.' And the patriarch replied: 'Why, then, does the tsar himself kiss the hands of priests who have been ordained by us; and himself, when he goes to take their blessing, bend his head? It is for me rather to wonder at this, why the tsar forces bishops and priests to kiss *his* hands. They are not the hands of a bishop or of a priest. Though he the hossoudar, of his excessive pride, may think priesthood to be a less thing than empire, he will know one day the difference between empire and priesthood, when we shall be known by that Judge who is no acceptor of persons, that is, Christ our God.'

Then Nicon gives the following very curious and characteristic epilogue to the affair of Ivan Sitin:

The boyar prince Nikita with his colleagues (at that same interview, speaking in the name of the tsar) said to the patriarch: 'The great hossoudar the tsar ordered us to say to thee, that Ivan Sitin (discontented, apparently, with the imperfect success of his suit) *is seeking to cut thee off*.'

And the patriarch said: 'Kings are set by God for the punishment of evil-doers: but he the hossoudar, knowing the felonious purpose of Ivan Sitin, not only does not prevent him, but, since he himself bids you *announce* that his felonious intention, he *favours* it: whatever he allows, they will do, as it were on that the hossoudar's hint. Only the patriarch fears not those threats, as it is written: Fear not, the Lord says, them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but fear Him who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. If thou hast any such command from the tsar as to kill me, kill me: lo, I show thee where to strike with thy dagger or sword.' And the boyar said: 'Don't be in a hurry: the great hossoudar has proper people for that' [when he wants them]. And the patriarch said to the boyar:

'Ivan Sitin presented *repeatedly* to the hossoudar[11] lying

[11] Through the chelobitni and the monastirski prikazes, which were held,

petitions against me the patriarch, as if I had taken possession of much land belonging to him; as if I had given orders to kill him Ivan Sitin; as if I had hung a man of his; as if the peasants of the patriarch had beaten and robbed his Ivan Sitin's people by my order; and as if I had bidden my peasants of Rojdestvensk to carry off forcibly a man belonging to him Ivan Sitin.

'And the hossoudar sent expressly on that account his okolnik Osip Soukin[42] and the secretary Basil Brechoff, and ordered them to say to me the patriarch, that I was to make a composition with him Ivan Sitin, so as to satisfy him on all points, and so that there should be from that time no more petitions whatever against the patriarch from Ivan Sitin: and if it were so that I the patriarch did *not* settle the matter by composition, he the hossoudar would make order to send two companies (prikazes) of streltsi, and order them to make a compulsory composition according to his own imperial oukaz: but *how* that composition was to be made, the hossoudar did not specify.'

And the patriarch said: 'I belong to God; and I fear not your tsar: if he wishes to kill me, let him kill me; for to me, as says the Apostle, to live is Christ, and to die is gain. If I do not die now by the tsar, we shall die anyhow. I remember the sufferings of Christ, as the great Chrysostom teaches, &c. (quoting his words), and I am not alarmed. . . . . And who am I, that I should not hearken to my Lord when he commands me not to fear them which kill the body? What is there that the Jews did not to our Lord Jesus Christ, and to his holy apostles?'

Then the metropolitan of Gaza and the archbishop of Astrachan (it being Saturday afternoon, and thinking, it may be, of the liturgy of the next day) broke the thread of Nicon's discourse, and interrupted him, saying: 'Thou hast no right to celebrate; and from this time thou art no more to celebrate.' And the patriarch replied: 'It was not from *you* that I received this

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the first from A.D. 1657 to 1661, and the second from A.D. 1660 to A.D. 1663, by the okolnik Ivan Theod. Streshneff the elder.

[42] See vol. i. p. 144 and 584, where another mission of the same Joseph Soukin is alluded to, in which he was sent together with the okolnik Rodion Streshneff; and the two threatened Nicon that if he said more, they would kill him.

grace. I ought not in these matters so much as to listen to you uttering thoughts contrary to the holy canons.' 'We forbid thee too,' they added, 'to wear the episcopal mandya and klobouk.' And the patriarch said: 'The Jews stripped our Lord Jesus Christ of his raiment, and crowned him with thorns, and mocked him, and put him to death. But these things were counted to him for righteousness: and now he liveth, and is the great Tsar, the King of kings, for evermore. From many of the holy apostles and the holy martyrs they not only stripped off their clothing, but even their skins, and cut their bodies piecemeal: nevertheless, they are on this account called priests by a double title, both of God and of men. And if any man does not take up his cross and follow me, he is not worthy of me. And ye shall be brought before governors and kings. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own. And again the Lord says: Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also. But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake.

'As for Ivan Sitin, I had done him no kind of wrong; nor had I given orders to kill him; but *he wishes to kill me:* nor did I take any land from him; but he took land from those lands which had been dedicated to the Lord. Nor did I give orders to hang any man of his: that man of his, for fear of his Ivan's intolerable severities, hanged himself. Nor did I give order to rob his Ivan's people; but he Ivan, himself drawing out his mujiks, fell without provocation on a peasant of ours from Staro-rouss, of the Spassky monastery, a dependency of the Iverskoy.

'And the hossoudar did not believe my word for that. And he ordered the doumni dvorianin Ivan Baklanofsky to make a special inquest. And on this inquest the people of the neighbourhood deposed to nothing making against us.

'But in the Code, ch. xxii. § 13, it is thus written: "If any rogues cause trouble among the people, and inform falsely against many people with a set purpose of roguery, such rogues for their roguery shall be punished with death." But when, by oukaz of the hossoudar, inquest was made respecting that roguery of Ivan Sitin, and the result of the inquest was, that it was made clear by the evidence that in all his lying petitions he had been

falsely accusing the patriarch, the hossoudar nevertheless inflicted on him no sort of punishment. And in other sections of the judicial Code it is written: "Whatever any man by a false accusation seeks to inflict on another, the same shall be inflicted on him." But there was no oukaz from the hossoudar to inflict on such a rogue as this for such his great roguery any punishment whatever. Where, then, is that word of God which is spoken, Thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to do judgment and justice? In contravention of all the divine laws, the hossoudar the tsar was pleased himself to be inquisitor and prosecutor against my humility respecting an unjust and lying accusation; but on the authors of the false accusation he inflicted no punishment whatever.' p. 598-601.]

And we thy slaves said to him that he had ungratefully forgotten the very great grace and honour shown by thee the great hossoudar to himself above the former patriarchs; and he fears not the just judgment of God, but speaks such unbecoming words of thee the great hossoudar. And we asked what wrongs had there been done to him from you the great hossoudar.

And the patriarch said that: Wrongs there had been done to him from you the great hossoudar, such as these: that you the great hossoudar do not fulfil the law of God, but intrude into spiritual matters, and into the episcopal jurisdiction. And they decide matters of all kinds in the monastirski prikaz, and force us the clergy to *serve* [the civil government].

And we thy slaves said to him, that you the great hossoudar, your imperial majesty, are a religious sovereign; that you fulfil the laws of God, and *do not intrude into spiritual matters* and *into matters of the episcopal jurisdiction*: that the monastirski prikaz was instituted in the time of former great hossoudars and patriarchs, and not recently,[13] for the judgment of causes about civil wrongs; that if they levy men for service and take imposts from the peasants of the monasteries, this is for the

[13] But see above, p. 47-50, and at p. 397, Nicon's letter of the spring of A.D. 1662 to the tsar, in which he says that though the Code, and the monastirski prikaz as established by it, were bad enough before, the constitution and working of that prikaz had been *changed*, and made worse than it was originally, by the tsar: see too vol. i. p. 481 and 549, where Paisius Ligarides writes: 'Grant it true that heretofore the *monastirski prikaz* either did not exist, or that if it did, it was the tsar Alexis Mich. certainly who caused it to be *brought into activity*, as one who loves better order, and is able to bring words [the words of the enactment in the Code] to good effect;' and vol. iii. 390.

deliverance of the Orthodox Christians from the invasions of the infidels, and not for any extortion or covetousness. And from of old in the surrounding Christian states it has been usual that, in time of foreign invasion, even the vessels of the church should be taken to pay soldiers. But he [the patriarch] from his estates gives to you the great hossoudar no assistance at all. Yet it was *you* the great hossoudar who granted to him those estates. But *he* the patriarch Nicon, when he was in the patriarchate, began to do all manner of wrongs, violating the laws of God: *he* began to *intrude* into all kinds of matters of state, of your imperial majesty, and into the province of the secular jurisdiction, and to send minutes of oukazes from himself to the imperial prikazes: and all manner of causes, without any oukaz for that from you the great hossoudar, he took away from the prikazes, and began to do wrongs to many people, to take away estates, and to receive runaway people and peasants, and to do all manner of wrongs. And to thee the great hossoudar about those his wrongs there were addressed many petitions [suits in the monastirski prikaz, as those of Ivan Sitin and Roman Babarikin]. And herein he acted not as a bishop, but contrary to the tradition of the holy fathers. And for such wrongs [as these it was that] *God* did not endure him. Rising up in pride against thee the great hossoudar, he wilfully abandoned his patriarchal chair; and since that, living in this monastery, he has not laid aside his pride, but does evil acts such as it was scandalous even to think of. And to your the great hossoudar's commands *and to all the sacred synod*[41] he in all things opposes himself, and does all according to his own arbitrary fashion and will.

And the patriarch said to the spiritual dignitaries: 'Eh! what sort of a *synod* have you now? and who ordered you to set to your hands?'

And the spiritual dignitaries said that that synod has now been made by them by your the great hossoudar's command, on account of his Nicon's madness: and with that synod he Nicon has nothing at all to do, because he abandoned his dignity and the patriarchate.

And Nicon said that he did *not* abandon his patriarchal dig-

[41] The members of which have all sworn to obey Nicon in spiritual things rather than the tsar, and not to listen to the tsar, or to nobles, or to the people, even though they should be threatened with death.

nity, till the spiritual dignitaries and we thy slaves confuted him by his own letter which he sent [to thee the great hossoudar] after his separation from his chair of all Russia: and in that letter it was written, that 'as a dog to his vomit he would not return,' and he wrote himself '*late*-patriarch.' And after that letter the spiritual dignitaries said that he has no business either to call himself patriarch.

And Nicon, being angry, said: 'Well; for the *tsar* I am still *not* patriarch.'

And the spiritual dignitaries in reply to this said to him that he, by his wilful departure from the patriarchal chair, and by his present acts and words of madness, is for them all also, as well as for the tsar, *not* patriarch. 'And thou deservest indeed for thy acts and words of madness'—so they said—'to be *exiled*, and to be put under strict control, because thou causest to the great hossoudar many affronts, and to all the world much trouble.'

And the patriarch said to the spiritual dignitaries and to us thy slaves, with a very loud voice: 'It is manifest that ye have come now against me as the Jews came against Christ.'

And more than that, between him and the spiritual dignitaries there was nothing said: but after having shouted much, the spiritual dignitaries went away from him from his cells to their own quarters.

[From this point Nicon's own account continues thus: And the same day in the evening the boyars sent to the patriarch that he should send the archimandrite, and the vicar, and the priests, and the deacons, and the brethren to the hospice, to be examined. And the patriarch said: 'The archimandrite is a consecrated person, and the vicar is a priest: and according to the canons there are required as many as six bishops to examine a priest. But for this that ye make inquest about us by people of the commonalty, in that ye are all transgressors altogether. Lay people are absolutely incompetent to judge bishops, since the canons of the saints forbid them; and of bishops in all there are here only two: and of these two, one (Paisius Ligarides) for his transgressions does not deserve to be reckoned even as a layman: and they who communicate with him are all by the holy canons to be deposed, or if laymen to be excommunicated. And unless ye use compulsion and drag them by force, neither the archimandrite, nor the vicar, nor the priests, nor the deacons,

nor the brethren will go to you. But let the Scripture be fulfilled which saith: Before all these things they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings' (Luke xxi. 12; Mark xiii. 9). And the boyar and the *klasts* said: 'Thou, we know, callest us not Christians, but Jews.' And the patriarch said: 'I can recognise in you nothing of Christianity, but only transgression and tyranny; your works bear witness, &c. I have done you no evil; but ye wish to strip me even of my proper vestments, and to banish me and to shut me up in a cell lawlessly.'

And the same day, in the evening late, they sent about the monastery streltsi, after the manner of tyrants and persecutors, to take the archimandrite and the vicar and the brethren; and they examined them with the greatest iniquity, with the most overbearing heat, threatening them with tortures and with distant exiles (*Replies*, &c. p. 598-602).]

But when we thy slaves were going away from the patriarch, we spake to him, that he should send the archimandrite, and the namiestnik, and the popes, and the deacons who were with him officiating at the time of that moleben, and his cross-bearer, and the other foreigners, to be questioned.

And he said to us thy slaves, that he would send none of his people to a secular tribunal: 'but if any one is wanted,' he said, 'take him yourselves.'

And we thy slaves spake to the archimandrite and the namiestnik, that they, for this thy imperial matter of state, should go with us to the strangers' hospice: and there in the strangers' hospice the spiritual dignitaries before us thy slaves questioned the archimandrite and the namiestnik, &c. with reference to the information of Roman Babarikin, on their priesthood and on their monastic vow: and of that which each of them said we took from them depositions under their hands: and copies of these depositions, hossoudar, we thy slaves have sent to thee, &c. subjoined to this report.

But about his going out from the monastery the patriarch did not, to what we said, make any reply. And we thy slaves did not dare for that to set guards about the monastery until thy farther order.

Also we thy slaves questioned the archimandrite and the

namiestnik, what foreigners by name are now living with the patriarch? And they said: 'There are living with the patriarch these foreigners: his godson the German Denis Dolman, and a native of White Russia named Nicholas Olshevsky, and some others, whose names we know not; but they are known to the two above mentioned, viz. to the patriarch's godson and to Nicholas Olshevsky.' And we thy slaves questioned those two men about the other foreigners: and they, upon being questioned, replied to us that there are living with the patriarch these foreigners: Andriushko Alexándrik and Michael Louskin as serving men, Shklovskoi a posadski man, Ostashka Glouniloff, Michalka a Hebrew, with his wife, Michalka and Ivashko Magnusoff, Germans, Pavelko Gireyja, Tichonko Bouldiskoy.

And we thy slaves gave orders to keep the godson of the patriarch and Nicholas the White-Russian under guard till farther orders from thee the great hossoudar; but the rest of the foreigners we did not dare to take from him the patriarch without an order from thee the great hossoudar. And about that do thou, the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, make order to issue an oukaz to us, the slaves of thee the great hossoudar.

No. 2. *The Second Report.* To the hossoudar the tsar, &c.: We thy slaves, Nikita Odoefsky, &c., knock our heads.

By thy imperial oukaz we thy slaves were ordered to question the patriarch Nicon with reference to the information of Roman Babarikin, that he on the 26th of June, after a moleben, being with himself Roman in his cell, spake of thee the great hossoudar unbecoming words.

And the patriarch, hossoudar, said before the spiritual dignitaries that he would wait for a council; and he would cut off you the great hossoudar from Christianity—in writing; and he had forsooth the writing ready written.[45]

And the spiritual dignitaries, hossoudar, and we thy slaves said to him, that when he speaks of you the great hossoudar such unbecoming words, he is forgetting the fear of God: and that for such his unbecoming words, for his having dared to speak of you the great hossoudar such words, God will smite him.

[45] That is, the Answers of Paisius Ligarides to Streshneff, which in cutting off Nicon cut off also equally the tsar himself. See below, p. 186.

And he the patriarch said to us thy slaves, in reply to that, the same as before. And we thy slaves said to him, that for us thy slaves even to hear spoken of you the great hossoudar such evil words of his was frightful; and were he only not of such a rank, we thy slaves for such his evil words *would not have left him alive.*

Also, hossoudar, he said that Paisius the metropolitan of Gaza wrote to him [against him] that he Nicon had been consecrated twice—first to be metropolitan, and then a second time to be patriarch; but this, he said, was done contrary to the canons: and he declared him in his writing to be degraded from the sacerdotal dignity. But that second ordination, hossoudar, had been performed not only over him Nicon. For, first, it was so done in the case of the patriarch Job, then again in that of Hermogenes, then a third time in the case of Philaret Nikitich patriarch of Moscow and all Russia. And the patriarch Philaret Nikitich it was who baptised thee, O great hossoudar. And he the patriarch for *that cause* speaks of thee the great hossoudar *such words* [viz. that having been so baptised, he is by the same writing of Paisius Ligarides which degrades Nicon, and which he Nicon has here with him, cut off from Christianity].

And when the spiritual dignitaries, hossoudar, had gone out, we thy slaves asked of him alone: Of what Novgorodian affair was it that he spoke before Roman Babarikin? And the patriarch, hossoudar, said that the Novgorodian affair of which he spoke was this: When, hossoudar, there were rioters in Great Novgorod, and the rioters beat him the patriarch, at that time, hossoudar, they called him 'a confessor,' and your imperial letters were sent to him with praise. But other unbecoming words respecting you the great hossoudar he spake none whatever.

Also we thy slaves, with reference to the information of Roman Babarikin, questioned the namiestnik Joseph, because he the namiestnik was at that time here in the cell. And the namiestnik Joseph said about the Novgorod affair the same that the patriarch had said to us. But about other words of the patriarch which the patriarch spake before Roman Babarikin he said: I heard [all that passed].

And we thy slaves examined the patriarch's godson the

German Denis Dolman, whether he was at that time together with Roman here in the cell? And he, hossoudar, the patriarch's godson, said that he heard no unbecoming words whatever spoken by the patriarch about you the great hossoudar, because he had gone out from the cell.

Directed: To the hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c. To the *prikaz of secret service*, A.M. 7171, the 19th July, by the strelets Timothy Timopheyeff, of the prikaz of Basil Philosophoff.

Speaking of that same day on which these two reports were dated and sent to the tsar, Sunday the 19th of July, Paisius Ligarides in his *History* relates that he had said the midnight office by himself (or with only his Greek attendants) in the hospice: for, he continues, 'we dared not go to the church after the horrors of the day before; neither did we go to the liturgy; but we sat by ourselves, and waited for the rest of our company, who had gone earlier to the church for worship. And they remained there very late indeed at the church, before they returned, in consequence of Nicon's having preached. For he ascended his counterfeit Golgotha, and thence spoke words most profane, such as it was unlawful for any man to utter, expressing his inward passion, and declaiming most energetically. "For already," he said, "there has come the band of the soldiers; and Herod and Pilate are ready in the hall of judgment [alluding to the okolnik and boyar Herodion and Nikita]; yea, and he also [Almiaz] who may answer to Judas: there have come also the high priests [the archbishop Joseph and the metropolitan Paisius] Annas and Caiaphas;" applying in all its details to himself the drama of the Lord's crucifixion, identifying himself most absurdly with Jesus Christ. 'When at length he did finish—for they thought he never would—and our companions had hurried home, and related the burlesque scene he had acted, we were all much annoyed: and the boyars, having written down the words he had uttered, and the figures of his sermon, made *an energetic report* thereupon to the emperor: and we remained where we were, without doing anything farther, till we should receive from the emperor his final answer. In the mean time, however, they that lived close to the monastery were summoned and examined. .... And it being discovered that Nicon was intending to fly to certain hiding-places [really to go out to the brick-kiln], he was

prevented, *and guards were set about the monastery.* And after two days there came in haste Dementius [Bashmakoff] the emperor's private secretary, with an order from the emperor and a missive from the synod containing instructions to us to leave the place. But first we were to reprimand the levity of Nicon, and to impose on the monks about him certain needful injunctions.[46] And after having so done, we were to return at once to the capital.

From Nicon's own account, we learn that the commissioners did not return to Moscow so soon as they might seem to have done from the account of Paisius. Nicon mentions that he wrote out and sent to the hospice those canons above referred to, by which unaccredited ecclesiastical vagabonds and transgressors like Paisius Ligarides are subjected to deposition, and all such as receive them to excommunication. And without saying anything of his own sermon, or of the absence of Ligarides, and the presence of the other commissioners, during the liturgy which he celebrated and during the sermon, he relates that—

On the 19th of July, it being Sunday, they sent, *during the liturgy*, into the church streltsi, to take the priests. And before the dismissal they made a tumult in the church, during the molehen, which was sung after the prayer behind the ambon, at the gospel. But in their Code, ch. i. sect. 3, it is written: 'If any one during the holy liturgy, or any other church service, goes into the church of God and begins to speak improperly to the patriarch, or the metropolitan, or the archbishop, or bishop, or archimandrite, or hegoumen, or any one of the sacerdotal order, and thereby interrupts or disturbs the divine singing in the church, and that come to the knowledge of the hossoudar, strict inquest shall be made about that till the truth be ascertained; and the author of such disturbance for that his crime shall be punished capitally in the market-place.' Well, it was during the liturgy, in the monastery of Christ's Resurrection (of Voskresensk), that they seized our sin-boyars, and carrying them off,

[46] What these needful injunctions were he does not say, but the word 'injunctions' recalls to mind a circumstance mentioned by Michaelofsky, though the reference given for it by him is inaccurate, that 'there is preserved an order dated the 17th July A.D. 1663'—so the day before this commission was sent to Voskresensk—'for the banishment of a monk who had named Nicon as patriarch in the church in the *ectenias*. This monk was set at liberty from his irons in October of the same year.'

placed them in separate places of confinement, under strict watch of sentinels; and they ordered that no one should have access to them. The *same day* they set round the whole monastery a watch of Moscow streltsi: and at the patriarch's cell they set a guard with muskets and crossbows and halberds, as the Jews did with Christ.

And the patriarch Nicon wrote out and sent to the metropolitan of Gaza (to the hospice) extracts from the commandments of God and from the canons of the holy fathers, to the effect that he was acting irregularly, contrary to the divine canons, by celebrating and doing acts of ecclesiastical government in a diocese not his own, to please the tsar; and that by the holy canons such a one is deposed by the Holy Trinity. And to this he *made no answer*.

And on Tuesday the 21st of July they sounded the bell to assemble the brethren, that they might go and clear out a kiln of bricks. And the boyars sent to the patriarch the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff and the archimandrite Theodosius. And having come into his cell, they said: 'Do not blame us because we come not to take thy blessing. We cannot, because thou justifiest thyself by this argument, that we come to take thy blessing.' And the patriarch said: 'It is written in the Psalms, He desired not blessing; therefore also blessing shall depart far from him, &c. Let that which is written there be fulfilled.' After that he began to say: 'We have heard that thou art intending to go out to the brick-sheds to bring in bricks; but thou art not to go out of the monastery; thou must remain in thy cell.' And the patriarch said: 'I am ready not only to be confined to my cell, but even to die.' From that time, whenever the patriarch went to the church or to the building-work that was going on, to inspect it, there followed him a corporal and ten streltsi with their arms.

And on Tuesday the 28th of the same month there came again the boyar the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, with his colleagues and the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and said, making a great noise: 'The hossoudar the tsar *and the ecclesiastical authorities* order thee to live still in the Voskresensky monastery, but to confine thyself to thy cell, and except to the church to go out no whither.' And the patriarch Nicon said to the boyars: 'On the oukaz of the great hossoudar *the tsar* I am ready to

go also to prison; only hear thou the canons of the holy synod held at Constantinople in the church of St. Sophia, by which the Seventh Œcumenical Council was confirmed. Canon iii.: "If any layman casts a bishop into prison, or beats him without cause, or trumps-up some cause, let him be anathema." But for that a *Judaical synagogue* (the tsar's synod), as if possessed, contrary to the divine canons, interdicts me, it is not proper that I should listen to that.'

And the metropolitan of Gaza said: 'There is a letter *from the synod*, which *we* are ordered to read to thee; and do thou attend till it is read through.'

And the patriarch said: 'On the authority of what canons is it written?' And the metropolitan said: 'Eh! it is written from the synod, not from canons; and it is for thee to listen to it.'

And the patriarch said: 'I too myself know well that there are no such canons, and that it is from themselves that they are introducing now for the first time such new laws as this, that a patriarch is to be judged by his own metropolitans and bishops, and by those who have been ordained by himself. But such new laws by canon i. of the Seventh Œcumenical Council are anathematised. The canons of the holy fathers do not allow even a metropolitan to be judged without the patriarch, nor a bishop otherwise than by all the bishops of the province; or if it is impossible for them all to come together, then not fewer than twelve bishops and his own metropolitan are to judge him.' And they, as if they were out of their minds, all cried out they themselves knew not what. p. 604.

Paisius Ligarides, in his *History*, relates something as to his own share of what was thus cried out. And Solovieff—but, as usual, without giving any references—adds something more. Ligarides, he writes, having gone once more, together with Odoefsky, to Nicon, said to him: 'Why didst thou bring into the world a great scandal by issuing three slujebniks, all different one from the other, and thence in the churches there is the greatest discord?' 'Now they sing every man what he pleases,' Nicon replied; 'and all that comes of *disobedience*. But if I changed any words in the books, I made those corrections in pursuance of the letter and the testimony of the œcumenical patriarchs.' Paisius had one grave (favourite?) argument against

Nicon: 'Thou hast sent to me extracts from the canons; and in those extracts of thine there is mention of the Papal jurisdiction. But such mention occurs in the canons for this reason, because in those times the popes were religious (*i.e.* orthodox); but after that they fell away. And thou hast not added that afterwards their supreme jurisdiction was transferred to the œcumenical patriarchs.' 'What then?' replied Nicon. 'Why should not the Pope, for all that is good, be honoured? *There* are [the relics of] the princes of the apostles Peter and Paul, and he celebrates at their tombs.' 'But you know we curse the Pope in the councils,' objected Paisius. 'That I know,' replied Nicon: 'I know that the Pope does much that is bad' (vol. xi. p. 327).

Nicon himself continues, and concludes his own narrative thus:—And at last the boyar said: 'The hossoudar the tsar has made order that a captain of streltsi with his men is to be here on guard.' And the patriarch said: 'The hossoudar's will be done; let it be as the hossoudar pleases. We are ready thankfully to suffer for God's sake.'

And, with that for the last word, they all went out; and getting into their carriages, they all drove off from the monastery helter-skelter, whoever chanced going first.

And after that, a week later (seemingly on Sunday the 2d of August), the Moscow streltsi also, during the liturgy, all went off stealthily from their posts to the strangers' hospice. And on the day of the Transfiguration (the 6th of August) the captain with his streltsi went away all together to Moscow.

Is not this persecution and iniquity? For many years such iniquity has not been heard of. The Lord God shall render to every man according to the work of his hands; as also he says: 'With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again' (*Replies*, p. 604).

Paisius also continues his narrative, and enables us to accompany him and the other commissioners his colleagues on their return to Moscow:—Having then [after waiting at Voskresensk eight or nine days for instructions] done according to the order received from the emperor and the missive sent from *the synod*, we departed from Voskresensk, and going straight on our way, arrived at Moscow early in the morning (on the morning seem-

ingly of Wednesday the 29th of July); and *having given our blessing to the emperor*, we joyfully kissed his hand; whereupon he immediately, with a gracious smile, said to me: 'So now you have yourself seen Nicon. Have you had a taste of his vehemence and disputatiousness?' And I replied: 'Yea, by truth, it had been better for me never to have seen such a monster. Better to be at once deaf and blind, than to see him, or to come within hearing of his Cyclop tones, and muddy, tumbling, foaming torrents, stunning one above the cataracts of the Nile.' I had almost forgotten to mention that at the time of our departure from Voskresensk and return to Moscow, Nicon sent *libels against me* to the emperor, with a thousand charges, &c. (vol. iii. p. 80-82).

Of other calumnious accusations.

§ xxi. 'After this particular disturbance,' writes Shusherin (p. 75), 'and calumnious accusation had passed off, there were many others. For there were at that time living with the patriarch in the monastery at Voskresensk many foreigners—Greeks, and Poles (Lithuanians), Cherkasses (Kozaks), and natives of White Russia, and newly-baptised Niemtsi (Germans and Swedes), and Jewish proselytes, monks, and seculars. And many foreigners came from other countries, wishing to see the patriarch, and to see that great and remarkable church which he was building: and he received cheerfully all who came. But his enemies took occasion from this to bring a fresh information against him to the tsar, saying that the patriarch in his conversations with foreigners spoke many unbecoming words against the tsar, as if complaining to them, and saying: The great hossoudar has now possessed himself of the episcopal as well as the imperial authority.[17] And on this account they came again to him with reprimands. And other similar troubles were frequent.'

Farther on he gives an account of one of these calumnious accusations, without fixing the time, but seemingly connecting it with the summer or autumn of A.D. 1664, when the Eastern patriarchs were first said to be coming to Moscow:—At that time, he writes, there were of the recently-baptised proselytes two men, previously of the Jewish belief, living in the service of

[17] If Nicon had said this ever so freely, it was only what the tsar's acts proclaimed of themselves: but if Herod did what he pleased, it was none the less a crime in John the Baptist to say that what the king did was wrong.

Nicon. One of these was in the habit of going often into Moscow to a man named Daniel, born a Jew, and, like himself, recently baptised, and a doctor of medicine in the tsar's *apothek*. About these men a certain good Christian informed the patriarch that his Jewish servant, when he went into Moscow, was in the habit of living again as a Jew with that Daniel,[48] and that they held worship after the Jewish manner in his house; and that all the other Jewish proselytes who lived in Muscovy or came in from other countries were in the habit of going to them and meeting all of them in the house of that Daniel, and there celebrating together Judaical worship, having become in outward show only proselytes to Christianity, but by no means giving up their former belief; also that these Jewish proselytes tell to that Daniel many calumnious stories which they invent against the patriarch; and he Daniel often repeats to the great hossoudar those unbecoming and malicious suggestions, and so excites him against the patriarch, and seeks to harden the tsar's heart against him.

The patriarch, on hearing this, ordered that that Jew servant of his should be examined: but he kept all close, and confessed to nothing: and on that account he was put into the prison. But his mate, the other proselyte, seeing what had befallen him, and having a secret understanding with him, ran away to Moscow, and there, going to the palace, cried aloud that he had something to reveal which concerned the tsar. Then they took him and brought him up into the palace above, and set him before the tsar. And he said before the tsar: 'There is in the Voskresensky monastery a man whom the patriarch Nicon has cast into prison; and he besought me to give information about him to thy majesty, and to petition that thou wouldst command him to be taken out of prison and brought before thee; and he will give thee the great hossoudar information on all points of the life and conduct of the patriarch.' And forthwith the tsar

[48] Richter, in his *History of Medicine in Russia*, writes of this Daniel, that he was in the tsar's service as a physician in the aptekarski prikaz, and in such favour that he was created a doctor of medicine. And Dr. Sam. Collins, who was himself physician to the tsar Alexis (between A.D. 1660 and 1667), writes thus: 'The *Jews* have strangely crept in of late to the city and court by means of one surgeon, who *calls himself a Lutheran*, and assists Bogdan Mat. Khltroff the dvoretskoy in his amours, and supplies him with Polish handmaids.' See our vol. iii. p. 536.

sent to Voskresensk Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff, and with him a polkovnik and streltsi, and ordered them to take that Jew out of the prison. So the archimandrite Joachim went to Voskresensk; and having first set a guard over the prison of the monastery, he went himself to the patriarch, to his cells, and notified to him the tsar's oukaz, saying: 'The great hossoudar has made an order to take such and such a prisoner;' and the patriarch directed that they should give him up. And the archimandrite Joachim took him and brought him before the tsar. And that prisoner uttered before the tsar against the most holy patriarch many calumnies; for he said that he had taken away from them their wives for his own lust, and that as for themselves, he was in the habit of beating them even to death; and other revolting stories which the devil put into his head.

But the great hossoudar, having heard all this, spake to him thus: 'Tell not this story about thy master to any man, nor repeat a word of it. If I ever hear that thou hast again said a word of it, I will have thy tongue cut out.' And he forthwith ordered that they should both of them be kept under guard in the stable-yard of the Choudoff, and that their wives and children should be brought from the Voskresensky monastery, and should be in the Choudoff with their husbands. But after a short time those wicked Jews all disappeared with their wives and children, and perished without its being known how (p. 93).

Of the coming out of the first scab of spiritual Leprosy.

§ xxii. But the attacks made on Nicon and on the properties of his monasteries through the tsar's prikazes, and those other matters which have been noticed in this present chapter, are only accessories in the great drama; and they might all have been thrown into an appendix, or even omitted, but for this, that they lead, the greater part of them, to the first official mission of Paisius Ligarides to Nicon, and to a certain circumstance truly or falsely connected with that mission by Ligarides in his *History*.

Having rejected the blessing and the correction of his true spiritual pastor, whom he had promised before God to obey, and having made a Russian vicar-bishop to be the acting primate under himself, the tsar, as if this were not enough, received and employed against Nicon an unaccredited Greek stranger, and

delegated to him also a portion of his own ecclesiastical supremacy. And not only did he himself receive this stranger, and communicate with him, and take his blessing, but he made the Russian bishops and clergy also to follow the boyars in doing so too. And they all together—the tsar, the clergy, and the boyars—sent this unknown, vagabond, sycophant hireling, who might be guilty, for aught they knew, of any conceivable crimes, as their own commissioner and representative, to examine, and reprimand, and inhibit the patriarch, speaking every word that he should speak (since he spoke in Latin) through the tsar's interpreter.

Nicon had learned from Paisius Ligarides' answer to his own letter, in July A.D. 1662, that he was an unprincipled sophist, already sold to the court to be their instrument and adviser; and the fact that he brought no canonical letters—for his letters of orders, with, perhaps, an old letter of recommendation from a former patriarch of Jerusalem no longer living, even if he had exhibited them to Nicon, which he did not, were not the letters dimissory and commendatory required by the canons—suggested a doubt whether he was really metropolitan of Gaza, or even a bishop at all. But in July A.D. 1663, when Paisius was sent from the tsar, the bishops, and the boyars, as their commissioner to Voskresensk, other rumours about him had reached the ears of Nicon, who thereupon wrote to the tsar, partly to justify himself for having refused to deal with him, and partly to warn the tsar of the impropriety and of the danger of receiving such a foreigner.

'I had nearly forgotten,' Paisius writes in his *History*, 'to mention that at the very time of our departure and return Nicon sent libels against me to the emperor, making great apologies, on the ground that I had not kissed his hand, according to the rule, nor saluted him, as was becoming, with civil words; and that on this account it was that he had behaved roughly to me, who *had not managed delicately the commission*. And *a thousand other charges* he let out besides, which for brevity I forbear to mention' (vol. iii. p. 82).

But Nicon, in his *Replies*, &c., written very shortly afterwards, relates the matter as follows: 'I had been slandered,' he says, 'to the *noble*[49] tsar, as if I had publicly cursed him. And

[49] 'Noble,' but not now 'most religious' or 'orthodox.'

on that account there was sent to us to Voskresensk one of the tsar's boyars, the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, with other colleagues and many officials, and together with them that metropolitan of Gaza, as they called him, Paisius Ligarides, to sit in judgment on me, and to make inquest if the charge were true. And when I asked him who he was, and whence, and where was his see, and by whom he was consecrated bishop, and whether he had with him his *letters of consecration* to exhibit in proof, and whether he had *letters to us* from the most holy œcumenical patriarchs testifying that he was a true bishop, and wherefore he came to us in contravention of the canons, he made us no sort of answer to these questions, but only reviled us with all manner of unseemly words.

'And on this account I wrote to the tsar's majesty that it is not right to receive such persons without certificates, according to the divine commandment, which says: "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but creepeth in in some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." And it is forbidden by canons vii. xi. xiii. xxii. Ant.; xli. Laod.; v. xiii. xxiii. Chalc.; iii. Sard.; xxiii. cvi. (xxvi. and cix. Bev.) Carth.; and by canon xx. of the Sixth holy Œcumenical Council, to receive such. And to what we wrote no attention was paid; but the tsar was disposed to follow him in all things; and whatever he uttered he received it as from the lips of God' (vol. iii. p. 390).

What reports about Paisius Ligarides had then reached Nicon, and were by him mentioned in his letter to the tsar, may be seen by comparing what he wrote nearly at the same time in A.D. 1663, in his *Replies* (p. 550, 586, 595), with what he wrote later, in Dec. A.D. 1665, to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius (vol. iii. p. 392):—All who know him say that he is not of the holy Eastern Church, but of the Western Roman kostel; that he was with the Pope of Rome to the age of thirty, and was a deacon.[59] And they adduce in proof of this a little book, a *Commentary on the Magnificat*, printed at Rome with his name in it, '*Pantaleon* Ligarides.' But the canons of the holy Apostles decree that 'he who prays with a man excommunicate is himself excommunicated; and he who receives a man that elsewhere is not received, is himself not to be received.' And canon xlv. of the

[59] Really he was ordained at Rome both deacon and priest. See vol. ii. p. 13 and p. 4.

Apostles: 'He who prays with heretics is excommunicated; and he who receives them as clerks is himself to be deposed.' And canons xxxiii. and xxxvii. of Laod. and ix. Carthage. So even if it be the tsar himself who transgresses these canons, he will fall under their penalties (*Replies*, &c. p. 551, 552). They say also of him that he abode a long time in Wallachia and Moldavia, and was full of the Roman heresy; that he often insisted that widower priests should marry again, and that young monks and nuns should marry, and should eat flesh: and the metropolitan of Moldavia wrote to the œcumenical patriarchs,[51] and they anathematised him, and directed that he should be degraded altogether. And he from Moldavia went off into Poland, where he was a long time (from A.D. 1660 to 1662) with the king,[52] and celebrated mass in all the *kostels*.[53] And here too in Russia it is reported of him that he lives without observing in any way the rule for monks; that he goes not to the churches for the vespers, matins, and liturgy. Some say that he eats flesh-meat. Theodore Tatianin himself *saw* him smoking tobacco (ib. p. 586).

In these passages there is no mention as yet of imputations of foul immorality. The first hint of these—so it may be called, though written afterwards, because connected with the time of his mission to Voskresensk in July A.D. 1663—is from Paisius Ligarides *himself*, when he writes in his *History* (a history written in Greek, in A.D. 1667, for the *glorification*, both in the Levant and in Russia, of himself and his patrons, and dedicated to the tsar, in the hope that he would cause it to be translated and published in Russian), that, besides something to the same effect said through the tsar's interpreter, he whispered in the ear of Nicon, in Romaic, the word '*Solomi'e*.'

It was no doubt a falsehood, that story told by Paisius Ligarides about himself. According to the official report of the boyars, when they first came into the presence of Nicon, Paisius *would have made a speech* as commissioner; but Nicon cut him short, and declared that until he produced the necessary canonical letters, he would have nothing to do with him. But Paisius

[51] *i.e.* to his own patriarch, the patriarch of Constantinople, and indirectly, through him, also to Nectarius, who in A.D. 1660 had succeeded Paisius as patriarch of Jerusalem, and to whose patriarchate Paisius Ligarides, as metropolitan of Gaza, though residing in Moldavia, belonged.

[52] That is, *perhaps*, only in the king's dominions.

[53] *i.e.* in all the Polish Latin churches.

himself, in his *History*, gives his speech as having been actually spoken; and he adds that it was translated word for word by the tsar's interpreter from beginning to end, before Nicon replied to it. And having so begun, he represents himself as continuing to play the part of chief commissioner to the end. So we may safely infer that he no more whispered what he pretends to have whispered, or anything else, into the ear of Nicon, than he spoke previously that speech which he pretends to have spoken on their first entrance. But the motive which prompted him to invent such a revolting story in A.D. 1667, when he composed his *History* (before his antecedents had been officially made known to the tsar by the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius in A.D. 1668, and more fully by his successor the patriarch Dositheus in A.D. 1670), and which has been pointed out in vol. iii. in a note at the foot of p. viii., was this, that when the reader farther on should find Nicon writing again to the tsar, and adding to what he had mentioned before, that Paisius was reported to be guilty of unmentionable immorality, Nicon might seem to be retaliating, out of revenge for an imputation of the same kind previously made against himself, and whispered by Paisius into his own ear.

Nor let any one think that we are making too much of a word only said to have been whispered to Nicon, but probably not really uttered at all, when we take it as evidence by which Paisius inculpates and betrays himself. For even if there were no other proof of his guilt, such as comes to light afterwards, this imputation would be already justified as having been cast by Paisius upon himself, since the canons decree that the slanderer, more especially the slanderer of a bishop, is to be punished as if guilty himself of the same crimes which he has falsely imputed to others. He, then, who first and gratuitously has even so much as named or hinted at such an imputation as this of Paisius' against any other—not to say against a bishop or patriarch—is to be judged as if guilty of that same crime himself. But in this case, as time goes on, his guilt reveals itself by degrees, till at last it is no longer denied even by himself.

As yet, indeed, neither the tsar nor the bishops nor the boyars knew distinctly that Paisius Ligarides had been degraded and excommunicated by the Greek Church as guilty of crimes odious and shameful to the last degree even among the worst

outcasts of human society—crimes which their own civil law punished by burning the offender alive without mercy (see *Replies*, &c. p. 164). But still the fact remains—a fact unparalleled in all ecclesiastical history—that the autocrat of a vast empire, immediately after having made himself head of his national Church, placed himself and his newly-constituted Church and hierarchy, together with all his court and empire, with all his worldly pride and power, under the blessing not only of an unknown runaway from Rome, excommunicated also personally by the Greek Church, but of a man capable of writing that when sent *as their imperial commissioner* to hold an inquest over the patriarch whom they were persecuting, he had whispered in his ear such an epithet as he implies himself to have whispered, though in *Romaic*, and of dedicating to them, as a public record of their victory and of his own services, a History containing such a relation.

This we may well call *the first scab of that leprosy which has come out in the sight of the world on the forehead of the Russian Uzziah.*

CHAPTER VII.

OF NICON'S RETURN TO MOSCOW, DEC. 18, A.D. 1664, AND HIS DOUBLE OFFER OF A PACIFICATION BOTH THEN AND SUBSEQUENTLY: ALSO OF THE COMING OUT AND SPREADING OF THE SECOND SCAB OF LEPROSY.

From Solovieff: Letter of Nicon to the tsar, Nov. A.D. 1663.

§ i. At the beginning of November A.D. 1663, Nicon sent a letter to the tsar from Voskresensk by the archimandrite and the vicar, begging for some assistance towards the building of that his monastery. He wrote: 'Remember how thou didst send (in July A.D. 1658) Ivan Matiushkin, saying: "I will never abandon thee; no, never." And when I was at Moscow (in July or August A.D. 1659) thou didst send to me the secretary Almiaz Ivanoff, saying: "Go, live in your monasteries; the great hossoudar will not abandon you, but will give orders to take care of you." When thou wert present at the consecration of the church here (A.D. 1657) &c. I said: "The site is good, but I have not wherewithal to found a monastery;" and thou saidst: "Found it; we will not fail you,"' &c. This letter was sent to Theodore Rtischeff, to be given by him to the tsar, with a separate letter to Rtischeff himself, reminding him how he had been at Voskresensk after Nicon's departure from Moscow, and how he had in A.D. 1662 sent his brother Theodore Sokovnin, and again Porphyry. But it was too late now for soft letters (vol. xi. p. 328).

From Michaelofsky: Of the first mission of the Greek Meletius, with Questions to the Eastern patriarchs, A.D. 1663-4.

§ ii. On Whitsunday the 29th May A.D. 1664, there returned to Moscow from the Levant the hierodiacon Meletius, with the Answers of the four Eastern patriarchs to the XXV. Questions drawn up by Paisius Ligarides for the tsar and the

council[1] respecting 'the demands or presumptions of the patriarch Nicon' (vol. iii. p. 328), and sent *secretly* (in the autumn of A.D. 1663) to Constantinople through the tsar's prikaz of *secret service*. The patriarchs, going on what they heard from the lips of Meletius, and on what was written to them from Moscow in the letters of complaint against Nicon addressed to them, decided *in the first place* that question which had then arisen in our country of the respective limits of the imperial and the patriarchal authorities: and hence in the Russian edition the heading of these Answers stands thus: '*Of the Imperial authority, that it is unlimited; and of the Patriarchal, that it is limited.*'[2] Then *secondly*, they strongly condemned Nicon's conduct in this point, that at his election to the patriarchate he had demanded of the tsar, of the bishops, and of all the people a vow of obedience to himself. *Thirdly*, they condemned him for rising up against the monastirski prikaz and against the Code. *Fourthly*, for anathematising Pitirim and others. *Fifthly*, for taking the title of '*great hossoudar*.' *Sixthly*, for taking part in the direction of affairs of state. *Seventhly*, they emphatically condemned his withdrawal from Moscow to Voskresensk, and decreed, in agreement with the original resolution of the Moscow synod of A.D. 1660, that for this he ought to be degraded to the rank of a common monk. *Eighthly*, they condemned him for still ordaining and appointing people to ecclesiastical orders and offices after he had withdrawn from the chair. *Ninthly*, for his rejection of the Moscow synod of A.D. 1660. *Tenthly*, for *the reforms made by him in the order of the common divine service*; and *eleventhly* and lastly, for his anger for the affront done to his boyar. 'The bishop'—so the Eastern patriarchs concluded their judgment—'who is guilty, according to all these

[1] That the xxv. Questions were rather from the council than the tsar is sufficiently clear from this fact, that the person on whom the original and chief *blame* is cast by them is *the tsar himself*, though it is Nicon only who is to be punished and condemned. In like manner, afterwards in the acts of the Moscow synod of A.D. 1667, the tsar is all but put to penance and absolved for the share he had taken in the foundation of Nicon's monasteries; and the tone even of his own later oukaz for re-establishing and legalising those monasteries is apologetic, as if their original foundation by Nicon and himself had been rightly condemned. See vol. ii. p. xli.; iii. p. 319, and 506, 507.

[2] See Roumantseff's *Collection of State Papers*, &c. vol. iv. no. 27. These patriarchal *Answers*, and all the other documents connected with the prosecution of Nicon before the Eastern patriarchs, and his condemnation by their œcumenical authority, are printed at length in our vol. iii. p. 317-349.

our Answers, may without sin (*ἀποκρυματίστως*, or 'without danger of condemnation') be degraded from the episcopal honour and dignity, and another is to be appointed in his room.'

The patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius wrote at the end of the common patriarchal Answers an addition or codicil of his own, in which he asserted that, 'According to the Answers set forth by the Eastern patriarchs, there may be judged (*εὐθύνεται*) not only a bishop or a metropolitan, but also a patriarch, who has no right to say that he cannot be judged by his own bishops, who are subject to him. Every ecclesiastical *persona*,' says Nectarius (of bishops, that is), 'is liable to be judged by any ecclesiastical persona whatever, *according to the present compilation of the holy canons*.'

The Answers of the Eastern patriarchs, with this special note of Nectarius appended to them, were sent to Moscow, as we have already said, by the hand of the hierodiacon Meletius. But at the same time (or only a very little later), Nectarius having trusty persons going from himself to Moscow for alms, charged them with a separate letter addressed personally to the tsar, and containing an earnest exhortation in favour of the restoration of Nicon to the patriarchal chair. This letter showed that the Eastern patriarchs knew in their consciences that the present position of Nicon was owing to the hatred of his powerful enemies, but they dared not openly express their thoughts. Their own unhappy condition forced them to be very guarded. In the tsar they had full confidence, and they wished to let him know the truth; but the boyars they feared, and returned to *them* evasive answers.

The letter of Nectarius—one of the Eastern patriarchs who had nothing to do with the passions of the Russian boyars—produced a deep impression[3] on the good-hearted sovereign.

[3] *No* deep an impression, that he forthwith threw the bearer Sebastus into prison, and wrote some time later, by the pen of Paisius Ligarides, letters to Nectarius sarcastically taunting him with inconsistency, and reproaching him for having caused his own messenger to be imprisoned by meddling with a matter which he did not understand. Nectarius had written also, and sent together with his own separate letter to the tsar, a letter for the patriarch Nicon, which the 'good-hearted sovereign' *suppressed*.

Second mission of Meletius in A.D. 1664, *with Stephen; and mission of Sabba.*

§ iii. Then Michaelofsky goes on to connect the deep impression made by the letter of Nectarius in May A.D. 1664 with the fact that some months later, in October of the same year, the tsar received very favourably at the Sabbin monastery Nicon's archimandrite Gerasimus; and he prints, after the archimandrite Apollos, as if then written by the tsar to Nicon[4] and sent by the archimandrite Gerasimus, a letter the date of which has not been preserved, but which cannot without an absurd incongruity be referred to A.D. 1664, since the tsar in it gives to Nicon the title of '*Great Hossoudar*;' and this circumstance, together with its other contents, points rather to the summer or autumn of A.D. 1657, after the tsar had been at Voskresensk at the consecration of the church there. What was really taking place between the reception of the patriarchal Answers in May A.D. 1664 and October of that same year, may be seen in our vol. iii. (p. 82-85 and 356-372), where it is related how doubts were raised by Athanasius the metropolitan of Iconium, and by others, about the genuineness of the patriarchal subscriptions, and of the *Answers* themselves; and how fresh letters were sent to the Levant, both to clear up those doubts, and also to induce the Eastern patriarchs, or at the least two of them, and some other bishops, to come in person to Moscow; and how for this second mission the same Greek deacon Meletius, who had been recommended by Paisius Ligarides before, was again employed, and with him another Greek named Stephen, and a Muscovite secretary from the prikaz of secret service; while a Russian ecclesiastic, Sabba, was sent secretly to make inquiries respecting the character of Paisius Ligarides, and especially respecting the genuineness of a letter from the patriarch of Constantinople appointing him 'exarch,' to represent the patriarch himself and all his synod for the particular affair of Nicon, and to be director of the proceedings, and interpreter of the patriarchal Answers sent previously. This letter turned out to be a forgery; but the tsar continued to use Paisius Ligarides as before; and Ligarides himself, when he was writing his *History* in A.D. 1667, seems to

[4] p. 227, referring to *Chten. Mosk. Obshchestva Ist. i Drevn. R.* 1848, no. 5 at the end.

have been unaware what had been the real purpose of the mission of Sabba, and how much that ought to have been damaging to himself had been discovered through it by the tsar. But the mission of Sabba was later (in A.D. 1665 and 1666), and it is mentioned now only on account of its connection with that second mission of the deacon Meletius, in which he had Stephen for his colleague.

Second eruption of the spiritual Leprosy, May A.D. 1664.

§ iv. But in the mean time the reference which had been made at the suggestion of Ligarides to the Eastern patriarchs, and which was eventually to implicate their whole communion in contact and coöperation with him, caused no suspension in the spread of that leprosy, the first outbreak of which has been related in the preceding chapter. Now, in this present chapter, we shall see the coming out of a second blotch or scab of the same leprosy, penetrating more deeply and spreading more widely, so as to poison the whole organisation of the Russian Church. After that — since the most terrible and incurable plagues are not brought upon sinners without proportionate warnings and delays, and opportunities and invitations to repentance—we shall see, by a strange concurrence of three different causes, the patriarch Nicon suddenly and unexpectedly reappear in his chair at Moscow (though there was an order of the council, that if he attempted to return he was not to be allowed by the guards to pass the gates), offering with meekness to absolve all and to heal all, if only they were willing to be healed. But instead of being willing, they again refused to receive their pastor, and sent to him as their representative that same living pollution whom they had already sent to him once before, bidding him, with threats and insults, to depart. And he, reciting the words of Christ, and shaking off against them the dust from his feet, went away a second time from Moscow. And yet again, even after that, even when they were wresting all but literally from his hands the staff of his spiritual authority, he made them another and a different offer of pacification, so that, even though they rejected his person, he should still heal them, and give them another lawful primate unpolluted by that leprosy. But this too was refused. And thereupon the reward of iniquity given by the tsar to Ligarides was not only stolen from him by his own fellows

and accomplices, but it was made the occasion of publishing against him on the housetops that very same imputation which in his *History* he represents himself as having already (when no one as yet had accused him) named in a whisper to Nicon. And now it is made known to the tsar and to the bishops and to the boyars. And they—what do they do? They employ him, and honour him in the sight of the world all the same! This, then, we call the *second* scab of the leprosy which has come out on the forehead of the Russian Uzziah.

No doubt, in the first instance—in A.D. 1662 and 1663—they were not fully aware of the whole depth of that pollution into which, from malice and envy, they were plunging. But having once begun, they were carried on by the force of circumstances; and before long they repeated the same thing a second time, though then they were less ignorant of the infamous character of their instrument. This second disgrace was in the spring of A.D. 1664, a little before the Answers made by the Eastern patriarchs to the XXV. Questions drawn up by Ligarides reached Moscow. For then the tsar, making Ligarides instead of Pitirim to be for a time the acting primate and president in the sacred synod, translated (about May 10th), *with his blessing*, Pitirim from being nominally metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, but really only a vicar-bishop in the patriarchal diocese, to the metropolitan chair of Novgorod then vacant, the chair which ranked next after that of the patriarchate; and he caused to be ordained shortly afterwards a number of new bishops, making Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff to be guardian of the patriarchal see, Cornelius to be archbishop of Tobolsk and Siberia (June 24), and Paul, previously archimandrite of the Choudoff, to be metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, *i.e.* of Kroutitz (Aug. 22), while Joachim, a Little-Russian, formerly one of Nicon's monks at the Iverskoy, from being kellar of the Choudoff became (in September) its archimandrite; and on the 23d Oct. Simon was consecrated to be archbishop of Vologda. Already, before this, while Pitirim was acting as guardian, in A.D. 1660, an archbishop of Souzdal, Stephen, had been degraded as 'unacceptable to the people,' and Pitirim charged to administer that see also; and on the 4th May in A.D. 1661, as we have seen, Maxim Philemonoff, protopope of Niejin, had been, under the new name of Methodius, made bishop of Orsha, in Lithuania, and sent to in-

vade with the title of guardian the province of Kieff, which was then subject to the patriarchal chair of Constantinople; and both those appointments were no doubt by the canons irregular and null. But now the whole hierarchy was in a manner reconstituted, and its ordinations doubly vitiated by the blessing and by the imposition of the hands of Paisius Ligarides, a new succession, as it were, taking its beginning from him.

'Not being willing'—Nicon writes of this in Dec. A.D. 1665 to the patriarch of Constantinople Dionysius—'to receive a blessing from our humility, nor waiting even till any answer or decree should be given, in consequence of his own letters, from the œcumenical patriarchs, the tsar directed, by his own order alone, that there should be held a certain synod (in the spring of A.D. 1664); and over that synod he ordered that the metropolitan of Gaza, Paisius Ligarides, should be *president:* and at that synod, with the blessing of Paisius Ligarides metropolitan of Gaza, they agreed to translate Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutitz to Novgorod, the first metropolitan see of Russia, contrary to the divine canons, as your episcopate knows that it is forbidden for a bishop to change from one see to another.[5] And they had scarcely so done by that see, when in his room they appointed and consecrated Paul archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery to be metropolitan of Kroutitz: and other bishops in like manner they appointed for many other sees. And from that their lawless synod there ceased to be in Russia union with the holy Eastern Church, and with your blessing; but they took their initiative, or lead, instead from the Roman kostel, to suit their own wills.

'But from the year 886 from the Incarnation, in the time of the most blessed patriarch of C.P. Photius, and of the emperor Basil the Macedonian, when the Russians received holy baptism from the holy Eastern Church, to these our own times, we Russians have had no sort of communion with the Western *kostel;* but in all the most essential acts, as concerning the creation of the primates, and concerning the determination of other spiritual matters, we have ever taken the counsel and blessing of the holy Eastern Church from the most holy œcumenical patriarchs. Only one metropolitan of Russia, Isidore, who was at the council

[5] Such translations, however, if only made by a lawful synod, were permitted exceptionally, and in practice were common enough.

of Florence, united himself with the Roman *kostel;* but after his union, when he came back from the council to Russia, we did not receive him as orthodox, but rejected him as a heretic.

'But now here all is done according to the tsar's pleasure. When any one wishes to become a clerk, or deacon, or priest, or hegoumen, or archimandrite, they write a petition to the tsar's majesty that he will make order to some metropolitan or archbishop; and upon the tsar's order, they write an oukaz on those petitions, thus: "The hossoudar the tsar has been pleased to order that the bearer N. be made a deacon, or pope, or of any other order, as the case may be." And so they ordain upon the tsar's order, not by grace of the Holy Ghost. And when a metropolitan or archbishop ordains any one, they write in their letters of ordination that such a one has been ordained deacon or priest by oukaz of the hossoudar the tsar, not according to the commandments of God and the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers. And when the tsar commands a synod to be held, they hold a synod: and whomsoever he commands them to elect and consecrate to any bishopric, they elect and consecrate him: and whom he commands them to judge, they judge and condemn, and depose or degrade. And all the property and revenues of the patriarchal diocese the tsar applies to his own outgoings; and when he commands, they apply them to improper purposes. In like manner of the possessions and revenues also of the metropolitan and archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, and of the honourable and great monasteries, he gives orders to take both the people for service, and money, and corn; and they take them, with no regard to justice, as if in exaction of a debt' (vol. iii. p. 393-398).

And later, when asked by the patriarchs in the synod of Dec. A.D. 1666 about this passage in his letter to the patriarch Dionysius, 'Whereby has Russia separated herself from the orthodox Catholic Church?' Nicon answered: 'Hereby, that Paisius of Gaza translated Pitirim from one metropolitan see to another, and instituted in his stead another metropolitan: and other bishops in like manner (under his blessing or initiative) were translated by them from one place to another: But he had no competency to do that, seeing that he had been excommunicated and anathematised by the patriarch of Jerusalem. And even though the metropolitan of Gaza were not a Latin here-

tic, he had no right by the canons to be living here for any long time at Moscow. I do not recognise him for a metropolitan: he has not even (that is, so far as I know) any letters of consecration: any mujik might put on a mandya and call himself a metropolitan. I wrote all that I wrote [of the apostasy of the Russian Church and State] with reference to him [*i.e.* to the initiative taken by him and accorded to him, and with reference to his employers], but not of the orthodox Russian people' (ib. p. 424, 425).

Question, whether the greater schima incapacitates a monk for the episcopate.

§ v. 'In the autumn of A.D. 1664'—so writes Michaelofsky—'it became known to Nicon's friends that the tsar had received his archimandrite from Voskresensk with more kindness than he had ever before shown since Nicon's withdrawal from Moscow. And this not unnaturally suggested to some the thought, that the love and amity which used formerly to exist between the tsar and the patriarch might now be renewed.'

But whatever mixture and inconsistency there might be in the more private and personal feelings of the tsar, there was no sign of vacillation in his public conduct. On the contrary, at this very time at which he showed so much kindness to the archimandrite Gerasimus, he was seeking to satisfy the boyars by finding for them some sufficient guarantee—as it were against himself—of the complete and irrevocable removal of Nicon from the patriarchate. The boyars had failed, as we have seen above, to obtain the tsar's consent to a resolution, once actually passed by the synod of A.D. 1660, for treating Nicon as already degraded, by the very fact of his withdrawal from Moscow, both from the episcopate and from the priesthood: and they were unwilling to see a new patriarch created, so long as Nicon was still admitted to be capable of doing episcopal and sacerdotal acts. But there was a canon of one of the later Greek councils which distinctly forbade a bishop, after taking the greater monastic *schima*, to do any more episcopal acts: and by some this canon was explained to forbid equally a priest after taking the schima to do sacerdotal acts, or a deacon who had taken the schima to be raised to the priesthood. Nicon had all along offered to consent to the election of another patriarch, so long as he himself were not

treated as a criminal: and though the tsar might not be ready, as the boyars no doubt would have wished him to be, to cause Nicon to be tonsured to the greater schima *by force*, still the thought seems to have suggested itself, that as the tsar had lent himself in July or August of A.D. 1659 to their plan of sending Nicon to the Koliazin monastery *for his greater security*, so now he might be willing to undertake to deal with Nicon by entreaty and persuasion, that in consideration of the tsar's difficulties, for the peace of the Church and of the empire, and as an act of greater humility on his own part, he should voluntarily take *the greater schima*. The peace of the Church, no doubt, meant in the minds of those who were at the bottom of this plan the permanency of that lay supremacy which was already in operation, and against which Nicon had contended. But since he had thought it lawful to consent to transfer from himself to any other canonically-qualified person whom the bishops and the tsar should elect, the responsibility of defending or surrendering the rights of the Church, it might seem not impossible nor unlikely that a man of so ascetic a spirit might consent also to the farther step of taking the great schima.

The tsar then—certainly not of himself alone, but at the instigation of others—consulted the bishops on this point: Whether *the greater monastic schima* was not by the canons an absolute disqualification for the exercise of the episcopate; and he consulted them in such a way as not to show directly the purpose really in view, asking them only, whether an hieromonach (*i.e.* a monk-*priest*) who should take the schima could afterwards, without violation of the canons, be made a bishop? Several letters written by the tsar on this subject to those of the Russian bishops who were absent from Moscow, with their answers, are preserved in the synodal archives; and they shall be here inserted, as illustrating the forms by which the national Church was now governed under the direct initiative of the crown.

Form of letter from the tsar to the absent bishops.

(Roll VI. of the synodal archives, no. 1.) From the tsar &c., to our beadsman Hilarion archbishop of Riazan and Mourom: On receipt of this, write to us to Moscow immediately your opinion on this question: Can an hieromonach who has taken the great monastic habit (σχῆμα) and become a schimnik consist-

ently with the holy canons be made a bishop? and send the answer by a special messenger for greater speed; and order it to be delivered *at the patriarchal razriad* to the patriarchal boyar Ivan Neledinsky, and to the secretary Ivan Kalitin. Written at Moscow A.M. 7173, Dec. 7.

Letters of the tsar in this form were sent to Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod, to Joasaph archbishop of Tver, to Philaret archbishop of Smolensk, to Hilarion archbishop of Riazan, and to Laurentius metropolitan of Kazan.

1. *Answer of the metropolitan Pitirim.*

(Roll VI. no. 2.) To the tsar &c., I thy beadsman Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod, &c. praying God, &c., do my obeisance. In this year 7173, Dec. 14, it was written in thy letter to me: 'If an hieromonach . . . . becomes a schimnik [as above], can he be made a bishop?'

By the sacred canons, hossoudar, of the council held at Constantinople in the church of St. Sophia, which confirmed the Seventh Œcumenical Council (canon ii. ch. 20 v. 122): 'If any bishop or priest or deacon wishes to go down into the monastic order, and stand in the place of penance, that is, to be tonsured (to the great *schima*), such an one, if he be a bishop, is not to retain the episcopal dignity: for the monastic vows (of the schima) contain words of obedience and of discipleship, but not of teachership nor of presidency. Nor do they promise to feed, but to be fed. Therefore, as has been said before, we decree that such an one, being of the episcopal order and a shepherd, is for the future to be no more in authority, but is to go aside to the place of them that are fed, and of them that are in penance.'

But if any one presume to do otherwise, then, according to the words and the sense of the judgment now delivered, he who has stripped himself of the episcopal dignity can no more return to his former degree, from which he has by the very acts themselves been put out. Of this it is treated in lib. i. of Nicon (of the Black Mountain), sermon 63, and in lib. ii. 32.

From a paper MS. of Souzdal, another translation: 'If any bishop or priest or deacon wishes to go out into the holy monastic schima, and to stand in the place of penitence, he is not for the future to do the episcopal acts which he did before. For the mon-

astic schima has the profession of obedience and of discipleship, not of teaching. The new beginning is a change of old relations: they receive a commandment not to preside nor to feed, but to be taught and to be fed. If any heretofore, of ignorance, after taking this vow have been allowed to retain their episcopal eminence, the holy œcumenical synod altogether corrects such contumacy, and forbids for the future such disorderly conduct. If any one presumes to do so, then, by the words and sense of the canon now enacted, he who has placed himself among the monks (recluses), and has withdrawn from the angelic [the episcopal] power, is by no means to resume it, but is to remain in the grade of penitence.'

Appended to the above.

(Roll VI. no. 3.) '*Answers of the very blessed Nikitas metropolitan of Heraclea to Questions submitted to him by Constantine of Pamphylia* (ch. lv. fol. 384).

'*Qu.* May a priest who is not himself a schimnik tonsure another, and make him a great schimnik, or not?—*Answ.* What any one has not himself, that he cannot give to another: how, then, shall a priest of the lesser schima give to another the great schima?

'*Qu.* If a white (*i.e.* a secular) priest, having a wife still living, become a monk and a great schimnik, ought he to celebrate? Or if, without having a wife, a man become a monk, and then a priest, and then a great schimnik, ought he still to celebrate? *Answ.* About bishops there is a canon, that when they take on them the monastic (the *great*) schima, they are thenceforth not to do episcopal acts, but are to relinquish their episcopate, because, descending of their own will from the eminence of the episcopate, they have chosen the schima of humility. In like manner as regards a priest and a deacon, the rule laid down by the council held at C.P. in the illustrious church of St. Sophia must be kept to, which also confirmed the Seventh Œcumenical Council.'

And so, great hossoudar, a schimnik, according to the canons, cannot be made a bishop.

2. *Answer of the metropolitan of Kazan.*

(Roll VI. no. 4.) To the hossoudar the tsar &c. Al. Mich., thy beadsman Laurentius metropolitan of Kazan, &c. In this year 7173, Dec. 28 (1664, Dec. 28, o.s.), in thy . . . letter to me it is thus written: 'If any hieromonach,' &c. [the same question as above].

In the Kormchay, ch. xx. in canon ii. of the council held at Constantinople in the church of St. Sophia, which confirmed the Seventh Council, it is thus written: 'If any bishop or priest or deacon,' &c. [as above, to the end of the canon]. But in the constitutions of St. Basil it is written: 'Let an hieromonach, though he change his schima (*i.e.* though he take the great schima), continue to celebrate; for his being tonsured is no impediment to this. But a bishop, if he change his schima (*i.e.* if he take the great schima), is not to perform afterwards any episcopal act whatever, nor any sacerdotal act.' But in the book of St. Joseph of Volotsk (serm. xi. ch. 3) it is written: 'St. Nikita metropolitan of Heraclea writes in his canonical Directions, that if any priest being in the lesser monastic schima take the great schima, he is *not* to act as a priest anywhere except in the place where he has been tonsured.' And by this canon, O great hossoudar, and by the constitutions above mentioned, I think that it is not proper to make any one who has taken the great schima a bishop. But the apostle Paul (Heb. xi. sect. 316, ch. vii. 11) writes: 'If, therefore, perfection had been by the Levitical priesthood (for under it the people received the law), what further need was there that another priest should arise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.' And accordingly I judge. Let the sacred synod determine. Anything beyond this by the divine dispensation is hidden from me. May the Lord establish thy religious imperial empire in peace and in righteousness, and add to thy earthly kingdom the enjoyment of the kingdom of heaven! May God keep thee in health, and grant thee long to shine with all good gifts to the universe by the prayers of all the saints!

3. *Answer of the archbishop of Smolensk.*

(Roll VI. no. 5.) To the great hossoudar &c., Philaret archbishop of Smolensk, &c. In this year, Dec. 21st, there was

sent to us thy letter from the patriarchal razriad, with the command to write [an answer to the same question as above]: 'If any hieromonach,' &c.?

There is something to the point in the Kormchay, ch. xx. fol. 122, in can. ii. of the synod held at Constantinople in St. Sophia, and in the Trebnik, in the abridged canons, fol. 590, ch. xix. The contents I have written out, and have appended them to this answer; and I have ordered it to be delivered at the patriarchal razriad to the boyar Bori. Ivan. Neledinsky, and to the secretary Ivan Kalitin. [Then follow the same canons as above.]

4. *Answer of the archbishop of Tver.*

(Roll VI. no. 6.) To the tsar &c., thy beadsman Joasaph archbishop of Tver, &c. [as in the preceding letter].

And I think that an hieromonach may be made a bishop, even though he be in the great schima, since in the holy canons it is written: 'An hieromonach, even though he change his habit, that is, though he take the great schima, is still to celebrate: for this his tonsure is no impediment to him.' Therefore also he may be made a bishop. But if a bishop change his schima and become a great schimnik, he is thenceforth to do no episcopal act whatever. I have ordered the answer to be given in to the patriarchal razriad, to the boyar, &c.

5. *Answer of the archbishop of Riazan.*

(Roll VI. no. 7.) To the tsar &c., Hilarion archbishop of Riazan, A.M. 7173, Dec. 14. . . . In the canons it is written . . . [as above] canon xxix. letter E. in Matthew Blastar. . .

And so thou seest, O great hossoudar, that it is forbidden to an archbishop who goes down into the great schima to do afterwards any episcopal or sacerdotal act whatever. But an hieromonach, even though he be tonsured to the schima, is not forbidden to celebrate. And consequently he who is worthy of the priesthood is worthy also of the episcopate. But in the canons which exist (*i.e.* which are kept and recognised) among us we do not find any censures or prohibitions forbidding to ordain to the episcopate hieromonachs who are schimniks. But if there be any one who, by the help of fathers more versed in the sacred scriptures, is competent to judge better of this matter and to enlighten us, it will be our duty to follow.

Of the attempt made by Ziuzin to reconcile the tsar and the patriarch: from Shusherin's Life of Nicon.

§ vi. But while the tsar and the council were thus consulting the Russian bishops, the dangerous task of attempting to reconcile the tsar and the patriarch was taken upon himself by the boyar of the council Nikita Alex. Ziuzin, with whom the reader is already acquainted. He was, as Shusherin writes, 'a religious and god-fearing man,' who had formerly been Nicon's own patriarchal boyar, and for whom Nicon had procured the appointment of voivode at Poutivl,[6] and the rank of boyar in the tsar's service: afterwards, till no long time before his disgrace, he was the second of the two voivodes in Great Novgorod. This Ziuzin conceived the plan of writing a letter to the patriarch, as if the tsar had sent to him Ziuzin two of the people about his person (*blijnie*), Artemon Matveyeff and Athanasius Nashchokin, with orders to bid him Ziuzin write in his own name a letter to the patriarch of the following purport: That the patriarch on such a date, viz. Dec. 18, the morning of the Sunday[7] next before Christmas, should come to Moscow to the matins: when challenged at the city gates he was to answer that they were the authorities of the Sabbin monastery: he was to go into the cathedral, and go up and stand in the patriarchal place, and take again into his hand his episcopal staff, which, when he went away from Moscow, he had left in that same place: and then the tsar would send to him in the first instance some of his boyars, as if calling him to account: and after that he would send again a second time his boyars and spiritual dignitaries: then the patriarch was to ask for his keys, the keys of his chambers in the patriarchal palace; and I, the third time, will send him the keys: and then let him go to his own patriarchal cells. Then, after waiting a short while, I myself will go to him, and speak with him unreservedly about all things. But unless it be thou, Nikita, that shalt write to him, there is no one else who can: for

[6] In place of a covetous and tyrannical voivode, punished for his extortions and cruelties. See vol. ii. p. 68, 69, and 329.

[7] This was the day on which the story of Nebuchadnezzar requiring all to worship his image, and casting the three Hebrews into the furnace for not worshipping, was usually acted in the cathedral at Moscow and at Novgorod, in the time of the tsar Michael. During the reign of Alexis, when the reality was to be enacted instead, this curious and significant sacred drama or mystery was disused.

deacon Nikitin, that Ziuzin's confessor was present when the boyar sent him with that third letter in the tsar's name, seems to have finally removed all scruples, and fixed him in his determination to do as was required of him.]

However, the patriarch—so Shusherin continues—did not return that third letter as the writer requested, but said to the sub-deacon as he sent him away: 'Tell the boyar that I am coming myself, and will bring his letter with me.' And forthwith he began to prepare for setting out, and went to Moscow on the Saturday, in the evening, after the compline, one week before the feast of Christmas. When they were come to the city, at the Smolensk gates, they said that they were the authorities of the Sabbin monastery: then the gates were opened, and they let him pass into the city with his company. And when they had entered into the city, and had come to the cathedral of the Assumption at the time that they were reading the first cathism of psalms in the matins, he bade his attendants sing, as is the custom at the entrance of the bishop into the church, the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, &c., and he himself did his reverence to the holy icons and kissed them.

And after the singing of the Ἄξιον had been finished, and after the ectenia Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς &c. had been said, and the exclamation at its end had been made by the priest, they went on with the reading of the psalter, as usual. And then the patriarch went up and stood in his patriarchal place, and took into his hand the staff of the metropolitan Peter the wonderworker, which he had left there when he went away. And there went up to him for his blessing Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff (for he was then the guardian of the patriarchal chair[8]), and after him the protopope of the cathedral, and the rest of the priests, according to the custom, and all the people of the congregation who were present.

After this, the patriarch, calling to him the metropolitan of Rostoff and the archimandrite of Voskresensk, sent them up to the palace to the tsar, and bade them announce to the tsar that he was in the cathedral, and say in his name that he had come

[8] Having been appointed to be so, in the spring of that year A.D. 1664, by the tsar, under the blessing of Paisius Ligarides, from which he now purified himself by seeking and receiving the blessing of Nicon. He had been consecrated by Nicon 21 Aug. A.D. 1652, and he lived to Dec. 20, A.D. 1691.

ship with us: but if thou wilt come now, we will do in all things thy will, as is pleasing to the Lord and to thee.'

And the patriarch, having received this third letter from the sub-deacon, said to him: 'Though I desire not to regain my chair, I do desire by all means peace for the Church of God, and the goodwill of the tsar, and I yield myself to the will of God and to the tsar's pleasure: so on this one point only I feel anxious to be sure that this is no deception.' And the sub-deacon Nikíta said to him that Nikita Ziuzin's confessor was present when he Ziuzin sent him by the tsar's command.

[The gracious reception given not long before this time, as has been mentioned above, by the tsar to the archimandrite of Voskresensk, together with the friendly message, or letter perhaps, besides the report of the archimandrite, brought to himself at the same time, had predisposed Nicon, no doubt, in some degree to give credence to Ziuzin's communications; the details of which were rendered less improbable than they might otherwise have seemed by certain peculiarities in the tsar's character, well known to the patriarch. Still, his sound practical judgment and his habitual caution prevented him from acting either upon the first or the second of the letters sent to him. But afterwards a dream which he had in the church, after long fasting and watching, during the singing of the matins, dispelled from his mind much of the doubt which he had felt respecting the contents of Ziuzin's letters. He saw the assembly or synod of the metropolitans and patriarchs his predecessors rise from their tombs in the cathedral of the Assumption, and, headed by St. Peter the first metropolitan of Moscow, subscribe an act for his reëlection to the patriarchal chair. And this he misunderstood to mean that he was really and in his bodily lifetime to take again his chair. The dream, however, and Nicon's misunderstanding of it were providentially made to concur to bring it about that he should actually reappear in his chair in the cathedral (when it seemed practically impossible that he should even reënter the city), offering an amnesty and peace and absolution to all who had sinned, and one more opportunity of recovery to the Russian Church and empire, before the second scab of leprosy, which had already come out in the translations and ordinations of the spring of A.D. 1664, should have spread and deepened, and manifested itself in all its loathsomeness. The announcement made by the sub-

deacon Nikitin, that Ziuzin's confessor was present when the boyar sent him with that third letter in the tsar's name, seems to have finally removed all scruples, and fixed him in his determination to do as was required of him.]

However, the patriarch—so Shusherin continues—did not return that third letter as the writer requested, but said to the sub-deacon as he sent him away: 'Tell the boyar that I am coming myself, and will bring his letter with me.' And forthwith he began to prepare for setting out, and went to Moscow on the Saturday, in the evening, after the compline, one week before the feast of Christmas. When they were come to the city, at the Smolensk gates, they said that they were the authorities of the Sabbin monastery: then the gates were opened, and they let him pass into the city with his company. And when they had entered into the city, and had come to the cathedral of the Assumption at the time that they were reading the first cathism of psalms in the matins, he bade his attendants sing, as is the custom at the entrance of the bishop into the church, the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, &c., and he himself did his reverence to the holy icons and kissed them.

And after the singing of the Ἄξιον had been finished, and after the ectenia Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς &c. had been said, and the exclamation at its end had been made by the priest, they went on with the reading of the psalter, as usual. And then the patriarch went up and stood in his patriarchal place, and took into his hand the staff of the metropolitan Peter the wonderworker, which he had left there when he went away. And there went up to him for his blessing Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff (for he was then the guardian of the patriarchal chair[a]), and after him the protopope of the cathedral, and the rest of the priests, according to the custom, and all the people of the congregation who were present.

After this, the patriarch, calling to him the metropolitan of Rostoff and the archimandrite of Voskresensk, sent them up to the palace to the tsar, and bade them announce to the tsar that he was in the cathedral, and say in his name that he had come

[a] Having been appointed to be so, in the spring of that year A.D. 1664, by the tsar, under the blessing of Paisius Ligarides, from which he now purified himself by seeking and receiving the blessing of Nicon. He had been consecrated by Nicon 21 Aug. A.D. 1652, and he lived to Dec. 20, A.D. 1691.

to bring peace and blessing to the great hossoudar, and to all his imperial house, and to all the capital. And they, obeying him, went and announced him to the tsar, as he had directed. The tsar on this sent about for the spiritual dignitaries and for his noble boyars to come to him with all haste. And with such as were at hand he consulted on the spot about this return of the patriarch, what was to be done? And they answered saying, that he should ask him, why he had come? and on what business?

From the History &c. of Paisius Ligarides.

[Paisius Ligarides in his *History* gives the following account of Nicon's return, and the consternation caused by it. Nicon, he writes, on hearing of this second mission (the second mission of Meletius to the Levant, to obtain testimony to the genuineness of the patriarchal Answers brought by him after his first mission in May A.D. 1661, and to induce the patriarchs, or at least two of them, to come in person to Moscow) *gnashed his teeth.* And, after churning on it *for a long time*, what scheme, think you, did he hit upon? It is something worth listening to. On the Sunday next before Christmas, about the middle of the night, he entered with a great company into Moscow, and went straight to the cathedral, where he ascended the patriarchal throne, and beckoned and called all to receive his blessing. There was present at the time the *then acting vicar of the patriarch*, the metropolitan Jonah. And, forgetting his own subscription and engagement made long before (in A.D. 1660), never to receive Nicon as patriarch, he went up to kiss his hand and ask his prayer and blessing, *adding also, out of adulation, that he was come at a happy season.* Thereupon, when they saw that he who held the first place in the church, the *head*,[9] had submitted himself to Nicon, the rest *all came running up with one accord* likewise for his blessing. So the protopresbyter Michael, with all the inferior priests and clerks of the cathedral, kissed his hand; and the protodiacon, also named Michael, thundered out, 'Farther, let us pray for our father and patriarch Nicon.' News of all this was carried across into the palace. And the emperor, when he heard of this sudden and most inopportune and unlooked-for return of Nicon, was thunderstruck, and considered

[9] Under the tsar and the council, and by the blessing of the writer Paisius Ligarides.

with himself whence *such impudent audacity* could have originated. On the instant he summoned all the council, and sent for all the bishops who were in Moscow to come without a moment's delay. I therefore also was called in haste to the palace. And as I drew near to it, I saw an extraordinary multitude of lights lighted there, and an indescribable blaze of torches all around it, so that I marvelled exceedingly at that unprecedented sight of the torches and lights; so that, in truth, if there had been an hostile army of Turks (lit. Scythians) in arms approaching, or a horde of Tatars (lit. Leuco-Sauromatæ) had appeared close at hand with their swords drawn, there could not well have been a greater confusion or clamour than there was at this unexpected return of Nicon. Verily, then, the emperor *was indignant*; the boyars shouted at the top of their voices; the bishops muttered, '*Hospodi pomilui!*' (Κύριε ἐλέησον!) and called on God, saying, '*Boje moi!*' (Mon Dieu, mon Dieu!) shaking their heads. All hurried pell-mell up the stairs of the palace.

After some considerable space the emperor asked *anxiously*, What was to be done in this sudden conjuncture?

And *I, the metropolitan of Gaza*, said: 'Let him be asked how he came in hither? and who invited him, that he had with such confidence mounted suddenly, *like a thief and an invader*,[10] the patriarchal throne, certainly before he had been tried, still less acquitted?'

Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz was sent to question him, together with certain grandees of the council. But Nicon, seeing the aforesaid metropolitan with an episcopal mandya and a white *kamilauchion*, spake thus to him sarcastically, drawing himself back, as if in surprise: '*Who art thou? thou art entirely unknown to me.*' But he replied: '*I have been recently consecrated metropolitan*, and so I now wear the usual episcopal robes. But tell me wherefore, without the will of the hossoudar, hast thou thus suddenly come in among us? For thou hast come in truth *not* bringing peace, but a *sword against* the new Israel, which sees thy exceedingly high mind.' Nicon in reply, after many senseless and idle words, said: 'I have returned to my chair, as Narcissus the patriarch of Jerusalem did, who after sitting twelve years had quitted it.'

[10] Who was 'a thief and an invader' may be seen at p. 496; and vol. i. p. 3-9.

The metropolitan of Kroutitz was sent back a second time, and repeating often in different words the same thing, *besought* Nicon to depart as quickly as possible, in order to spare the Christian community the danger of trouble and disturbance. But he produced a note, and, holding it in his hand, said: 'Go and deliver this to the emperor, to be read in the presence of all.' And the emperor, having with difficulty received this, opened it.

The contents of that sealed letter or petition were *briefly* to *this effect*: 'After my long absence and fasting, after long-continued supplication and earnest prayer, on this now the fortieth day, there appeared to me an angel of the Lord, who said to me: Go as quickly as possible, O patriarch Nicon, to Moscow, and show thyself personally to thy flock; for all will joyfully receive thee, and install thee in thy patriarchal chair. Trusting, therefore, this angelic revelation, that I might not be disobedient to it, or rather to God, lo, I am come here of myself, without notice, unannounced. Do ye, then, choose what it pleases you, and what ye like best.'

We were all amazed at this fictitious revelation, and at his fabling, though nothing was said. And all with one accord cried out: 'An angel of Satan has been sent to Nicon, disguised as an angel of light: nevertheless, let this seer of empty revelations *depart from us* with all speed: let this buffoon of a man return to his monastery; that there be not any *rebellion*, yea and needless *bloodshed* too, among the people.'[11]

So there were appointed of us three bishops, Paul of Kroutitz,[12] Paisius of Gaza, and Theodosius of Servia, and with us three boyars, at the head of whom was the prince Youry Dolgorouky, to notify to Nicon that he should get him away as quickly as possible, *before the sun should be risen;* else, if any mischief or severity should happen afterwards, he would have nobody to blame but himself.

After this, showing his anger against us, and exceedingly in-

[11] Such as had been produced by the covetousness and injustice of the boyars and officials in A.D. 1648 and A.D. 1662, and had terrified on those occasions the same men who were alarmed now at the return of Nicon.

[12] The native Russian being here named first (though he was only a vicar-bishop, even if he had been canonically consecrated), perhaps because Nicon might have less to object against him than against the other two foreigners; and the unaccredited stranger, by whose blessing and imposition of hands Paul had been promoted and consecrated, being named only second; the tsar giving and varying such precedence as he pleased.

dignant—for those of our party kept singing in his ear in an under tone, and repeating over and over again these words, 'It is enough that you have had distinct notice!'—he, I say, at length being convinced, in spite of himself, that it was so (ἀποδυσπιστήσας), casting a glance of rage against *us three bishops*, and having *privily* seized the pastoral staff of St. Peter the first metropolitan of Moscow, descended in the utmost wrath from the patriarchal chair, and, scarcely having made his reverence, went out hastily from the church; and having taken his place in the vehicle, as being manifestly detected [and foiled], he fled off in all haste.

And having shaken off the dust from his own feet, and having bade his attendants to shake it off likewise from theirs, he had nothing else to congratulate himself upon but this, that he had got possession of the pastoral staff, which pleased him vastly; and as if he had by a holy stratagem regained *this his standard*, he went away with it, and returned towards his monastery, without being seen, or hindered at least, by anybody.

But when this act of his was reported to the emperor, he immediately sent Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz, and with him two boyars, to rebuke him, both for his desperate *audacity* and for his most impudent *sacrilege;* yea, and in the name of *piety* (*i.e.* of *Cæsarism*) to re-demand from him the pastoral staff of the first metropolitan of Moscow.

The commissioners overtook him. But now what writer, however rhetorical, could worthily describe his unspeakable and cynical impudence, or relate all the *scandalous* things he said? I prefer to be a Pythagorean and a Harpocrates, rather than to commit to writing his words, unfit to be repeated, or insert in my narrative his injurious expressions and sayings, lest I should seem *even to foul the paper itself*. It is enough to say that he was at last *forced* to give up the staff, however unwillingly; and that he who had feigned having received an angelic revelation confessed in terms that a certain boyar had desired him to come to Moscow; and as he spoke he produced his letter, and *delivered it to the commissioners, that they might show it to the emperor;* so making himself also a traitor Judas by betraying the secrets of his friend, and the mysteries which he ought to have kept secret in his own heart. And on this account that wretched man shortly afterwards was thrown into chains, and lost his pro-

perty, *his wife*, and *his own life* (vol. iii. p. 85-89). But we will now return to the narrative of Shusherin.

From the Life of Nicon by Shusherin.

Then the tsar—so he continues—sent to the patriarch Nicon his boyars, the prince Nikita Odoefsky with the rest, to interrogate him. The most holy patriarch answered and said to them, that he had come to bring peace and blessing to the great hossoudar, and to his imperial house, and to all his flock. And they, having heard these words, returned again to the tsar.

And the tsar, having heard these words, again consulted [the bishops and the boyars] what answer was to be made to him. And the bishops and the imperial synclete counselled that he should be sent away to the Voskresensky monastery without seeing the tsar.

Then the tsar was pleased to consent that this their counsel should be followed. And there went to the patriarch again bishops and boyars, who spake and commanded him to return to the monastery of Voskresensk. But the patriarch Nicon answered and said to them: 'I wish to see the tsar's face, *and to bless his house*.' But they taunted him with having come with impropriety during the night, and they said to him: 'Thou canst not see the tsar by night. And besides, the tsar has written and sent letters to the most holy œcumenical patriarchs, and has requested them to come to Moscow, and he is expecting them to come shortly: and on this account also, until the œcumenical patriarchs be come, it is impossible for thee to see the tsar.'

Then the patriarch said to them: 'Inform the great hossoudar farther that I ask to see him on account of certain great and necessary matters.' But they put him off, telling him that he must wait till the œcumenical patriarchs should be come. All this passed during the time that they were singing the matins. And scarcely they yielded to him so far as to go again the third time to the tsar and report his words. But the tsar repeated his commands, that he should return to the monastery of Voskresensk. This was when the matins were now over, in the same cathedral church.

And the most holy patriarch, having heard this command, went to the icons to cross himself before them; and after that he

went out from the church, taking with him the staff of the metropolitan St. Peter; and he got into his sledge.

At the church door there were ready waiting for Nicon to come out the boyar Dmitri Dolgorouky (brother of Youry) and a detachment of streltsi with their polkovnik (Artemon Serg. Matveyeff), whom the tsar had sent to escort him till he should be out of the city. Nicon, before getting into his sledge, shook off the dust from his feet, saying those words of the Lord: 'Wheresoever they shall not receive you, when ye depart out of that city shake off the dust which cleaveth to your feet, for a testimony against them. Therefore now even the very dust which cleaveth to our feet we shake off, and leave to you.' And a certain colonel [seemingly Matveyeff] said to him: 'We accept this dust, and will sweep it up.' Then Nicon, pointing up to a comet (called a '*besom*-star') which had then appeared in the heavens, said again to him: '*That besom* shall sweep you away from the face of the earth.' [And almost on that very spot, under the palace stair, Matveyeff was in A.D. 1681 butchered and cut to pieces by the mutinous streltsi and the mob: and the son of Youry Dolgorouky was murdered about the same time, and after the son the father: and in a still wider sense the prediction of Nicon was accomplished against the tsar and all his house, against the bishops and clergy, against the boyars and people of the council, against the prikazes and all their officials, and against Moscow itself, which, after ceasing to be the capital, was burned in the French invasion.]

And after this they went to the stone bridge and to the Nikitsky gates, which they reached a little before daybreak. And he was escorted by the above-mentioned polkovniks, and by the boyar. And when they had gone out from the gates to [the extremity of] the zemliani-gorod (the outer city, which is within the earthen rampart), the boyar bade them a halt in the tsar's name. And the patriarch stood up, and awaited standing what was to be said to him. And the boyar, after reciting the tsar's title, said at the end: 'The religious tsar has commanded me to ask of thee, the most holy patriarch, thy blessing and forgiveness.' And the patriarch answered and said to him: 'God forgive him the great hossoudar, if this disturbance is not from himself.' The boyar asked him, saying: 'What disturbance? tell me what you mean.' And he replied: 'That of my coming

to Moscow;' and he said: 'If the great hossoudar has not been the cause of this my coming, but it has been without his will, then may God forgive and bless him: say from me thus to the great hossoudar.' Then the boyar returned to the city, and the patriarch went on his way as far as the selo of Chernevo. And when the boyar had come to the great hossoudar he reported to him all this that had passed, and told him that Nicon had taken away with him the staff of the metropolitan St. Peter. Now while he was yet in the cathedral the kliuchars had asked him for that staff, but he had refused to give it them, saying: 'I put it where it was, and I have taken it away; what have you to do with this?'

The tsar again consulted with the bishops and with his synclete, and it was determined to send after him; and if that staff, that is, the crosier, were being carried by a clerk (a poddiak), they who were sent were to take it from him; but if it should be with the patriarch himself in the sledge, or in his hand, they were to demand it of him respectfully; they were also to question him about what he had said to the boyar Dolgorouky outside the zemliani-gorod, in forgiving the great hossoudar, and what was that *disturbance* of which he had spoken? And until he should explain himself, and give up the staff, they were on no account to leave him. They that were sent with these commands of the tsar were Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff, and from the synclete the okolnik Rodion Streshneff and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, and with them polkovniks and streltsi.

And when they had come up with the patriarch at the village (selo) of Chernevo, they announced to him the tsar's commands, that he should explain to the great hossoudar what was that *disturbance* of which he had spoken, and should give up the staff of the metropolitan St. Peter. But he neither gave up the staff nor explained to them about the disturbance. So they remained on the spot, at Chernevo, about the space of two days, without leaving him either day or night, the house and the dvor meanwhile being guarded by the polkovniks and a multitude of streltsi.

At length the most holy Nicon, being unable to endure any longer this ill-treatment, sent to the tsar the staff, and the letters of the boyar Ziuzin, by the archimandrite of the Voskresensky

monastery Gerasimus, who was followed by all the spiritual dignitaries and the lay commissioners from the synclete, and by the polkovniks with their streltsi; and the patriarch himself then went on to Voskresensk.

The others, as soon as they had arrived at Moscow, announced to the tsar that the archimandrite of Voskresensk was there with that staff, and with letters: for the archimandrite had been ordered by the patriarch to deliver the staff and the letters only to the religious tsar himself. And the tsar received from the archimandrite that staff into his own hands, and sent it by the metropolitan Paul to the cathedral, to be set again at the patriarchal place: and the letters he himself began to read. There were the copies of the first two letters, but the original of the third, in Nikita Ziuzin's own handwriting, which was extremely illegible, as he Nikita scarcely knew how to write.

Then the religious tsar, seeing in the letter that Artemon Matveyeff and Athanasius Nashchokin were introduced as witnesses, interrogated them; and they answered: 'We know nothing of that matter, nor have we had anything to do with it.' And they sent at the same time for Nikita Ziuzin himself, and for Nikita the subdeacon, and for the priest Sisoi. And when they were leading away Nikita Ziuzin to be examined with severity and torture, his wife Mary, on merely hearing that word, uttered one shriek, and at once expired. The subdeacon Nikita and the priest Sisoi after being examined were placed under guard. They said: 'We carried the letters; but what was written in them we knew not.' And the subdeacon said: 'He sent me in the presence of his own confessor, saying that it was by thy imperial command.'

When Nikita Ziuzin was examined about this matter in presence of the rack, he answered and said: 'I devised and feigned all these letters of my own mind; for I wished to see the Church of God in peace, and to see the great hossoudar in good understanding with the patriarch. Of Artemon Matveyeff and Athanasius Nashchokin I wrote falsely, in order that the patriarch might more readily give credence to my letter.'

The religious tsar, perceiving that he had confessed the truth, ordered that he should be no more tortured, but should be kept under guard in the house of one of those who were near the tsar's person (*blijnie*). As for the above-mentioned sub-

deacon Nikita, he, after being kept under guard some days, rendered up his soul to God. And Nikita Ziuzin, by the judgment and advice of the imperial synclete, was sentenced to be punished with death (by virtue, adds Michaelofsky, of § 2 of ch. iv. of the Code). However, the religious tsar saved him from death, and banished him instead to the city of Kazan, ordering that he should be enrolled among the dvorianins on service in that city. The priest Sisoi they sent into banishment to the Solovetsky monastery. The remains of the subdeacon Nikita, in compliance with his own last desire, they ordered to be carried to the monastery of Voskresensk, to be buried there. Then the most holy patriarch Nicon met his body as that of a martyr outside the monastery in procession with crosses, and brought it into the monastery; and having sung the funeral office over it, according to the ritual, he buried it with his own hands under the stair leading up to the top of the Calvary [near to the spot where Nicon prepared his own tomb, and where now he lies buried]. And so this disturbance came to an end (p. 76-86).

(Roll IX. of the synodal archives, no. 18.) *From the 'Copy of Ziuzin's third letter to Nicon, made by Theodore Michaeloff, secretary to the prikaz of secret affairs; for it was not possible to decipher the original,' which is* no. 17 *in the same roll.*

§ vii. To the great hossoudar the most holy Nicon, patriarch of Moscow and all Great *and Little* Russia, thy servants Nikitko and Maria make their obeisance, asking for thy pontifical blessing. Hearing of thy holiness' preservation and health, we rejoice; and still more should we rejoice if the Lord granted us to see the same.

Be it known to thee, my lord—so friends have said to me—wouldst thou, my lord, be pleased to be here on Sunday the 18th for the matins, by seven o'clock or a little earlier, so as to come *for the day before*, but not on Monday the 19th, and to enter into the cathedral by the north doors: and whether the clerks (to whom thy entrance into the church will be unexpected) stop singing or do not stop, after going to thy place, and after having made a beginning [as usual], be pleased to say in the hearing of all, 'Peace be with you!' And send thine own archimandrite and one of the kliuchars—Job, or whichever of them it may chance to be—to the great hossoudar, to announce that thou

hast come to the church, and to get thy residence opened for thy usual attendants. And if there be present in the church the metropolitan Jonah of Rostoff, or Paul of Kroutitz, be pleased to call him to thee for thy blessing; and having given 'peace' to him, bid him bear word to the great hossoudar, and send him together with the archimandrite. But if they, not knowing [what to think], be afraid, do thou, my lord, in that case, send the archimandrite alone. And send by them to the hossoudar, and to the hossoudarina the tsaritsa, and to their children, and to the tsarevnas, peace and benediction.

At the Tversky gates of the city be pleased to say that the archimandrite of the Sabbine monastery has come, and drive straight to the cathedral; and when thou hast come to the church, take in thy hand a staff; and when thou hast gone in, be pleased to give that staff to the clerk (*podd'iak*), and take out to thyself the staff of Peter the wonderworker, and with that *go also afterwards to thy cell*. But do not bid them sing Ἄξιον ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ. when thou hast entered into the church, because at that time they will be singing the matins. And the last word that he the emperor bade say was this: 'May the God of peace be with us!' But it must be done and finished on the Sunday, at the time of the matins. And this also, we expect, is directed. And then thy friends and we thy servants ask thy pontifical blessing; and we beg thee to return to us this letter.

But this is directed last: When the tsar shall be pleased to send to ask, 'Wherefore hast thou come? and by what command?' to that thy holiness' answer shall be: 'I have come to my flock to perform those ecclesiastical duties which I promised to perform. I went away without making any application for permission, and I have come again without being called by any one to my own [place]; first, because the pontificate is intrusted to me of God; and then also in order to make peace in all things, and to put an end to the shedding of blood [by a pacification] with our enemies, according to consultation with the tsar and with all.' And that will indeed seem to be opportune; and it will please our hossoudarina the tsaritsa: she desires this; and she desired a word to be added from herself. This is what was directed last: 'But do thou on no account let it be heard or said that I the tsar have invited him. That would be towards him inhumane, and for us a source of discord. It is not pos-

sible for us to say anything as if he were not invited for all. "I of myself" [let the patriarch say] "went away, and I have now come again to my own. Who is to forbid me? It was given me of God, and I have power over it, which no man can forbid me to exercise, according to his holy will." And again settle this firmly with thyself, O my lord, and keep to it, that thou must be gracious towards all; and then in thy answers be bold, and doubt nothing. The Lord direct thee in all for good!

Moreover, be it known to thee, great hossoudar, that on this matter which has been written above there were sent to me Athanasius [Nashchokin] and Artemon [Matveyeff]; and they said that on the 7th of December, in the church of St. Eudocia, in the palace, at the matins, the hossoudar the tsar spake with them privately, and said that thou hadst sent to him thine archimandrite; and he rejoiced at that thy counsel, and praised much the archimandrite. 'I sat,' he said, 'with him all alone; and he spake with me of this with tears, that we should not believe calumnious accusations [tending to foster enmity]; and I said with an oath, There is no need to ask this; I give no credence whatever to any such calumnies. And now, on St. Nicholas's day, there came to me to Khoroshevo the monk Gregory Neronoff with all manner of obloquy against the patriarch. I know too who is in league with him: but I believe nothing of all that. But our intention and our wish the Lord alone knows: and in my heart I assure you, yea, yea, I have not departed from the patriarch. But on account of the clergy and the synclete, I cannot, consistently with the custom of our imperial government, of myself alone call back the patriarch, nor write to him about that; for he is his own judge of the reasons for which he went away [and he did then as he pleased]; and now also in the church and out of the church (in all things), who forbids him? As he went, so he can come back equally.[13] It is his own will only which has to do with that. I, I assure you, yea, yea, in that matter am not at all against him. But if he were to write to me first on that matter of his coming, I could not write to him in answer, knowing as I do his disposition, and that he would not restrain himself from speaking out in his anger against

[13] This *ought* to have been so, but it was not: else why should it have been necessary to bid him say at the city gates, that it was the archimandrite of the Sabbine monastery who was coming into Moscow?

the ecclesiastical dignitaries and the boyars, and would say that I have bidden him return. Or maybe, after I had written, he might refuse, and that would be very much to my shame, and an embarrassment to our council; and all would impute that to me as an act of inconstancy. But though I shall [have to] send to the church for all,[14] so as to prevent suspicions, and so as not to show my own mind, let him say that he of his own will, for the necessities of the Church, went away, and now for the like reasons he has come again. Who (he may say) is to forbid me? who is there to give me orders in the Church? or have I not power to do what I please with my own? But as for this, that they gave a spiritual writing against me, I will give them an answer to it. They themselves know nothing about my departure, and my coming again; and they pass a judgment against me which is beyond their competency and contrary to the canons, not knowing perfectly [the case],[15] nor knowing the canons. And if they will ask pardon for that their deed on account of their ignorance, let him be pleased to pray that God may pardon them. But as for me, I call God to witness that I will in nothing oppose him. And I in my soul grieve for this, that so long a time has passed in disagreement. To the adversary only (that is, to the devil) is that a matter of joy, and to our enemies, who wish no good to us, on account of their own lusts and wills, nor desire to see him in good counsel with us. Of all this I am perfectly well aware. But only let the patriarch be so good as to come for the 19th of December to the matins to the cathedral, before the commemoration of St. Peter the wonderworker;[16] and the same wonderworker shall be the mediator of our love, and shall scatter all our enemies. And now, behold, let him also be pleased to say thus: That he is come for this purpose, that he may assist us towards making peace, and putting an end to the shedding of Christian blood. And that his word will seem to be opportune to all the multitude of the people, and it will certainly please them; and all for that will certainly be grateful to him, and will be obedient: and for me that will be an assistance

[14] Solovieff prints 'For the sake of appearances.'

[15] Or, 'being in entire ignorance [of the case].'

[16] But the commemoration of St. Peter is on the 21st Dec., which in A.D. 1664 was Wednesday. Compare what Ziuzin has written above as the latest direction, to come, '*not* on the 19th, but for the 18th,' which was the Sunday before Christmas.

from him, and a source of strength. And behold, this also is needful for me spiritually. I began both that war and all my imperial and ecclesiastical enterprises in concert with him; so I would fain hope that the Lord God by his pontifical prayers may vouchsafe me also to bring them to a happy completion in conjunction with him and with his counsel, as the Lord God instructs us. And do thou, Athanasius, in my name, bid Nikita to write all this secretly to my friend the patriarch, and desire him without fail to be so good as to come for that day, without any manner of misgiving. For that I call the Lord to witness I shall be heartily glad; I will not fail him, nor abandon him in anything to anybody. And behold, on that day I shall have need of him, to determine together with him about sending thee, Athanasius, as ambassador, on what terms our final embassy shall insist with the Poles, and to consult of that with all the different orders [in the council], and to appoint a general fast. The Poles and the Hungarians have had a fast, with a view to union; and we no less, but rather much more, have need to do the same, and to renounce all strife and hatred. Moreover, the last opportunity for this has now come; and we pray him that he will be so good as to come, and not to leave us alone, but assist us with his counsel as heretofore. For my hope and trust is altogether in God, and in the prayers of him alone of all men, and in his affection and spiritual counsel.

'Again I beg him to have no misgiving on this account, that I do not write to him with my own hand about his coming, because that is a matter solely of his own competency, both his going away, and his coming again. He can both resolve to do it and do it of himself; there is no one to prevent him. But I will say, and say with an oath—and this I can do without sin—that as I did not send him away, so now I do not attempt to prevent his return to the primacy. But for this that ye (of the council) wrote against him, if any of you come to find out, as may well be as time goes on, that ye wrote without knowing the truth, and ye may die in that sin, you should ask the patriarch for forgiveness and absolution for that your ignorance, and they (the rest) will be glad that forgiveness should be asked, and he may thus give to our synclete also peace and benediction. And the Lord God will double his reward; and that he himself also knows.

'I have asked for all. Again I ask doubly for this, that he cast away all doubts, and thoughts of negociating about conditions, and come without hesitation in quietness and in charity, bringing peace and blessing with him, and give these to all; and they certainly will rejoice together with us. But I will send to ask respecting his coming: and what answer he is to make to that question he knows; and then I will myself see him, and we will settle all things respecting the limits (of the patriarchal and the imperial powers), and will confer about all things, how everything is to be. But again I pray him that he come in gentleness, without vehement reproofs, so as not to excite and harden all: for they all are afraid, and expect from him severities and anger: and let him manage the matter after the likeness of Christ, and with a good subtlety of economy destroy that power of enmity; and this only being so, let him absolutely fear for nothing, but come to the holy church. Of this the Lord God is witness, that as soon as what we suggest is accomplished, all good and faithful men will rejoice at it with us, and our enemies will all be put to shame. But if he delays, and does not come, no good understanding can be made hereafter between us, but only enmity and discord will increase in all things. So also in his harsh letters to me, I not seeing his mind cannot but show that I am hurt and offended, and grieve at this, that he writes not according to his former mind, but anathematises them all, and reproaches them in all manner of ways in his wrath; and they all excite me also to like wrath. Only do thou, O God, deliver me from that. But he, leaving me alone, does alone what he chooses to do according to his own thought, attempting what is beyond his power to effect; for once that he is out of the way, no one cares for him, nor entreats him except myself: and he knows himself my disposition towards him, and that aforetime also, except me and my family, no one of the grandees [nobles] was on his side. They do not like our insisting on right and justice. It is necessary that we alone should do what is to be done, and not seek to bring others to it. He knows himself also that he is of the utmost necessity to me; and he has left me alone in such great difficulties to conflict with all my visible and invisible enemies. But it was not for this that we made a mutual promise one to the other that we would not separate nor abandon one another even to the day of our deaths;

and there is an oath to that effect between us, and I still seek to keep it; and I would remind him my friend of it. Yes, him my friend and former counsellor I would remind of all that. And now I ask this of him, that he be so good as to come to us at the hour above specified, without letting anything prevent him. But if it so be that he my friend will not listen to this my last appeal to him, I take God himself to witness that I have entreated him much before now. At the time of his going away I sent to the cathedral to ask why he thought to go away? and who was there that persecuted him (or drove him away)? And to the monastery at Voskresensk I sent in like manner, asking why he had gone thither? Why it is *he* knows, but *I* know not. And if, after so sending repeatedly, I did not send any more, this was to avoid exciting suspicions from all. And that is not according to his [former] disposition towards me, that I should have to send repeatedly, which was a dishonour and a reproach for me, and that he should not listen to my request. And I am now in my turn necessary to him, and my good will and counsel [is necessary]. It is true he does not listen to us: but why he does not, that he knows himself, but he has not thought proper to let me know. We know not why it is. But if he had made known to me his thought respecting that his so strange departure, I would have dissuaded him, and I might perhaps have brought him back [from his intention]. From his former disposition towards me I had no manner of expectation of his so acting: and I think also that neither did he expect the result which followed: but he expected rather that I would come myself and ask him about it. But for me it was then by no means possible to go to him to ask him on account of his refusal for all. And besides, I feared both then and now that he might perhaps refuse me, and that his refusal, not being kept secret, but becoming known to all, there should so be only shame and increase of enmity. And I knew from the impetuous openness of his character that he was acting hastily with great zeal and earnestness, and that no one could now dissuade him from it. He had no such faithful friend with him whom he would trust.'

And now this is the last. Thy friends have bidden me write to thee of this with tears, entreating thee that thou, hossoudar, oppose not the will of God, which now cometh to thee for this. Now the time and opportunity have come: all feel and acknow-

ledge that the great hossoudar's wish is turned heartily this way: 'But if,' they say, 'he the patriarch is not willing now to act in the matter, the opportunity will go far away, and there will be no good result nor improvement of dispositions gained from it: and we their servants shall not be able to importune the tsar about this; nor will it be possible for us to write hereafter or to make suggestions without the tsar's command: and otherwise than in execution of their counsel it would be dangerous.'

But I thy servant, having heard the tsar's command, ventured to say to them respecting it, that he might command me to appear personally before him without any letter being written, and send a message through me. And he the hossoudar ordered that I should be commissioned only indirectly, saying that otherwise all will know of it; and he ordered that I, without any manner of misgiving, should write on the subject this which had been directed in his communication with them. And so I, my lord, have sent to thee the subdeacon Nikita with this letter, knowing that he is devoted to thee. And he was indicated to us to be the messenger: but we were directed not to tell him of this being so. And thou, my lord, without delay inform us what thou meanest to do about coming, that so it may be known to him the hossoudar, and that secretly. And pray return this letter again to us.

Lastly, asking thy pontifical blessing, we all together implore thee: despise not the petition of us all, and be not displeased with us that we importune thee much, seeing how much depends on thy determination at this moment. For if this time passes—O God, preserve us!—we write with an oath, thou wilt never again have such a time or opportunity. And we are firmly convinced that now the will of God for this, according to his mercy, has come to us, so that we should not turn it away. And he, our maker and preserver, seeks this through the souls of you our lords (the tsar, that is, and the patriarch) to win many to himself to salvation. But about all these things the will of the Lord be done: He will do what it pleases him.

And this I pray you, that this be kept secret by thee, O my lord. For the Lord's sake, be gracious in this to thy servant. For this I make my request: write of all this without delay exactly, and return this letter again; and say nothing of it to any one; and return it by a trusty hand. Thus it is strictly

enjoined. Only do thou, my lord, do according to thy gracious kindness by me thy servant. I ask, I ask of you, clear your conscience (when you have occasion to justify your conduct) with secrecy, so that our enemies may not know anything of what is between us.

And after the end of this day, on the day above named, that is to-morrow, come to the cathedral church and stand in thy place, without going anywhither, even to the podvorie, before thou goest to the cathedral: such is his (the tsar's) pleasure. And coming to resume thy dignity, take with thee according to thy dignity thy archimandrite and the chief of thy fathers, according to what is usual for thy pontifical rank, as thou usedst to do before.

And this is the last command which he the tsar has given through thy friends, that thou send off immediately a letter, and when that thy answer is delivered, I am commanded to give information directly, that it may be known (to the tsar); and from the church send to announce only that thou art come again to perform those duties which thou hast engaged to perform, and to ask (the tsar) to cause thy residence to be opened for thee. He desired that there should be nothing more than this. 'And may the God of peace and love be with us. And let him not think within himself, nor be lifted up in his thought, as if I ask him because the hour of necessity has come upon me, and because of my isolation; for herein the Lord is my helper. But it is for this, that I may not break charity, but may keep the promise that I have made, and not be judged for breaking it, that I both cleanse my own soul and entreat him to unite with us in love, and not to be at enmity; and the Lord, beholding our good purpose and disposition, will fulfil it all according to his mercy happily, and all will turn to good.'

And thy friends above named and I thy servant implore thee according to the tsar's desire, and say to thee: Let not this hour of peace pass away. Come; for the Lord's sake, come! and thou shalt see all turn out happily from the Lord: thou shalt see all manner of good effects: thou shalt see them all obtained through thyself. This is thy pontificate, to be the channel of mercy and grace to the souls of all.

But we write to thee and importune thee about this, not seeking anything for ourselves. We see the mercy of God, and the tsar's bounty towards us. And I thy servant have nothing

at all to complain of, or to apply for in respect of that which I receive, or of that which comes upon me. I have in all the Lord for my helper. Only hearing that such was his the tsar's inclination and disposition for a good understanding with thee, we desire and beg this of thee according to his imperial will and order, but not of any devices of my own. Yea, yea; on this point have no suspicions whatever. By the saints, we will not lie by writing what we have not heard, nor have we written any such falsehood in what we have written hitherto. Of this say nothing, and ask nothing. Of this I make the Lord my witness, I seek not that. But what the Lord pleases, that he will also obtain [for me] in due time, of his mercy. And if I speak of this, it is because I know thy gracious kindness towards me, and anticipating what it might do, I seek of you to do me the kindness—and for the Lord's sake do me this kindness—to restrain thyself, and make no allusion at all to my person, nor bring upon me from God and from him the hossoudar troubles of any kind. I entreat you for this with tears; restrain thyself, for the Lord's sake, O great hossoudar, Nicon, and so may the Lord God prosper thee for good. What is blotted was written in afterwards at the time that it was ordered, that it might not be forgotten, and I have not had time to write it out fresh since.

One can imagine the anxiety in which Ziuzin would pass the night which preceded Sunday the 18th December, and how, when it was the time for the vigil service, he would be impatient to know what was passing in the cathedral. *He* certainly had not needed to be waked from sleep by the bells of the churches. But 'to go himself to the Kremlin'—so Subbotine writes—'still more to go to the cathedral for the vigil service, he did not venture; there might be danger, if he were seen there, of its being suspected that he was in concert with Nicon. He sent thither "his boy" (or man-servant) to find out. "They said last night that the patriarch was coming; run, and find out whether he has come." The lad ran, and returned saying that the patriarch *had* come only a little before, and was then standing in his place. Ziuzin sent him again to see whether the patriarch went to his cells; and whether anybody was sent from the hossoudar to the patriarch to the church. This time the boy no longer found Nicon in the church; but on the place of the Kremlin the peo-

ple were standing in groups, talking about the patriarch's having come. Here he learned that there had been some sent to the patriarch, and that the patriarch after that had gone away out of Moscow, and that his sledges were escorted to the end of the zemlianni-gorod by some one—he did not know by whom—with streltsi. This intelligence was very distressing for Ziuzin. For the liturgy he determined to go to the Kremlin, that he might himself make out something more about what had passed. There he met Artemon Matveyeff and Yakoff Solovtsoff. "What! did the patriarch come?" he asked. They answered, "He did." And Matveyeff added: "A pretty thing he did: he shakes off the dust from his feet, as against *infidels*—God does not endure him." Ziuzin observed in reply: "It is his old *audacity*: so indiscreet!" With this the conversation ended. Ziuzin saw that the state of the case was bad; his only hope now was in Nicon himself, that he would not give him up, that he would not say anything about the letters, as Ziuzin in the letters themselves had throughout entreated him not to mention them' (Sublotine, *Dielo Nicona*, p. 107-8).

Of the coming of the patriarch Nicon to Moscow.

§ viii. (Roll IX. of the synodal archives, no. 1. *Official minute.*) A.M. 7173, Dec. 18 (A.D. 1664), at the thirteenth hour of the night there came to the great hossoudar &c. to the church of the holy martyr Eudocia, which is in the palace above, in the vestibule (*v' sienach*), Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, and Job klinchar of the cathedral of the Assumption, and announced to him &c. that the patriarch Nicon had come to the cathedral, and was standing in the patriarchal place, and that he had sent them to announce this, &c.

And the same hour the tsar &c. gave orders to send for the bishops,[17] viz. Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, Paisius metropolitan of Gaza, Theodosius metropolitan of Servia, and for the boyars of the chamber (*komnatnie*).

When the bishops and the boyars were come to the great hossoudar &c. he, having conferred with them, ordered Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk and the boyar the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and the secretary of the council

[17] Two out of these three bishops being foreigners living on the tsar's alms, and the third having been recently made bishop by them on the tsar's order.

Almiaz Ivanoff, to go to the cathedral, and to say to the patriarch Nicon, that he of his own will abandoned the patriarchal chair, and declared that he would no more be patriarch, and went away to live in a monastery: and the œcumenical patriarchs have been written to about this. And now wherefore has he come to Moscow, and entered into the cathedral without the knowledge of him the great hossoudar, and without *the counsel of all the sacred synod of the clergy?*

And Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and the boyar prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, and Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, with their colleagues went into the cathedral, and spoke to the patriarch Nicon as the great hossoudar had commanded, and bade him return to the monastery and remain there as before.

And the patriarch Nicon said to the metropolitan and to the boyars, that he left the chair without being expelled by any one, and now he had come to it again without being called by any one, for this end, that the tsar might cool his blood and make peace: that he sought not to avoid the judgment of the Eastern patriarchs; but that he had come to his chair in consequence of a vision; and he gave them a writing to take to the tsar.

And they said that they would not venture without the tsar's knowledge to receive from him that writing, but would make report about that writing to the tsar.

And having come to the tsar, they reported the words of the patriarch, and also the matter of the writing.

And the tsar &c. ordered them to go again to the cathedral, and to say to the patriarch Nicon as before, and to receive from him the writing.

And the patriarch Nicon gave them the writing, and said, that if his coming to Moscow was not agreeable to the tsar, he would go back to the monastery; but until he heard something from the tsar in answer to his letter, he would remain where he was in the cathedral.

And they took from the patriarch Nicon the writing, and returned to the tsar, and made their report respecting the patriarch, and delivered the letter. And in it he wrote thus:

(Roll IX. no. 2.) *Declaration of the humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, for what cause he returned from the monastery of Voskresensk to his chair, to the capital city of Moscow.*

Forasmuch as we heard that there was much disturbance, and great disputing about the patriarchal chair, some speaking in one way and some in another, perversely and without any truth, every one speaking according to his own will, on this account, in this year 7173, beginning from Nov. 14,[18] we retired into an hermitage outside the monastery for prayer and fasting, that the Lord God might make known to us what ought to be done. And so we prayed much to the Lord God with tears; and nothing was made known to me; and from the 13th December we were wounded with the love of God more than before; and we added prayer to prayer, and tears to tears, and watching to watching, and fast to fast; and we fasted to the 17th day. The day from which we began to fast was Tuesday, and we fasted till the Sabbath, neither tasting anything nor drinking water, but changing our bread for prayer, and our drink for tears. Neither did we partake of sleep by lying down, but only dozed it may be for an hour or so in the twenty-four hours of night and day, sitting in a chair, when we were tired; but we laboured and prayed with tears, crying out and weeping till the Lord God should make known to me what things it behoved me to do, and what was pleasing to his holy will. And in my prayer I said many times, 'Thou, O Lord, hast said with thine all-pure and truthful lips: "Whatsoever ye ask in prayer in my name, it shall be given to you;" and again, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you:" and after a little thou didst say: "For every one that asketh receiveth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened."' And so, having often knocked at the door of the loving-kindness of God, tired with much labour, I sat in the church in my place, not having gone out to sleep [by lying down] for four whole nights and three days.[19] And it came to pass that when I had sat down I fell into a light sleep as I sat:

And I saw, and behold I was in the holy cathedral (of the Assumption, at Moscow), and I saw a very great light; but of living people I saw no man there; but I saw the bishops and priests who had died in years past standing along the walls on

[18] When the fast before Christmas (called the fast of St. Philip) was about to begin.

[19] Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, to the morning of Sat. Dec. 18th.

the sides of the church where are the tombs of our holy fathers the departed metropolitans and patriarchs. And there was one holy-looking man with venerable grey hairs, sufficiently or rather exceedingly handsome, with a very thick but not long beard. And while they all stood robed in episcopal vestments, this same holy and venerable man was going about among the other holy fathers from one to another with a long strip of paper and a pen and ink and inkstand, which he took to all the bishops in turn. And they all subscribed. Then I with fear went up to him who had the inkstand and the pen, and asked him, 'What is this that ye are doing, setting your hands to the paper?' And he said to me, 'It is about thy going to the holy chair.' I said, 'Show me if it is true.' And he showed me. And I looked, and it was so. And I said to him again, 'Hast thou subscribed thyself?' He said, 'We have subscribed already.' And he showed me where his own name was written. I looked attentively, and saw in truth a subscription in two lines and a half, thus: '*I the humble Jonah, by the mercy of God metropolitan, subscribe.*' Thus, as I fear God, were the characters formed [*i.e.* This, which I now write, is a fac-simile]. Then I, having conceived boldness, went to the patriarchal place: and as I was thinking to go into it, I found a bishop standing in that place robed in handsome episcopal robes; and I was struck with awe. And he said to me, 'Fear not, brother; for this is the will of God. Go to thy chair, and feed the rational sheep of Christ, which the Lord has committed to thee.' And all at once he disappeared. And I, being encouraged, went up into the place. But I think that the bishop who had been standing there was Peter the wonderworker. Yea, yea, thus it was. The Lord is my witness of this. Amen.

(Roll IX. no. 3.) *Letter*[20] *to the tsar, which the patriarch Nicon gave in the cathedral.*

To the great hossoudar &c., and to the tsaritsa &c., and to the tsarevich Alexis Al. and Theodore Al., and to the hossoudarinas &c. Irene, Anna, and Tatiana Michaelovna, and Eudocia, Martha, Sophia, Ekaterina, Maria, and Theodosia Alexievna, be grace, mercy, and peace, &c. I your beadsman, the humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, pray the Lord God to

[20] In the MS. of the synodal archives it is headed '*Petition to the tsar*,' &c.

give you spiritual salvation and bodily health, and a reign peaceful and sinless. And I am here this day in the cathedral of the Assumption &c.; and I make known to your majesty that since I have satisfied the purpose of my departure, and have done what I intended to do,[21] behold now I have come to see your most bright countenances, and to do my obeisance to the most sacred glory of your empire, having taken occasion from the holy gospel, where it is written (John xxvii.): 'Go ye up to this feast. I go not up to this feast because my time is not yet fulfilled. And when he had said this to them, he remained in Galilee. But when his brethren had gone up to the feast, then he also himself went up, not openly, but as it were in secret.' And again in another place of the Scripture: 'Paul said to Barnabas: Let us return to visit our brethren in all the cities in which we have preached the word of God, and see how they are.' So also we have come to see how things are with you, hossoudars, and with all that are in the capital city of Moscow, and in all the cities. And we have come in meekness and humility,[22] as our Lord has taught us, saying, 'Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart;' bringing with us that peace which our Lord Jesus Christ, humbling himself and bowing the heavens, and coming down to earth, brought and left to his holy disciples and apostles, and after them to the bishops who from time to time minister in holy things in his Church, saying: 'Peace I leave with you: my peace I give unto you' (John xiv. 8). And for their entering into any city or house he gave them a commandment, saying (Matt. x. 27, Luke x. 5): 'Into whatsoever city or house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house; and *if there be there the son of peace*, your peace shall rest upon it.' And not only have we this gift by the grace of God, to give peace to any one, but we have also the power to *remit sins*, the Lord being witness, who says (John xx., Matt. xvi. and xviii.): 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' And not only thus, but we have power to bind both on earth and in heaven, and to loose; as again the Lord testifies, saying not simply, but with an asseve-

[21] That is, have taught, so far as I could, this lesson, that the primate or patriarch is a divinely-appointed teacher, and not a secular slave or tool.

[22] *i.e.* Offering to make all up, if only the law of God be respected. But here and throughout Nicon is also conforming himself exactly to the instructions and suggestions made to him as if from the tsar in Ziuzin's letter.

ration: 'Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth' &c. But if thy majesty, O tsar, is willing to reflect on something more even than what we have said, we will not shrink from saying, *Dost thou desire to receive Christ himself?* We will show thy nobility how thou mayest, since the Lord witnesses: '*He that receiveth you receiveth me:*' and, 'What ye do to the least of my disciples, ye do it to me:' and, 'Wherever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them:' and elsewhere again, 'And lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world, Amen:' and, 'He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that heareth you heareth me.' What thy nobility pleases, that do: either in the Lord's name receive us, and open the doors of thy house, that thy reward hereafter may not be altogether taken away, as it is written [or otherwise as thou pleasest]. And this we have written to thy imperial majesty, not as speaking of myself at all. For he who speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory (John xvi.); but he that seeketh the glory *of him that sent him*, the same is true, and there is in him no unrighteousness. For we are not as some, *who make merchandise of the word of God*, but of sincerity, as of God, before God in Christ, we speak; not of deceitfulness, nor of impurity, nor with flattery, do we speak thus, not as seeking to please men, but God, who searcheth our hearts. Amen.

(Roll IX. no. 4.) And the tsar and the bishops and the boyars heard that letter of the patriarch Nicon read.

And the tsar ordered Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz [and with him Paisius the metropolitan of Gaza], and the boyar prince Nik. Iv. Odoefsky, and the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, with their colleagues to go again to the cathedral a third time to the patriarch Nicon, and to say to him that his letter had been delivered to the tsar, and that he the tsar, the bishops, and the boyars had heard it; and that he the patriarch is to go back from the cathedral to the monastery of Voskresensk, [and there abide] as before.

This having been done, the patriarch Nicon went out of the cathedral; but he took with him the staff of the metropolitan Peter the wonderworker, which stood at the patriarchal place. And the boyars spoke to him about the staff, that he should leave it in the cathedral as before. And the patriarch said to

them, 'Take it from me, if you like, by force.' And he went out from Moscow an hour before day. And the same hour the metropolitan Paul and the boyars [above named] reported to the tsar that the patriarch Nicon has gone out from the cathedral, taking with him the staff of Peter the wonderworker, and has left Moscow, and has taken the staff with him.

(Roll IX. no. 5.) And the same day by oukaz &c. there were sent after the patriarch Nicon the okolnik prince Dmitri Alex. Dolgorouky, and the polkovnik and golova of streltsi *Artemon Matveyeff*;[23] and they were ordered to escort the same Nicon from Moscow beyond the earthen rampart.

And the okolnik prince Dmitri Alexievich Dolgorouky reported to the tsar that they had so escorted the patriarch Nicon beyond the earthen rampart; and that the patriarch Nicon had said to them that he had come to Moscow in consequence of a communication made to him, and not of himself.

And the tsar, with the advice of the bishops and boyars, gave an order to send after him, the patriarch, Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz, and the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, and Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery; and that they should say to him that he is to give up to them that staff, or send it by his own archimandrite, or by whom else he pleases, to Moscow, to the cathedral, to remain there as before (see below, no. 12).

(Roll IX. no. 6.) The tsar &c. [the same day] examined Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff about the coming of the patriarch Nicon, asking, After what fashion did the patriarch Nicon come into the church? and how did he take the staff of the metropolitan Peter the wonderworker and carry it away with him? And the said Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff gave in to the tsar a deposition, wherein he writes thus:

A.M. 7168, Dec. 18: Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff said: This past night, as they were singing the vigil service, at the second cathism [of the psalms], suddenly there began to be a noise; and the doors creaked: and there came into the

[23] Murdered in A.D. 1682 by the streltsi and the mob, through whom Sophia Alex. and her partisans forced themselves into power, and murdered on the stairs of the palace and in front of the cathedral, where the events of the morning of Dec. 18, A.D. 1664, had taken place; and Youry Alex. Dolgorouky and his son Michael were murdered too, the son before the father.

cathedral a multitude of people; and after the people they bore into the church a cross; and after the cross there entered the patriarch Nicon, and he went and stood in the patriarchal place. And at that time his monks sang to him Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, δέσποτα· And after that they sang the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ. But *my* clerk (pod-diak) he ordered to cease from reading the psalter. And he bade Michael the chief deacon of the cathedral say the ἐκτενής. And he himself meantime went to kiss the icons, and the wonderworking relics, and the tunic of the Saviour; and having kissed them, he went up into the patriarchal place, and said the prayer *Vladiko mnogomilostivi* (Κύριε πολυελεῆς, κ.τ.λ.). But at what time he the patriarch took the staff of Peter the wonderworker, which stood at the patriarchal place, he the metropolitan did not notice. And he bade call him the metropolitan to himself for a blessing; and he went and took the blessing: and the protopope, with the brethren of the cathedral, went and took the [patriarch's] blessing likewise. And he sent him the metropolitan to the great hossoudar, and bade him notify his having came: and together with him he sent also the archimandrite of the monastery of Voskresensk. But when the bishops and boyars come from the tsar to the patriarch for the last time, and the patriarch left the patriarchal place and went out of the cathedral, he took the staff of the wonderworker Peter with him.
To this writing Jonah metropolitan &c. has affixed his hand.

Roll IX. no. 7. Deposition of the protopope Michael, the kliuchar Job, and the popes and deacons of the cathedral about Nicon's coming, taken by order of the tsar by Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff and the boyar prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky.

Roll IX. no. 8. Depositions of the black deacon of the metropolitan of Rostoff Michael, and of the watchmen of the cathedral.

Roll IX. no. 9. Deposition of the subdeacon Theodore Nikitin, and of the choir-diak Theodore Constantinoff.

Roll IX. no. 10. Other depositions of the protopope Michael.

Roll IX. no. 11. Depositions of the streltsi who had been on duty at the city gates. For these five nos., 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, see the Appendices, at the end of volume V.

It may be inferred from the directions given in Ziuzin's letter, that the guards at the city gates had orders not to let the patriarch Nicon pass, if he attempted at any time to

return to Moscow; orders which were probably given in consequence of his return in July or August A.D. 1659, though they *may* have been given earlier, as he could then say that he came 'in consequence of a communication from the tsar.' From the examination of the streltsi made Dec. 18, A.D. 1661, it appeared that when Nicon and his company came to the city gates during the night preceding, and the guards challenged them, crying, 'Who goes there?' his clerks replied, in conformity with the directions given in Ziuzin's letter, 'The authorities of the monastery of St. Sabba of Zvenigorod;' and so were suffered to pass.

After they had examined the clergy of the cathedral about the manner of Nicon's coming, the boyar prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky—so it is stated in the tenth document (no. 10) of Roll IX.—questioned the protopope Michael and the kliuchar Job, and the priests and deacons: Why, when they knew that the patriarch Nicon had of his own will left the patriarchal chair, and now had come to Moscow to the cathedral without the knowledge of the tsar and of all the sacred synod, they had gone to the patriarch for his blessing?

And they replied that they had erred in the sight of the great hossoudar in this, that they had gone up to the patriarch Nicon for his blessing, through their own simplicity, because the metropolitan Jonah had done the same before them.

And the deacon Michael said that there went up to the patriarch Nicon for his blessing monastic dignitaries (*vlasti*), as the archimandrite of the Spassky monastery at Yaroslaff, and the house-treasurer of the patriarchate. And he heard from the kliuchar Theodore that there was present at that time in the cathedral the nun Helena Khrousheheff choir-mistress in the Vosnesensky convent. Signed, &c.

(Roll IX. no. 12.) The same day, by oukaz of the tsar &c. there were sent after the patriarch Nicon, Paul the metropolitan of Krontitz, and the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, and Joachim archimandrite of the Choudoff, with orders, as soon as they should have come up with the patriarch Nicon, in whatever place that might be, there to speak to him, that he should give up the staff of the metropolitan Peter, the first primate of Moscow and wonder-worker.

And on that same day they wrote to the great hossoudar, that they had come up with the patriarch Nicon in the *selo* of Chernevo, and had spoken to him of giving up the episcopal staff. But the patriarch refused, saying that he would not give up to them that staff, nor send it by any of his own people; and that he had come to Moscow in consequence of having received a communication, and not of himself.

And the same day there was sent to the metropolitan Paul &c. a letter from the tsar &c., by which they, the metropolitan and the archimandrite, were ordered to say to the patriarch Nicon from all the sacred synod, and the okolnik and the secretary were ordered to say from the tsar, that the patriarch had come to Moscow and had *entered the cathedral without the knowledge of the great hossoudar and of the oecumenical patriarchs and of all the sacred synod*, and had taken *by force* the episcopal staff of the metropolitan Peter from its place, and had carried it away with him, whereas the former most holy patriarchs of Moscow *had never* taken that staff out of the cathedral, nor had ever taken it with them when they went anywhither,[21] but had left it in the cathedral at the patriarchal place; and that he was desired to send back that staff to Moscow to the cathedral by him the metropolitan, or by whom he pleased of his own people in their company. Also they were ordered to ask the patriarch Nicon, In consequence of what communication he had come to Moscow? and who had sent to him with a communication about anything? and by whom? and for what causes? and that he would speak to them of that exactly. But if he the patriarch refused to give up the episcopal staff, or to tell them exactly about the communication, they were to write and report of this to the great hossoudar, but were not themselves to leave the patriarch till further orders from the tsar; and they were to say to him the patriarch, that he was not to leave [the place where he then was] without giving up the staff.

Report of the metropolitan &c. and Answer of the tsar &c., with his orders to them.

(Roll IX. no. 13.) To the great hossoudar &c., thy beads-

[21] What then? Does this show that they had no right? When the metropolitan Peter first came with it from Vladimir, did his staff belong to the prince of Moscow?

men the humble Paul &c. make their obeisance. Having been sent by thy oukaz to the late patriarch Nicon, we came up with him in the village of Chernevo, and by thy oukaz said to him &c. [as above], and that he should give up that staff, according to thy imperial oukaz, to me thy beadsman. But the late patriarch, hossoudar, held the staff &c. in his hands; and he will not give it up to me your beadsman. And we spake, hossoudar, to him, that if he would not give it up, he should send it &c. But he will not give it up, nor will he send it by anybody. But he says that he came to Moscow in consequence of a communication, and not of himself.

(Roll IX. no. 11.) From the tsar &c. to our beadsman Paul &c., and the okolnik Rodion &c., and the secretary Almiaz &c., and to our beadsman the archimandrite Joachim &c.: Ye have written to us &c. that ye by our oukaz &c. [and if he would not give up the staff, that] he should send it &c. to the cathedral, to be there as before &c. When this our letter reaches you, ye our beadsmen are to say to the patriarch Nicon from all the sacred synod, and ye, our okolnik Rodion and our secretary of council Almiaz, are to say from us the tsar &c., that he the patriarch came to Moscow by night &c. without our knowledge and that of the œcumenical patriarchs and of all the sacred synod &c. And if the patriarch Nicon does not give it up nor speak &c., ye are to write to us &c. *this same night* exactly, and send your report by the head of the streltsi [Artemon Matveyeff?]; but ye yourselves are not to move from the patriarch till our &c. further orders, but are to wait for our &c. orders. And ye are to say to the late patriarch Nicon, that he is not to go away from Chernevo without giving up the staff; and ye are not to go away from him without our orders. Written in Moscow, in our imperial palace, Dec. 18, A.M. 7173. This letter of the tsar was sent by the sotnik Peter Teraieff on the evening of the same day, at the fourth hour of the night, in the last part of the same hour, by well-provided yemshchik conveyances.

And Dec. 19, at two hours before daybreak, the metropolitan Paul &c. came to Moscow, and submitted to the great hossoudar &c. a detailed report of their execution of their mission. And together with them the patriarch Nicon sent to the great hossoudar Gerasimus the archimandrite of the monastery of Voskresensk, with the staff of the metropolitan Peter the wonder-

worker, and with certain letters, in consequence of receiving which he had come to Moscow. And in the detailed report and in those letters there was written as follows:

(Roll IX. no. 15.) A.M. 7173, Dec. 18. The great hossoudar &c. ordered &c. And by oukaz &c. the most revd. Paul &c., having come to the village of Chernevo (a property belonging to the patriarchate), ordered themselves to be announced to the patriarch.

And the metropolitan and the okolnik went into the court of the patriarchal dwelling; and the late patriarch Nicon met the metropolitan and the okolnik with their colleagues at the lower porch, and went into the apartments.

And the metropolitan and the okolnik followed the patriarch into the reception-room; and by oukaz &c. they said to the patriarch, that he the patriarch had come into Moscow and into the cathedral without the knowledge of the great hossoudar; and the great hossoudar and all the sacred synod sent to the cathedral to speak to him the patriarch, bishops, viz. Jonah metrop. of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, and himself Paul &c., *and the metropolitan of Gaza*, and his own boyars, the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky &c., with their colleagues.

And by oukaz of the great hossoudar the bishops and boyars said to him, that he the late patriarch Nicon had come into Moscow and into the cathedral without having previously sent any one before him to make application to the great hossoudar and to the sacred synod for *permission* to come to Moscow and to the cathedral; and that he the patriarch was to go out of the cathedral, and return to the place from whence he had come.

And he the late patriarch Nicon said to the bishops and boyars, that he had come to Moscow and to the cathedral to his own episcopal chair, to which he was appointed. But the bishops and boyars said to him, that he had abandoned the episcopal chair of his own will; and that the catholic apostolic church has been now in widowhood for six years: and before this he said and wrote in his letters to the great hossoudar, that he would never return to the primatial chair of all Russia. And now he was to go out of the cathedral, and to return to the place whence he had come.

And he the patriarch gave to the bishops and boyars a letter, and desired them to deliver that letter to the great hossoudar;

and according to the answer which there should be to that letter, so would he do.

And the bishops and boyars carried that letter to the great hossoudar; and the great hossoudar and all the sacred synod sent the same bishops and boyars to the cathedral again; and they said to him, that he the late patriarch Nicon was to go out from the cathedral, and return to the place from whence he had come.

And he the patriarch spake certain words of Christ, which he spake to the apostles, saying: 'In whatsoever city they will not receive you, when ye go forth from that city shake off even the dust that cleaves to your feet;' and [so saying and doing] he went forth from the cathedral. And without its being noticed, he took with him the episcopal staff of Peter the first primate and wonderworker, and carried it away with him. But the former patriarchs of Moscow had never taken with them that staff to any place to which they had occasion to go from Moscow, nor had they ever used it when they officiated elsewhere than in the cathedral: but it remains always in one and the same place. And when by the permission of God there is no patriarch,[25] at such times also it has never been removed from the patriarchal place. But the patriarchs in going to the church, and in their services, and during their absences, whenever they went away from Moscow, used other similar staffs of their own provided on purpose. But that staff of the wonderworker is given once only *by oukaz of the great hossoudar from all the sacred synod* to the patriarchs of Moscow and Great Russia at their first institution; and after that, that staff of the wonderworker is set at the place previously made for it; and instead of it there is given to him who has just been instituted another staff. And therefore there is no right that that staff of the primate and wonderworker Peter should be with him the late patriarch Nicon, inasmuch as he had previously abandoned the patriarchal chair of his own will: and that staff is never to be carried away from its place out of the church. And he the late patriarch Nicon was desired to give up that staff &c. to him Paul &c. And he would carry it back, to be as before in the cathedral in its proper place.

And the late patriarch Nicon said that he had come to Moscow and into the cathedral not arbitrarily [*i.e.* of any arbitrary

[25] Here my MS. inserts the words, 'or when any one leaves the patriarchate.'

change of his own mind, but] in consequence of a communication from Moscow. But for the staff, he would not give it up, he said, because there was nobody to whom he could [rightly] give it up; that he had left the patriarchal chair *for a time, on account of the much violence exerted against him from without,* and on account of certain *affronts.*

And the metropolitan and the okolnik, with their colleagues, spake to him all they could, that he should give up to them that staff; or, if it was impossible for him on any consideration to give it up, that he should send it by any one that he pleased of his own people.

And the patriarch said to the metropolitan, that he recognised him only as a priest, but not as a metropolitan; and who had made him a metropolitan he knew not;[26] and he would not give up to him the staff, nor would he send it by any of his own people, because there was no man who had a right to it.

And the metropolitan and the okolnik, with their colleagues, said that he the patriarch had said that he had come to Moscow and to the cathedral not arbitrarily, but in consequence of a communication &c.; and they desired that he would say from whom that communication had been made to him.

And the patriarch said he would not speak of that to *them,* but would explain himself to any one whom the tsar should indicate.

And the metropolitan and the okolnik, with their colleagues, wrote of that to the great hossoudar, that the patriarch holds the staff in his hands, and will not give it up to him the metropolitan, and that he refuses to send it either by any other; and that he says farther that he came to Moscow in consequence of a communication, not arbitrarily.

And there was sent to the metropolitan and to the okolnik, with their colleagues, from the great hossoudar, a letter commanding him the metropolitan to speak to the late patriarch Nicon from all the sacred synod, and commanding the okolnik and the secretary &c. to speak to him from the great hossoudar, about his coming into Moscow and into the cathedral, and about giving up the staff, as before; and farther, to ask the same patriarch, in consequence of what communication he had come to Moscow? and who had sent to him, and by whom, any com-

[26] The tsar and Paisius Ligarides had not long before made him a bishop and metropolitan.

munication about anything, and for what reason? and to desire him to speak of that exactly to him the metropolitan and to the okolnik, with their colleagues. But if he would not give up the staff &c., nor speak exactly about the communication, they were to report of this to the great hossoudar the same night exactly; but they were not themselves, until farther orders from the tsar, to leave the patriarch; and they were to say to him, that he was not to leave Chernevo without giving up the staff; and that they were on no account to leave him without farther orders from the great hossoudar, &c.

And according to that letter of the tsar, the metropolitan and the okolnik &c. spake to the patriarch about giving up the staff and about the communication, and asked him, who had sent to him, and by whom, and about what?

And the patriarch said: Who sent the communication to him he would reveal in due time; and he read a letter; but him who wrote that letter he would not name. But that letter he received (without suspicion) for this reason, that when the great hossoudar was in the Sabbine monastery, and he the patriarch had sent to the great hossoudar his archimandrite, the great hossoudar showed such favour to him as he had never shown at any other time to him since his retirement. And it was after that that the first letter was sent to him; but the other was sent on the 17th December, and he was in it bidden to be in Moscow on the 18th. And he, seeing the grace of the great hossoudar towards himself, received those letters, and took them for simple truth. But as to the staff, he said that he would not give it up to them, nor would he send it by any of his own people.

And the metropolitan and the okolnik, with their colleagues, spake to him both about giving up the staff, and to induce him to declare who had written to him such letters, and by whom they had been sent to him, in many discussions; and they were with the patriarch from the fifth hour of the day to the eleventh hour of the night. And after many discussions, the patriarch said that he would send a messenger to the great hossoudar with the letters which had been sent to him, viz. the archimandrite of Voskresensk; and he desired that the metropolitan and the okolnik, with their colleagues, would report to the great hossoudar as follows:

He the patriarch was aware that the great hossoudar was

sending to the œcumenical patriarchs, that they may judge of his departure and of the appointment of another patriarch; and he begs the great hossoudar *not* to send to the œcumenical patriarchs, seeing that he, as he promised at the first, so now also promises, not to return to the primatial chair of the patriarchate of Great Russia: and this is not at all in his thoughts: but he wishes that by command of the tsar, and election of all the sacred synod, there should be elected in his stead a patriarch, whom the great hossoudar may allow, and the sacred synod choose; and so that the Church should no longer remain in widowhood, seeing that, as it is, the Church has been going on in widowhood not a few years.

And when there shall be a new patriarch appointed, he will not attempt to meddle with any patriarchal affairs, nor have anything to do with any of them; but the great hossoudar shall command him to live in his monastery, which has been founded by his the great hossoudar's oukaz (at Voskresensk); and the new patriarch shall have no power over him, but shall regard him as a brother; and he the late patriarch shall meddle with no patriarchal affairs; and the Voskresensky and Iverskoy monasteries and other monasteries dependent on them shall be ruled by him the patriarch Nicon, and the new patriarch and the metropolitan of Novgorod shall not meddle with them nor have authority over them. (The metropolitan of Novgorod, without those monasteries, will still have left him 150 monasteries and above 3000 churches in Great Novgorod and in other towns and places within his diocese.) And the great hossoudar shall be graciously pleased not to withhold his imperial favour in necessary things (from him the patriarch Nicon), that he may have a maintenance till his death; and he is not likely to live long, being already nearly sixty years old. And he charged the metropolitan and the okolnik, with their colleagues, in many words, that they should report to the great hossoudar concerning all this, and represent his petition, saying that he desires above all things the pacification of the Church, and that the catholic apostolic church of Great Russia may not be in widowhood; and he has no wish in any way to contravene the will of the great hossoudar. And he will send the staff, and the letter which was sent to him about his going to Moscow and his going into the cathedral, by Gerasimus the archimandrite of the monastery of Voskresensk, who shall

go together with them the metropolitan and the okolnik and their colleagues. And who it was that wrote to him, that he should go on the 18th of December to Moscow, and enter into the cathedral; and from whom both the former letters and the present letter were sent to him, and by the hand of whom, is written in the same letter.

Also the patriarch spake words, that he the metropolitan and the okolnik, with their colleagues, should propose to the great hossoudar that he &c., of his imperial mercy to him, should be graciously pleased to order those persons who in this affair of the patriarchate had been exiled and imprisoned in different cities, to be set at liberty. And likewise that the great hossoudar should allow him the patriarch to keep and retain those charters and grants and other written deeds and securities which had been given to him of his imperial grace for the estates [of his monasteries], and command by his imperial oukaz that they should not be in any way infringed upon nor impugned.

And as he ended all that he said, the late patriarch Nicon gave up the staff of the primate and wonderworker Peter from his hands to Gerasimus his own archimandrite of Voskresensk, in presence of them the metropolitan Paul and the okolnik and their colleagues, and dismissed him the archimandrite Gerasimus with the staff and with the letter, to go to the great hossoudar in company with themselves.

And that same night, the metropolitan Paul &c. having come to Moscow with the archimandrite of Voskresensk, the archimandrite of Voskresensk delivered the staff of the primate Peter the wonderworker to the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia.

(Roll IX. no. 16.) 'In this roll' [*i.e.* strip of paper or envelope, here gummed into roll IX. of the synodal archives, and making in it no. 16] 'the great hospodin Nicon enclosed and sent by the archimandrite Gerasimus the letter' [and the copies of the two earlier letters which have been mentioned above as written to him by Ziuzin]: 'and there is on this same paper the subscription of the patriarch Nicon, thus' [here the transcriber of my MS. copy inserts a fac-simile of the subscription and seal]: '"*Nicon, Bojiçyou milostiou Patriarch*," and his seal, showing *a hand uplifted, in the act of blessing*.' [For no. 17

and no. 18, Ziuzin's letter, and the copy of it, see above, § vii. p. 526-535.]

§ ix. (Roll IX. no. 19.[27]) Letter of Nicon to the tsar, sent by the same archimandrite Gerasimus together in the same enclosure with Ziuzin's letter. The text of this letter does not appear in the copy made for me from the rolls preserved in the synodal archives. But Solovieff has published *part* of a letter written by Nicon to the tsar, which by its contents appears to belong to this time, and even to refer to the announcement now formally made to him, that the tsar had sent letters to the East requesting the œcumenical patriarchs to come in person to Moscow. 'On hearing this for him terrible news'—so Solovieff introduces his mention of the letter in question—'that the patriarchs were coming for a council, Nicon wrote to the tsar [a letter, from which the following passages are extracts]:

"We do not decline a council; rather we praise thy intention as godly, if the patriarchs are themselves minded to come hither, and to judge of all according to the divine commandments of the gospel, and according to the canons of the apostles and the holy fathers. Yea, yea, we are nothing loth. But first we entreat thy nobility to listen to these our few words of admonition with meekness and patience. Thy nobility thought proper to call together after our departure the metropolitans, bishops, and

[27] On the other side of roll IX. of the synodal archives there are some inscriptions, viz. on the reverse sides of two of those different documents, originally lesser rolls, which are now all gummed together into one great roll. (No. 6.) 'To this deposition of the metropolitan of Rostoff Jonah, the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff has set his hand.' (No. 7.) 'To this deposition the protopope Michael has set his hand,' 'To this dep. the pope Porphyry,' &c. 'To this dep. the pope Basil Theodoroff,' &c. 'To this dep. the pope Cyprian,' &c. 'To this dep. the deacon Athanasius Ivanoff,' &c. 'To this dep. the deacon Peter,' &c. 'To this dep. the deacon Trophimus,' &c. 'To this dep. the deacon Michaelo,' &c. (No. 8.) 'To this dep. the black deacon of the metropolitan of Rostoff Joseph,' &c. (No. 9.) 'To this dep. the subdeacon Theodore,' &c. (No. 10.) 'To this dep. the protopope Michael,' &c. (No. 11.) 'To these depositions, made on examination, the polkovnik and golova of the Moscow streltsi of the prikaz of Yakoff Paulovich Solovtseff, Ivashko Trophimoff, for the decurio of streltsi Ivashko Leontieff, also Sanka Seliverstoff, at their desire,' &c. 'To these answers on examination the centurion Mikitka Semenoff for the captain of fifty Larivon, with his comrades Eremka Semenoff and Ivashko Zenobieff.' 'And for the decurio Laurentius Timothéeff, Ivashko Semenoff, Martinko Emilianoff, Eutiushka Ivanoff, by their desire, as they cannot write,' &c. 'To the hossoudar the tsar,' &c.

archimandrites, to pass a judgment, contrary to the divine commandments; because there is no such canon as empowers bishops to judge their patriarch, especially when they have been ordained by him, and, what is more, to judge him behind his back." Then, after writing out the account given in the gospels of the judicial proceedings against Christ, Nicon continues thus: "See, most Christian tsar, even in the midst of that fierce envy of the Jews nothing was done which was without the form of law, or without witnesses, or in the absence of the accused, though in everything they acted unjustly. Therefore, he said, he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin. So also here, he that moved thy nobility against us hath the greater sin. If the council will condemn me only for my departure, it must depose (or cast out) similarly even Christ himself, because he ofttimes went away on account of the malice of the Jews. When thy nobility was in good counsel and charity with us, and once, on account of the hatred of the people, we wrote to thee that it was impossible to maintain us in the great church (that is, in the chair of the primacy), what was then thy answer and superscription? That letter of thine is deposited in a certain church in a secret place, which no man knows of besides ourselves. But do thou look to it, O religious tsar, that no evil come upon thee from these thy letters, nor this turn to thy condemnation before God and before *the œcumenical council convoked by thee.* I write this not from any desire for the patriarchal chair; my wish is that the holy Church should be without disturbance, and that thou mayest not in the sight of the Lord God incur sin: I write not fearing for myself a great council, but *not wishing to bring on thy sacred empire disgrace;* because if in the presence of two or three witnesses every word shall be established, how much more in the presence of a multitude? Our bishops accuse us only from one canon (canon xvi.) of the First and Second Council, which does not really apply to our case. But when there shall be adduced against themselves a multitude of canons which none of them can possibly evade, then, I think, there will not be left *a single bishop*, nor a single priest [among them, who will appear to be canonically] worthy of his place. The Russian bishops at their consecration all of them do reverence to the patriarch of Constantinople. Then they will know their own work, who now, as bats, trouble thy felicity; that is, the metropolitan

of Kroutitz[28] with John Neronoff and the rest of his aiders and abettors. Thou hast sent [to the Levant] Meletius; but he is a good-for-nothing man, who subscribes in anybody's hand, and counterfeits seals. And here also there was a case of that kind against him, and [the papers about it are] now still in the patriarchal prikaz. You have plenty of people of your own, great hossoudar, without employing such a rogue as that." To this letter there was no reply.' These extracts from Nicon's letter are inserted, but without the date, and without any reference, by Solovieff immediately before his account of Nicon's coming to Moscow in the night before the 18th Dec. A.D. 1664, vol. xi. p. 339-340. And see our own vol. iii. p. 370-372.

Examination of Ziuzin.

§ ix. (Roll IX. no. 20.) Nikita Ziuzin, having been brought before the tsar &c. (Dec. 20, A.D. 1664), and having heard the letters [enclosed and sent to the tsar by Nicon, and already printed above in § vii.] read through, and being shown his own handwriting, said that the letter shown to him was in his own handwriting, and that he had sent such a letter twice before to the patriarch by the subdeacon Nikita; and the patriarch in answer to those his letters wrote to him again; and he Nikita burned those letters of the patriarch. And the first two letters which he Nikita wrote, the patriarch returned to him; but this last letter of his (the same which has been printed above) he did not return to him.

And the tsar, having heard the letters of the patriarch Nicon, ordered, and the boyars counselled, that search should be made for the subdeacon Nikita.

Roll IX. no. 21. Deposition of the subdeacon Nikita.

Roll IX. no. 22. Dep. of the monk Alexander, corrector in the printing-house.

Roll IX. no. 23. Dep. of the doumni dvorianin Athanasius Laurentievich Ordin-Nashchokin.

Roll IX. no. 24. Second examination of the boyar Nikita Alexievich Ziuzin before the tsar.

Roll IX. no. 25. Deposition, or letter, of Ziuzin, which

[28] *i.e.* Pitirim, whom Nicon would not call metropolitan of Novgorod; while Paul, now called by the tsar metropolitan of Kroutitz, was for Nicon no bishop at all.

the doumni dvorianin Ivan Athan. Pronchishcheff took from him.

Roll IX. no. 26. Another deposition of Nashchokin. [For these six documents see the Appendices, to be given at the end of volume V.]

Examination of Ziuzin, when put to the question.

(Roll IX. no. 29.) A.M. 7173, Feb. 3, the tsar &c. ordered the boyars the prince Nik. Iv. Odoefsky and Peter Mich. Soltikoff, the doumni dvorianin Procopius Kosmich Eleazaroff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, to examine with torture Nikita Ziuzin: Whether he wrote to the late patriarch Nicon of his return to the patriarchal chair letters in the name of the tsar and the tsaritsa and the tsarevnas; and whether he wrote those letters with any other accomplices, or showed those his letters to any others?

And by oukaz &c. the same day they examined him before the rack in the Jitni dvor.

And Nikita Ziuzin said: As to those letters which he wrote to the patr. Nicon, as if from the persons of the tsar and the tsaritsa and the tsarevnas, he was therein guilty towards the tsar: he had written what he wrote in them of himself, without any concert with any one; nor did he speak of that to any one. But as for the letters which the patr. Nicon sent to him Nikita, both the first and the last, he Nikita did show those letters to the dvorianin of the council Athanasius Laurent. Ordin-Nashchokin. And as for his own letters which he Nikita wrote to the patr. Nicon, he spoke of them to [the said Nashchokin], only not [as if they were written] in [the names of] those persons in whose names he had written them. And Athanasius &c. said to him, 'It is well so.' But to no one else did he Nikita show his own letters, or those of the patriarch; nor did he concert or consult with any one.

And Nikita Ziuzin was examined with severity, and he was stripped, and his hands were bound together with a noose, and he was brought to fire, and held to it, that he might confess his crime against the great hossoudar, and speak the truth: With whom had he concerted to write those letters to the patriarch; and with whose counsel did he send them? and for what did he go to the monk Alexander? And Nikita repeated his former words

&c., as above: that he had shown to Athanasius [Nashchokin] &c. the letters of the patriarch, but not his own &c.; that he went to the monk Alexander to ask for a man by whom he could send those letters to the patriarch: but had said nothing else to him, nor consulted with him. Such was the deposition given by Nikita Ziuzin.

Sentence of Ziuzin.

(Roll IX. no. 30.) In this year 7173 (A.D. 1664) there came from Voskresensk &c. [reciting all.] And the tsar &c. sent Paul &c. with command to ask: In consequence of what communication [N.B. the staff is not here mentioned, as being irrelevant] had he come? And he the late patr. Nicon explained, that he came to Moscow &c. in consequence of a letter from Moscow from thee N. Ziuzin, and thou hadst written to him as if by command of the great hossoudar; and this the letter of thee [Nikita Ziuzin] he Nicon sent to the great hossoudar by Gerasimus the archimandrite &c.: and the great hossoudar heard that letter read before the bishops and the boyars; and it was written to the late patr. Nicon about his return to the patriarchal chair from thee Nikita with thine own hand, and thou didst pretend to write it to him Nicon by oukaz of the great hossoudar. And the great hossoudar was pleased, before the bishops and the boyars, to show thee Nikita that letter, and to ask whether it was thine; and why thou didst write such a letter to the late patriarch Nicon about his coming to Moscow, and use language in it as if it were by oukaz of him the great hossoudar? and with whom thou didst devise that letter?

And thou Nikita didst confess before the great hossoudar and before the bishops and boyars thy guilt, saying that the letter was thine, &c.; and that thou didst write it thyself without concert with any one else. And by such thy letter, and by the coming to Moscow of the late patriarch Nicon, thou Nikita hast *shaken* the catholic apostolic church, and, not fearing the fear of God, thou hast lied against the great hossoudar, against God's Anointed, as if thou hadst been writing to the late patriarch Nicon about his coming to Moscow by command of him the great hossoudar; whereas our great hossoudar, his imperial majesty, had not ordered thee to write such a letter to the late patriarch Nicon. Likewise thou hast thereby *disturbed* all the people. And the boyars, having heard that matter and thy des-

perate audacity, have advised that thou shouldst be punished with death.

But we the tsar &c., at the request of our children Alexis and Theodore Alex., have been mercifully pleased not to punish thee with death, but have made an order that thou be sent into exile to Kazan, to serve there, and that thy estates, whether held by temporary grant of the crown or as absolute property, be confiscated to ourselves, so that they may be granted to others. But thy furniture and personal property shall be given back to thee for thy support, and for the payment of thy debts.

A.M. 7173, March 13th. This oukaz of the great hossoudar was recited to Nikita Ziuzin; and he was sent away to the Kazanski dvor.

This sentence was spoken before the boyar prince Nik. Iv. Odoefsky and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff on the palace stair (the *krasnoe kriltso*); and a minute of his exile was sent to the Kazanski dvor, as follows:

(Roll IX. no. 31.) A.M. 7173, March 15th, by oukaz [of the tsar] &c.: The tsar &c. has commanded the boyar prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, and the secretary of the council Larion Lopouchin, and Athanasius Zikoff, and Andrew Nemiroff, to send into exile for his crime, to Kazan, Nikita Ziuzin; and the tsar has ordered that he is to serve at Kazan. And Nikita Ziuzin is now accordingly sent to the prikaz of the Kazanski dvor to thee the boyar prince &c., with the under-secretary Jacob Pozdisheff; and by the tsar's oukaz the boyar prince &c. is to cause the oukaz of the tsar to be executed. Countersigned by the secretary Euthymius Yourieff.

Letter of Ziuzin about his dvor, and his personalty.

(Roll IX. no. 32.) Nikita Ziuzin was carried off to the prikaz of the Kazanski dvor March 13th; and respecting his house and goods and chattels, there was taken from him Nikita a minute written in his own hand, as follows:

A.M. 7173, March 13th, Nikita Ziuzin said: For my house in Moscow and my goods there, I petition the boyar prince Ivan Petr. Pronsky that it and the .... and the .... be sold to pay my debts; and that he be pleased to receive my will, written with my own hand. And this minute I have written with my own hand.

Minute to the Pomiestni prikaz.

(Roll IX. no. 33.) A.M. 7173, April 5th, by oukaz &c., a minute or note to the secretaries Gregory Karaouloff, Andrew Zakovlieff and Stephen Benedictoff:

The great hossoudar &c. has made an order to send Nikita Ziuzin for his crimes into exile to Kazan; and he has ordered that his estates, granted temporarily or held in fee-simple, be confiscated to his own treasury, &c. And his sentence has been recited to the said Nikita Ziuzin; and he has been sent into exile to Kazan. And by oukaz of the hossoudar, the secretaries [above named] are to do with the estates of N. Ziuzin according to the oukaz of the tsar. Countersigned by the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff. Sent by the under-secretary Simeon Protopopoff, April 6th. Simeon said that he delivered it to the secretary Gregory Karaouloff. The streletz Yakoushka Novisheff.

§ xi. Nicon's own account of all that has hitherto preceded in this chapter, written by him in Dec. A.D. 1665, in his letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, is as follows:

In the year 1664, one week before the Nativity, a certain man of holy life named Nikita, who had before been by rank one of the tsar's boyars, but for the sake of justice has been utterly deprived of that rank, wrote to us as many as three times (and *we know not whether really by the tsar's command*, or by the instigations of friends, or of his own piety), wishing to bring about peace and amity between us. The tsar's majesty, so he wrote, sent to him certain persons of those about him, whom he regards with favour, and bade him write to us that we should come to Moscow before the Nativity of Christ, uncalled, of ourselves, and that the tsar's majesty would be glad of our coming, and would receive us with joy.

So, having come to Moscow, I entered into the cathedral, and stood in my episcopal place, and sent to let the tsar's majesty know. And we, imitating the depth of the humility of God the Word, did all that which we then did. And when we were in the cathedral, we sent thence to the tsar's majesty Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff, whom we found there, and the archimandrite of our monastery, and one priest of the cathedral, to announce to the tsar's majesty our having come.

And the tsar's majesty was wroth with the metropolitan and the archimandrite and the priest, and sent them out from his presence with dishonour (and gave command to suspend them [*i. e.* the metropolitan and the priest] from performing divine service.

And after that the tsar's majesty sent to us from his highest boyars the prince Nikita Iv. Odoefsky, with others of his colleagues, and asked us: 'Why hast thou come?' And we said: 'To bring peace and blessing to the tsar's majesty, and to *you*, if ye are willing to receive us in the Lord.' And they went with that word to the tsar's majesty.

And having come again from the tsar's majesty to the cathedral, *and with them the metropolitan of Gaza*, and the metropolitan of Kroutitz, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, they said to us: 'The tsar's majesty has commanded us to say to thee: Go back to the monastery of Voskresensk, and abide there till farther orders; and delay not, that nothing worse be the consequence; and there await the coming of a decree from the œcumenical patriarchs; for they have been written to from the tsar's majesty to that end several times, and the tsar's majesty is expecting soon to receive a decree from them.'

And we, on account of the precept of the gospel, were not inclined to have much more to do with them; for 'where,' it is said, 'they will not receive you nor hearken unto your words, when ye go out of that city shake off even the dust of your feet, for a testimony unto them.' And so, taking the crozier which stood at the episcopal place, I went out with it: and as I went out of the city (*i.e.* of the citadel, the Kremlin) to depart, and at each of the gates (in the other walls) of the city, I shook off from my feet the dust, repeating those words of the gospel: and I came to Chernevo, a village of ours, belonging to our monastery of Voskresensk, twenty versts distant from Moscow.

And the tsar's majesty sent after us of those about his person the okolnik Rodion Streshneff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, and with them six men of the heads (*golovas*) of the streltsi, with many soldiers, and also the metropolitan of Kroutitz, with other ecclesiastical dignitaries. And they said to us: 'The tsar's majesty has commanded us to take from thee the crozier.' And I said to them: 'It is not right for the tsar's majesty to take from us the crozier by force: we did not receive

it from him, but from the grace of the Holy Ghost, from above.' And on that account they straitened us with famine and with all manner of constraint.

And after having endured much, seeing that it was impossible to get away from them with that crozier in our hands, I said to them that were sent from the tsar's majesty: 'Before this your coming we called to witness God, heaven, and earth, and the other holy things; and now we testify before this holy crozier, that only let the tsar's majesty cease to be wroth with us, and then, if our humility is not acceptable to him to be patriarch in Moscow, let him do as he pleases; only let him be in charity again with us, and not afflict us. And whoever shall be patriarch in our room, let it be understood that he also in like manner is not to wrong us, nor in any way to interfere with our personal property [or our foundations]. And if the tsar's majesty will only observe justice towards us, then this crozier shall be to him for a blessing, and to avenge him of his adversaries. But if there shall be found any injustice on the part of the tsar's majesty towards our humble person, then this holy crozier shall be to the tsar's majesty for a witness against him, and for an exaction of vengeance for all his injustice.'

And after this I sent that crozier by the hand of our archimandrite to the tsar's majesty; and we ourselves, being then no longer detained by them, went on to the monastery of Voskresensk.

And after that, when some short space had intervened, the tsar's majesty sent the secretary of the council Dementius Bashmakoff, and Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff, desiring that we should give the above words of ours in writing, under our hand. And we did that also, and sent the writing to the tsar's majesty. And there was *no answer* made to us to that writing.

But that good man who has been mentioned above, Nikita Ziuzin, who was previously a boyar, was by the tsar's wrath deprived of all his property, and banished to a distant place; and his wife, a pious woman, from fear of intolerable tortures, suddenly departed this life.[29] The subdeacon Nikita, who had

[29] Her end seems to have been hastened by terror, when her husband was taken to be examined with torture; but Ziuzin himself had spoken of her as being near her end when he was seeking a messenger to go to Voskresensk to Nicon.

brought to us letters from him, being cast into prison and into fetters, soon died. The priest Sisoi, who came to us with a letter, was banished, no one knows whither, with all his family. The *blessed* Athanasius metropolitan of Iconium, who bore witness concerning the fraudulent letters[30] against me which Meletius the deacon brought to Moscow (on the 29th May A.D. 1664), and who also witnessed against the metropolitan of Gaza that he was an enemy of God and a son of perdition, was banished and confined in the Simonoff monastery. Theophanes, archimandrite of the monastery of Castamoneta on Mount Athos, was banished to the Cyrilloff monastery of Bielo-ozero, with the monks his brethren. The ecconome of Voskresensk, the hieromonach Aaron, was banished to Solovka. Basil, the protodiacon of the great church, was banished with all his family to Siberia. Sebastus Demetrieff, who brought letters from the most blessed patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius (see vol. iii. p. 355, 457), was confined in the dungeon tower of the tsar's palace. And many others, whose names we know not. Whoever speak a good word of us, or bring us any letters or information, they are banished, and examined with torture. And over every sacred function the tsar has set up his own imperial command.

§ xii. *Censure of the metropolitan Jonah for having taken Nicon's blessing.*

(Roll v. no. 51, *appended to* no. 50.) *Synodal Resolution.* In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. In this year 7173, Dec. 22 (A.D. 1664), we Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk &c., Paisius of Gaza, Cosmas of Amasia, Macarius of Graven, Theodosius of Servia, and Nectarius archbishop of Pogoniane, assembled in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchal palace, for the present affair of Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff. And the sacred synod judged that he was culpable for this, that he, forgetting his synodal subscription, and being the vicar of the patriarchal chair and the acting primate in all the sacred synod, set a bad example to the other clergy by going before them all to take a blessing from the late

[30] These letters or 'tomes,' however, were genuine; and the name of the blessed Athanasius appears among the names of those who eventually, in Dec. A.D. 1666, subscribed the synodal act for the condemnation and degradation of Nicon.

patriarch Nicon, when he had *uncanonically* come to his chair, and was on many grounds incapacitated.

However, it has pleased the Holy Ghost and us to use some condescension towards the weakness of our brother, thus:

In doubtful cases it is the custom of the four œcumenical patriarchates to place the sacred robes on the altar: and then, if it be a priest who is under suspicion of any crime, he takes the epitrachelion, and mentioning the crime of which he is accused, swears that he is altogether innocent of it. But if he is a bishop, he takes also the omophorion, and swears before the synod and the synclete respecting the suspicion attaching to him. The metropolitan Jonah therefore should take his epitrachelion and his omophorion, and say thus:

'To purge myself, I call God to witness: first, that I had no consent nor concert with the late patriarch about his coming to his chair; secondly, that it was from being frightened and confused at his sudden and bold coming, but without any purpose, that I took from him a blessing; thirdly, that at that time I did not think of my synodal subscription about not receiving him back to the patriarchal chair. Nay, nay, nay; I do not lie herein: for if the lips of the priest, according to the prophet Malachi, lie not, how shall the lips of a bishop lie?' If Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff be willing thus to purge himself, he may be free from all suspicion. But if he declines, he must be subjected to ecclesiastical punishment, that is, to deposition. This deposition is to be pronounced by the rest of the bishops convoked on purpose; *because there ought to be the number of twelve bishops* to judge him and to finish the business.

But if he is ready in the above way to purge himself, there is no need to call together the rest of the bishops. According to the opinion of our present synod assembled in the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, he may perform the liturgy together with archimandrites and priests, but not in a sobor, nor together with bishops, until there come a final answer from the other bishops our brethren living in the Orthodox and glorious empire of Moscow, who must give their counsel and judgment.

[At this paragraph there is written in the margin from the tsar the question: 'Is it fit that Jonah &c. should be again vicar of the patriarchal chair, which he did not guard carefully?

And is it fit that he keep his precedence among the bishops in the catholic church, in which he openly sinned and caused scandal to many?'

On the other side are the subscriptions of the bishops assembled.]

(Roll v. no. 52, *appended to the preceding.*) In the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. In the year 7173, Dec. 23 (22? A.D. 1664), we the bishops Paul &c. (as above) assembled in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate. And the Holy Ghost and we judge that it is possible for the great hossoudar the tsar &c., for thy most luminous imperial majesty, without any scruple, and without suspicion of sin, to take a blessing from the metropolitan Jonah, when he has purged himself of the suspicion under which he now is, in the manner prescribed by us. [Then the subscriptions in Russian and in Greek.]

The metropolitan Jonah, as we shall find it stated in another document below, did purge himself on that same day, Dec. 22, with all the solemnities prescribed, and gave also a written declaration in the cathedral.

Circular letter of the tsar to the absent bishops.

(Roll x. no. 27.) The same day, Dec. 23, the tsar &c. having consulted with the bishops, and having conferred with the boyars, ordered that letters from his the tsar's majesty about the coming of the patriarch Nicon, and about the circumstance that Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff had received his blessing, should be sent to Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod and Veliki Louki, and to the other bishops who were not at the time in Moscow; and that the bishops Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and his *colleagues* who were in Moscow, should send to them from themselves other letters of their own; and that the letters *of the tsar* and those of the bishops should be sent by the metropolitan Paul *from the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate.* And the letters of the tsar so sent were as follows:

From the tsar &c. to our beadsman N. &c. In this year 7173, Dec. 18, at the time of the vigil service, there came up into the church of the venerable martyr Eudocia to us the tsar Jonah the metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, and Job the kliuchar of the cathedral, and announced to us that there had suddenly

come to the cathedral to the north doors the late patriarch Nicon, with many of his monks, and with a crowd of lay people; and those lay people were in official dress; and that he had gone into the patriarchal place, and had taken the staff of the great pontiff and wonderworker the metropolitan Peter, which had been set at the patriarchal place at the time of the departure of him Nicon from the patriarchal chair. And he the late patriarch, having taken the staff, crossed himself before the holy icons, and at the tunic of the Lord, and at the relics of Peter, and Jonah, and Philip the wonderworkers: and the monks who had come with him sang in the midst of the cathedral Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, δέσποτα, and Ἄξιον ἐστὶν· κ.τ.λ. And the late patriarch Nicon, having crossed himself, came back to the patriarchal place, and bade the poddiak cease reading the psalter, and bade the deacon of the cathedral say the ἐκτενὴς. And after the ἐκτενὴς, he the late patriarch Nicon said the prayer of bending heads, Κύριε πολυελεῆς, κ.τ.λ., and sent him the metropolitan and the kliuchar to us the great hossoudar to advertise us of his having come. And he the metropolitan Jonah *would have blessed us the* great hossoudar: *but we asked him* the metropolitan Jonah *whether he* the metropolitan *had been to be blessed by the late patriarch Nicon.*[31] And he said that the patriarch Nicon gave order to call him to him for a blessing; and he the metropolitan and the protopope of the cathedral, with the brethren, had been to the patriarch Nicon for his blessing.

And we the great hossoudar said to him the metropolitan, that he the metropolitan had been appointed guardian of the catholic and apostolic church, and knew the synodal declaration put out *by all of you*, that the patriarch Nicon had of his own will left the patriarchal chair and had bound himself never to return to it; and about that his voluntary departure, according to the declaration of all of you of the sacred synod, *we* the great hossoudar *have written* to the œcumenical patriarchs; and *until the judgment of the œcumenical patriarchs*, and until the meeting

[31] It would have been natural to bless the tsar first, and speak to him afterwards. Or did the tsar take a blessing from him at first, before hearing his message, and refuse to take one afterwards, when he was to return? The tsar had already all that he desired and all that he deserved in the 'hearty blessing' of Paisius Ligarides: if he had taken a blessing now from the metropolitan Jonah, he would have been taking it indirectly from Nicon himself. His scrupulosity was quite reasonable.

of a greater synod ye were not to hold any communication with him. And to that synodal declaration there is attached also the signature of him the metropolitan Jonah. And the metropolitan Jonah said to us the great hossoudar, that he had done what he did without reflection, being struck with fear at the sudden coming of him Nicon.

And on account of his neglect of the declaration of all the synod, and on account of *his negligent guardianship* of the catholic apostolic church, *we* the great hossoudar *would not receive a blessing from him the metropolitan Jonah* until we should have the *advice* of you our beadsman. And we gave command to call together to the palace the sacred synod of the clergy, and our boyars and okolniks; and having consulted with the sacred synod of the bishops,[32] and having conferred with our boyars, we sent to the cathedral from the sacred synod the most reverend Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and Joachim archimandrite of the Choudoff, and from ourselves the great hossoudar our boyar the prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, and the prince Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, and our secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, to Nicon the late patriarch, and bade them say to him that he the patriarch, after leaving of his own will the patriarchal chair, now seeks to seize it again, and has come to the catholic and apostolic church and to the patriarchal place *without waiting for* the judgment of the œcumenical patriarchs;[33] and coming from Voskresensk to Moscow to the cathedral *by night*,[34] at his entry into Moscow at the gates of the city gave orders *to say to the streltsi* on guard that they were the authorities of the monastery of the ven. Sabba[35] the wonderworker of Storoji, instead of giving his own name as patriarch (and this which he the patriarch did was an unbecoming action, that he should tell a *lie* by giving a false name *one knows not why*[36]).

And Nicon the late patriarch said that he had left the patriarchal chair without being expelled by any one, and he had now

[32] With three bishops, two of them foreigners, a Greek and a Servian, and one Russian made bishop by them and by the tsar himself.

[33] As if he had any official knowledge, or owed any respect to the intrigues of the tsar's prikaz *of secret service*.

[34] O the thief! [35] O the liar!

[36] O innocence! Ziuzin knew, and *fancied* that the *tsar* knew, *why* it was necessary to give Nicon such instructions; and the examination of the streltsi implies that it was not a matter of course that Nicon should have found no difficulty at the gates.

come again to the patriarchal chair without being called by any one: but that which was imputed to him, he the patriarch had not said; nor had he renounced so that he could never again resume his patriarchal chair. And he the patriarch gave to the metropolitan Paul and to our boyars a letter to take to us the great hossoudar. And by our order they received it. And we the great hossoudar, together with the bishops and with our boyars, heard that letter read.

And therein there was written an account of a vision of his which he the patriarch saw, as if in the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow; a vision of the deceased pontiffs of former time, subscribing with their hands for his return to the patriarchal chair. And [there was with it] another letter, [asking permission] that he the patriarch might see our imperial eyes.

And we the great hossoudar, having consulted &c., gave order to say to him the patriarch Nicon, that *until the judgment of the œcumenical patriarchs*[37] he should go to the monastery of Voskresensk; and that for us the great hossoudar to see him the patriarch Nicon before the judgment of the œcumenical patriarchs, and until the assembly of a greater synod, is impossible.

And he the late patriarch, after the vigil service, went out from the cathedral, and went away from Moscow to Voskresensk; and he took away the staff of St. Peter the wonderworker with him. And when he went out from the cathedral, and [again when he went out] from the gates of the city, he shook off the dust from his feet: he both did this himself, and he told all those who were with him to do the like.

And we the great hossoudar gave orders to escort him the patriarch from Moscow beyond the Zemlianni-gorod to our okolnik prince Dmitri Alex. Dolgorouky and to the head (golova) of the Moscow streltsi.

And the patriarch Nicon said to our okolnik and to the head of the streltsi, that he had come to Moscow in consequence of a communication, and not of himself.

And we &c., having consulted &c., sent after him from the synod Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and Joachim the archimandrite, and from ourselves &c. the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, and the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivan-

[37] *i.e.* he should be prejudged and deposed *by us*, till we cause him to be judged and deposed by them.

off, and bade them speak to the patriarch Nicon, that he should give up the staff of Peter the wonderworker, or send it by some one of his own people, whomsoever he pleased; adding also, that he should explain in consequence of what communication he had come to Moscow, and who had written to him about that, or sent him any message.

And after many discussions the patriarch Nicon explained that he had come to Moscow and to the cathedral not of himself, but he had been written to about that to Voskresensk from Moscow by a certain man Nikita Ziuzin, as if he Nikita Ziuzin had been commanded by our imperial oukaz to write of that; and he sent to us the great hossoudar the staff of Peter the wonderworker, and the letter of Nikita Ziuzin in his own hand, together with copies of two other letters of the same man, copied in his the patriarch's own hand, by Gerasimus the archimandrite of Voskresensk; and he bade him go to us the great hossoudar with that staff and the letters, together with the metropolitan and our okolnik. And we the great hossoudar *received* the staff of Peter the wonderworker, and sent it to the catholic and apostolic church by the same metropolitan Paul, and ordered *that it should be accompanied by our boyars and okolniks;* and we bade the metropolitan set the staff in the catholic apostolic church in the patriarchal place, as before; and we heard the letters read before the sacred synod and in the presence of our boyars.

And in those letters it was written in the name of our majesty, as if we the great hossoudar had ordered him Nikita Ziuzin to write to the late patriarch Nicon about his coming to Moscow. And after hearing those letters read, at that same time we interrogated him Nikita Ziuzin, and the letters were shown to him. And he Nikita Ziuzin, looking on the letters, said that one was in his own hand, and another a copy in the hand of the patriarch from a letter of his own. And he, having heard the letters read in our presence, owned himself guilty towards us the great hossoudar for having written forgeries to the late patriarch Nicon of his coming to Moscow, as if from our imperial person, having devised it all of himself. And he said he had sent one letter by the priest Sisoi, and two others by the subdeacon Nikita.

And the priest Sisoi and the subdeacon Nikita being examined, said that they had gone from Nikita Ziuzin with those

letters to the patriarch. And the subdeacon Nikita said also that Nikita Ziuzin read to him those letters; and that inasmuch as he had not informed the great hossoudar about those letters, he was guilty towards the great hossoudar.

And about all these things the sacred synod has written to thee our beadsman. And as soon as this our letter &c. comes to thee, do thou our beadsman write to us the great hossoudar and to all the sacred synod without concealment thy opinion, whether the metropolitan Jonah should still be guardian of the catholic apostolic church? and whether we the great hossoudar should go to him for his blessing? Written at Moscow in the year 7173, Dec. —.

Such a letter from the great hossoudar was delivered to Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz[38] Dec. 25.

(Roll x. no. 34.) *Answer of Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod to the letter of the sacred synod (similar to that of the tsar which has just been given), sent Jan.* 18, A.M. 7173 (A.D. 1665).

To the tsar's beadsman and to [his colleagues] our brethren in the Holy Ghost, the great hospodin the most reverend Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, Paisius of *Gaza*, Cosmas of *Amasia*, Macarius of *Graven*, Theodosius of *Servia*, Nectarius of *Botaniata and Macedonia*,[39] we, the brother in the same Holy Ghost of your pontificate, Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod, wishing joy.

In this year 7173, Jan. 6, *ye* wrote to me (here he recites *their relation*, taken word for word from the *tsar's* letter printed above, concerning the coming of the patriarch Nicon to Moscow), and that I was to answer you speedily, whether the metropolitan Jonah is not guilty of some *canonical* crime for this, that he took a blessing from the late patriarch Nicon in the cathedral at the patriarchal place, without having announced to the tsar, or consulted with *you* his brethren then in Moscow, forgetting the subscription of his hand to the synodal act, and that the œcumenical patriarchs *had been written to*;[40] and whether he Jonah is to continue to be still guardian of the catholic apostolic church?

[38] Seemingly to serve also as a model for the letters to be written as from the sacred synod.

[39] So this 'synod' of the tsar consists of one Russian bishop of his own making, and five Greek or other foreign bishops, living upon his alms at Moscow.

[40] 'Had been *written to*'—What then?

Of the departure of Nicon.

The late patriarch Nicon came to Moscow and went into the cathedral *like a thief*, and stood in the patriarchal place, *not fearing the terrible judgment of God*, forgetting his vow when he left his primatial throne with a strong *curse*, humbling himself in his instruction to the people after the prayer behind the ambon, and judging himself to be unworthy of the primacy; when he vowed not to feed but to be fed, and called himself a scabby sheep, and not a shepherd; and said that he desired not high honour, but wished to humble himself from his heart; and refused to call himself or to be called any more patriarch of Moscow, saying that this was for his unworthiness; and disregarded the tsar's entreaty, made through the boyar prince Troubetskoy, as likewise he disregarded the entreaty of us his majesty's beadsmen; and bound himself tightly by the bond of an anathema, that he would not even think of being again primate; and put off from himself the episcopal vestments, and put away the panagia, and put the pastoral staff in its place, and went out from the cathedral without finishing the service.

And the tsar's beadsman Jonah, the guardian of the great and apostolic church, knowing about that departure of the late patriarch Nicon, did not forbid him to come into the church, according to canon lxii. 18 of the Apostles: 'An *apostate from Christ* is both called, and really is, *rejected*. One who has lost (has rejected himself from) the name of a clerk, and is reconverted, is to be received as a common layman.' The gloss: 'If any clerk, from fear of men, Jews, pagans, or heretics, denies the name of Christ, he is to be rejected utterly from the Church. But if he reject not merely the name of Christ, but that of a clerk, being really a clerk, that is, *if* through fear *he shall say, I am not a bishop;* I was a bishop, but I do not wish to be one any longer;' and in like manner of a priest, or deacon, or any other clerk, if any one denies his name, '*let him be rejected from his rank;* and if he repents, *let him be received as a layman.*' And according to this canon, O most reverend metropolitan and bishops, my beloved brethren, or rather by the synodal deprivation of him under your episcopal and other hieromonastic hands, and by his own renunciation with an oath, one must ask, How can he have the episcopal honour? or whence can he again have power to do any

episcopal act? Could not Jonah &c. remember also canon xxviii. of the Apostles: 'If any bishop, being justly deposed for sin, dares openly to affect any service formerly committed to him, such an one is, as a rotten member, to be cut off altogether from the Church. But he who has thus condemned the sin of any one has also thereby condemned his touching again the divine ministry as an open lawlessness' (Book of Matthew Blastar, tit. v. Epist. to Domnus, ch. xxv. fol. 110). Of renunciation also in like manner St. Cyril judges that 'it is not consistent with the constitutions of the Church for officiating bishops or priests to renounce their own churches: For if they are worthy (he says), they ought not to renounce; but if they are unworthy, they ought not to be allowed to go out by renouncing, but should be put out as men judicially condemned for their crimes. But if it occur that any bishop renounces, and leaves the flock committed to him, it is not right that he should retain the power of officiating.' But if, my beloved brethren, it is not right that he should retain the right of officiating, being known to have renounced, what of him who has unlawfully rejected it, or has publicly renounced with a curse the patriarchal chair, and bound himself fast by the bond of an anathema, with a wicked inconsiderateness has driven himself out, and in an irregular way bound himself? who is there that can now loose him? But he, as if this were not enough, begins again audaciously and uncanonically to perform sacred acts. Doubly, then, he has drawn upon himself canonical condemnation. For this alone, that without having against himself any canonical judgment, he disturbs the flock of Christ, the faithful people, and causes no small dissension in the Church, he is cut off absolutely from the episcopal honour and function.

And according to these canons, my beloved brethren, the metropolitan Jonah, the guardian of the great holy apostolic church, is not without blame, not only because he did not forbid entrance into the church, according to the canons of the Apostles, to Nicon the late patriarch, who had renounced the chair, &c. &c.; but also for this, that without waiting for the judgment of the holy œcumenical patriarchs, he communicated with him the late patriarch Nicon: and for that great negligence he the metropolitan Jonah ought not to be any more guardian of the great catholic apostolic church.

(Roll x. no. 35.) *Copy from the answer of Simon archbishop of Vologda to the same circular.*

To *our brethren &c.* Simon &c. May our Lord Jesus Christ give you peace and good counsel, and may he remember his covenant with our holy fathers, and give you wisdom to understand and to do his will! And for that *ye* have written to me of the coming of the late patriarch Nicon to Moscow, and his going to the patriarchal place and blessing Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff and those who were with him &c., and that ye ask me whether the metropolitan Jonah is not guilty of some canonical crime because he took a blessing in the cathedral from the late patriarch Nicon; and whether he should be any longer guardian of the holy apostolic church: I *alone*, according to canon xiii. of the synod of Carthage, *am incompetent to make him guilty, and I do not see how I can judge him.* Other things in the writing (sent to me by you), wishing to be brief, I do not find (necessary to be noticed). About this as the Holy Ghost shall give you understanding, so do. Farewell.[41]

The original was sent Jan. 20, A.M. 7173, and the letter has the seal of the bishop attached to it in red wax. Copy taken March 14; the original sent to the metrop. Paul, March 20. Indorsed by the secretary of the council 'Almiaz Ivanoff.'

Synodal resolution passed after the receipt of answers from the absent bishops.

(Roll v. no. 50.) In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. In the year 7173, Jan. 27th, we the bishops Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, Paisius of Gaza, Cosmas of Amasia, Macarius of Graven, and Theodosius of Servia, have met in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchal residence, that, after taking cognisance of the letters of our brethren the bishops who were absent in their own dioceses, written for unanimous counsel with us in the present affair, we may again consider and judge, and pronounce just judgment respecting the transgression of our brother Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, who at the time of the *uncanonical* and disorderly

[41] On the reverse of this roll there are a number of names: viz. 'Almiaz Ivanoff,' several times; 'Nicetas Nikitin;' 'the priest Alexander;' 'Ordin Nashchokin,' twice; 'to our beadsman Philaret archbishop of Smolensk,' &c.; 'Almiaz Ivanoff;' 'verified by Jakushko Pozdisheff.'

coming to the cathedral of the late patriarch Nicon became to many a stone of stumbling, a pattern of slipping, and a cause of scandal, when, being the first person at that time and guardian of the patriarchal chair and vicar, he before all went to be blessed by Nicon, as if rejoicing and welcoming him on his arrival, and as if giving up to him the chair, and confessing that his coming to the cathedral was rightful and canonical; forgetting the subscription of his own former synodical counsel in accord with all the bishops, who had settled concerning this matter, that they would neither call back nor receive to the patriarchal chair the ex-patriarch Nicon.

And after long and careful consideration of this, it has seemed good *to the Holy Ghost and to us*, by His divine inspiration of consent, that the most reverend Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, after the admission by us of his compurgation of himself as innocent of any bad intention, made in writing Dec. 22d and 23d of this present year 7173, be altogether removed from the vicariate of the patriarchal chair, and be deprived of the customary and proper precedence among bishops belonging to the chair of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, until farther consideration and order of all the sacred synod.

Of the lawfulness of receiving again a blessing, if it should ever please the emperor's most illustrious majesty to receive one, from the most reverend metropolitan Jonah, there is no room for doubt. For from one who is unrestrictedly in the exercise of his episcopate a blessing may unrestrictedly be taken. And for us ourselves, who have pronounced this judgment, it is fit and desirable that at the time of his departure to his diocese we should mutually give and take a fraternal blessing and salutation; since, as we are mortal, it is uncertain whether the Lord may please that we shall ever again have the opportunity of giving one another a mutual salutation.

And thus having finished the present affair by a divinely-directed judgment, we confirm this our consent by this present writing, and attest it by the subscription of our hands.

Autograph subscriptions of the bishops present in the synod, in *Greek*, with that of the metropolitan Paul in *Greek* and in Russian.

[Appended to this synodal resolution of Jan. 27th, A.D. 1665, numbered by us as above no. 50 of roll V., there follows in the

same roll that earlier resolution of Dec. 22d preceding, which we have detached and printed already at p. 562.]

Circular letter from the tsar to the absent bishops, informing them what had been done after the receipt of their answers to his question respecting the metropolitan Jonah.

(Roll x. no. 28.) From the tsar &c. to our beadsman Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod and Veliki Louki. By our oukaz there wrote to you our beadsman from the sacred synod Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz and the rest, concerning the coming to our capital city of Moscow of the late patriarch Nicon, and of his going into the patriarchal place, and of his giving his blessing to Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff; that you should declare your counsel speedily, whether the metropolitan Jonah, who, without informing us the great hossoudar, and without consulting with his brethren present in Moscow at the time, went up to the late patriarch Nicon for a blessing, should, after having so done, be any longer guardian of the catholic and apostolic church?

And thou our beadsman, and our other beadsmen the metropolitans and archbishops, have written to them their brethren, and have declared their counsel, that the metropolitan Jonah, inasmuch as, *without waiting for the judgment*[42] of the œcumenical patriarchs, *he communicated with* the late patriarch Nicon, that he the metropolitan Jonah, for that his great negligence, *according to the canons of the holy fathers*,[43] should no longer be guardian of the holy catholic apostolic church.

We the great hossoudar, having consulted with the sacred synod, have *made a decree* that he the said metropolitan Jonah shall remain in his metropolitan diocese of Rostoff, and that at Moscow the metropolitan Paul be guardian[44] of the catholic apostolic church in his stead. Written in the year 7163, March 20th. Countersigned by the secretary of the council

[42] But the canons excommunicate and depose any one who, *without waiting for* a synodal judgment, declines to communicate with his superior.

[43] *i.e.* according to the will of the holy tsar, whose will supersedes all canons, and according to the prigovor of the most religious boyars, who *correct* and direct even the holy tsar himself.

[44] Here we have the *tsar*, after *consulting* 'the *sacred synod*,' displacing one vicar from his spiritual supremacy, and appointing another; just as, after *consulting* the *council of the boyars*, he was used to displace and appoint civil functionaries.

Almiaz Ivanoff, and delivered to the strapchi of the metropolitan of Novgorod Timothy Yapolkoff, March 24th. And he was sent with the Novgorod ataman of Kozaks Blasius Athanasieff.

The like to this letter was sent from the great hossoudar to Smolensk to the archbishop Philaret, by the Smolensk reitar Ivan Cherntzoff, April 4th.

To Laurentius metropolitan of Kazan and Sviajsk: The letter for him was taken to Paul metropolitan of Kroutitz, March 22d, to be forwarded from him.

To Simon archbishop of Vologda and Bielozersk: The letter was sent to the metropolitan Paul on the same day.

To Hilarion archbishop of Riazan and Mourom: On the same day.

To Joseph archbishop of Astrachan and Tersk: The letter was delivered to the Kazan dvoretz, and sent thence by the Astrachan sin-boyar Ivan Laurentieff Isaakoff, April 10th.

To Cornelius archbishop of Siberia and Tobolsk: The letter was delivered to the Sibirski prikaz, and sent thence by the Kozak captain of fifty Mishka Doulonek, April 29th.

To Alexander bishop of Viatka and Veliko-Perm: The letter was sent through the metropolitan Paul, March 22d.

All these letters were sent out indorsed with the countersign of the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff.

Acknowledgment of the above from Joseph archbishop of Astrachan.

(Roll v. no. 56.) To the great hossoudar &c., thy beadsman Joseph archbishop of Astrachan, praying God for you, makes his petition:

In this year 7173, May 17th (A.D. 1665), thy imperial letter &c. was sent to me &c. with the signature of the secretary *of the council* Almiaz Ivanoff. And in thy letter it was written, that, without giving information to thee the great hossoudar, or consulting with his brethren[45] who were at that time in the capital city of Moscow, or waiting for [the coming of] the œcumenical patriarchs, the metropolitan Jonah of Rostoff had *communicated* with the late patriarch Nicon, and had taken his blessing: and it was asked: Ought he any longer to be guardian of the catholic apostolic church? And by thy imperial oukaz, and by the coun-

[45] *i.e.* with the *foreigners Paisius Ligarides* and others, and the Russian Paul, consecrated bishop by them.

sel of the sacred synod, for that great negligence, *according to the canons of the holy fathers* he Jonah was for the future *not* to be guardian, &c. And by thy imperial oukaz thou hadst commanded that he the metropolitan Jonah should remain in his metropolitan see of Rostoff, and that at Moscow the guardian of the catholic apostolic church should be Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk.

And I Joseph &c., according to the canons of the holy fathers [which require of *us*] *to make one counsel*,[46] agree, without any manner of difference, that it be so as has pleased *God, and thy majesty*, and *the sacred synod*;[47] namely, that the metropolitan Jonah is to remain in his metropolitan see of Rostoff, and that at Moscow the guardian of the catholic apostolic church is to be Paul the metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk.[48]

Act of a synod held under the tsar in the spring of A.D. 1666, *taking off the censures to which the metropolitan Jonah, and others of the clergy of the cathedral who had followed him in taking Nicon's blessing, had been subjected for a year and more preceding.*

[46] With the secular ruler and his court.

[47] *i.e.* thy foreigners above mentioned.

[48] On the other side of this roll there is written: 'To this deposition the hierodiacon Joseph has set his hand: The hierodiacon Barlaam &c.: The humble Paul: Ὁ ταπεινὸς Γάζας: The humble Theodosius metropolitan (in Russ). Ὁ ταπεινὸς. . . . Ὁ ταπεινὸς . . . . by the mercy of God (in Russ), ἐλέει θεοῦ, metropolitan, μητροπολίτης. The humble Paul, ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης. . . . . By the mercy of God the humble Theodosius metropolitan: Ὁ ταπεινὸς μητροπολίτης . . . metropolitan: Greek subscription, Paul: The humble Theodosius': A Greek subscription. A Greek subscription. And note that the *Greek* is written by a Russian hand or hands, in imitation, and partly such imitation as to be beyond all guessing, and the whole seemingly written in mockery, as above on another roll (see p. 281). And after all this:

'The humble Pitirim &c. metr. of Great Novgorod and Veliki Louki: Laurentius metrop. of Kazan and Svinjsk: Philaret: Paul metrop. of Sarai and Podonsk. A Greek subscription: I Theodosius metropolitan have subscribed with my own hand. A Greek subscription: Simon archbishop of Vologda and Bielozersk: [Philaret] archbishop of Smolensk and Dorogoboujsk: Hilarion archbishop of Riazan and Mourom: Jonasph archbishop of Tver and Kashina: Arsenius archbishop of Pskoff and Izborsk: Pitirim metropolitan of Great Novgorod and Veliki Louki;' and so on, all over again, only omitting after Laurentius the isolated name 'Philaret;' and making both Laurentius and Paul to be metr. of *Kazan;* after the Greek subscription putting Acacius instead of Theodosius before Simon; and finishing with an inscription, 'To the great hossoudar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, 7173, July 22' (A.D. 1665).

(Roll v. no. 53.) In the present year 7174, Feb. 10th,[49] (A.D. 1666), we, the metropolitans Pitirim of Novgorod and Veliki Louki, Laurentius of Kazan and Sviajsk, Paul of Sarai and Podonsk, Theodosius of Servia, and the most reverend archbishops Simon of Vologda and Bielozersk, Philaret of Smolensk and Dorogoboujsk, Hilarion of Riazan and Mourom, Joasaph of Tver and Kashina, Arsenius of Pskoff and Izborsk, assembled in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, to give judgment about the business previously made known to us of our brother the most reverend metropolitan Jonah &c., in that he on the sudden coming of the late patriarch Nicon, took from him the said patriarch a blessing, contravening the decree of the synod which had been previously held about that, and the subscription of his own hand.

We decided to call him before us, and to ask him: 'From what motive didst thou that? Was it not by thy counsel that the late patriarch Nicon came to the cathedral, and stood in the patriarchal place, when thou the metropolitan Jonah, without waiting, didst go up, and take a blessing from him the late patriarch Nicon?

And the most reverend Jonah &c. before us the metropolitans and archbishops said: 'Nay, nay, nay; I Jonah &c. had no knowledge whatever beforehand of the coming of the patriarch Nicon to the cathedral; and I took a blessing from him from having lost my presence of mind at his the patriarch's sudden coming.' And for that, before the most reverend metropolitans and archbishops, the metropolitan Jonah asked pardon. And by a writing under his hand in the cathedral of the Assumption, of his own will, without any compulsion from us, he testified thus:

'In the name &c. Amen. I the humble Jonah metropolitan &c. call God to witness before his holy altar &c., and before the most reverend the metropolitans and archbishops my brethren in the Holy Ghost, that I had no consent or understanding with the late patriarch Nicon about his coming to his chair; that it was only from being frightened and confused at his sudden coming, and without any set purpose, that I took from him a bless-

[49] In my MS. copy 'Feb. 1.' Feb. 10 in A.D. 1666 was Saturday before the Sunday of the Prodigal.

ing; and that at that time I did not think of my subscription to the synodal act for not receiving him back to the patriarchal chair. Nay, nay, nay; I lie not herein. And if the lips of the priest lie not, according to the prophet Malachi, how shall the lips of a bishop lie? Thus I confess, and subscribe with my hand. The humble Jonah,' &c.

(Roll v. no. 54.) And we, the most reverend metropolitans and archbishops, by the grace given us from the most holy and life-giving Spirit, having heard read the acts of the synod previously held on this matter by the bishops who were at the time in Moscow, and the interrogatories, and the confession of the metropolitan Jonah himself, attested by his hand, have judged that he Jonah be no longer guardian of the catholic and apostolic church (that is, of the cathedral of the primacy); but that he be freed from that sudden fault into which he was surprised, and may communicate and concelebrate with us without let even in the catholic and apostolic church (*i.e.* in the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow) in his former rank.

And the protopope of the cathedral Michael, and the kliuchars Job and Theodore, for that they took a blesssing from the late patriarch Nicon when he came to the catholic apostolic church, we have condemned to be suspended from ministering in divine service. I [Pitirim &c.] have subscribed with my own hand [and on the other side of the paper there are the subscriptions of all the bishops].

The protopope and the kliuchars are freed from their suspension.

(Roll v. no. 55.) And on Feb. 22 the protopope and the kliuchars petitioned us, the most reverend metropolitans and archbishops, for the removal of their suspension.

And we, the most reverend metropolitans and archbishops, *for the great and solemn festivity of the birthday of the religious lady the tsarevna Eudocia*[50] *Alexievna*, by the grace given to us of the most holy and life-giving Spirit, absolved them, the protopope of the cathedral Michael and the kliuchars Job and Theodore, from their suspension, and gave them permission to minister freely as before in the catholic apostolic church (*i.e.*

[50] Born in A.D. 1650, Feb. 18, which in A.D. 1666 was Sunday of the Carnival (Sexagesima); her *name's-day* was March 1, which would fall on Thursday in the first week of Lent, and so may have been anticipated and kept on Thursday Feb. 22. In A.D. 1655 it was kept on Sunday Feb. 20.

in the cathedral). We have subscribed with our hands: [then follow the subscriptions of the metropolitan Pitirim and the rest, in the same order as above].

Of the spreading and deepening of the second scab of the spiritual Leprosy.

§ xiii. 'There was,' so Paisius Ligarides writes in his *History*, 'a certain Greek hierodiacon, named Agathangelus, under sentence of banishment, for whom the metropolitan of Gaza had petitioned the emperor, and had obtained that he should be set at liberty, though the emperor remarked to him at the same time: "Thou wilt repent of it before long, when thou findest out what a rogue the man is." So he returned, and became *interpreter* and major domo to Paisius in the new house which the emperor had built for him, and had helped him to furnish handsomely. And he brought with him from the Solovetsky monastery, the place of his former banishment, two other men whom he recommended to the metropolitan of Gaza to be his servants. These two men one night, when they had managed to lay hold of the keys, stole *the gold pieces* which the emperor, *for his services*, was allowing and causing to be paid to him, and delivered them to Agathangelus, as money of their own, to hold in trust for them. And not content with this, they took also a beautiful casket containing a very large sum of money, pearls, and other things of great value, which I had managed to save for myself, and got clean away with it; causing no small loss to the metropolitan of Gaza, yea, and *unspeakable distress*. Officers of the tsar were sent to trace those thieves, with Agathangelus himself for their guide; and they were discovered in the great monastery of Troitsa, whither they had gone, and where they were intending, so soon as they should have supped, to pass the night. They, however, found an opportunity to offer Agathangelus a large sum to buy themselves off; and he, having taken from them all that they had on them, silver, gold, and pearls, brought them back to Moscow; and pretending to have put them in safe ward, by night, having waited till the metropolitan had left his house to go to *the vigil service of St. Peter*[51] (Dec. 21, A.D. 1664), he let them

[51] Only three days after Paisius had been sent as commissioner with others from the tsar, the clergy, and the council, to order Nicon to go back to Voskresensk.

go. The tsar having been informed of all this, Agathangelus was immediately cast into *the prison of the patriarchal palace*, through Paul, the *vicar of the patriarchate*. And he lay there in prison some few days. And he begged hard to be allowed to go again in pursuit of the thieves, finding twelve men to remain sureties for him. Whereupon being suffered to go, and supplied with all necessaries,[52] he went not after the thieves, but straight to Voskresensk, to Nicon; and there he belched out a thousand *calumnies* against the metropolitan of Gaza, both in writing and by word of mouth. And Nicon, *whose ears were wide open*, made use of this Agathangelus as a convenient tool; and furnishing him with letters and money, sent him diligently to Constantinople, with the intention of counteracting there both the hierodiacon Meletius (or his colleague Stephen, another Greek, equally the friend and agent of Ligarides) and the metropolitan of Gaza. But he was recognised and arrested at Kieff, and brought back in irons to Moscow, as a deserter and traitor' (vol. iii. p. 92-94).

Nothing certainly could be more natural or reasonable for Nicon to do than to send a man who till recently had been in close intimacy with Ligarides, living in the same house with him, and directing his household, till they quarrelled, to make the same depositions which he had made at Voskresensk before the patriarch of Constantinople; especially if Nicon was aware—he probably was not—that Ligarides at that very time was seeking through the Greek Stephen, the tsar's agent and his at Constantinople, to obtain—and he did actually obtain, only they were forged—letters in the name of the œcumenical patriarch, appointing 'the *holy* and intelligent metropolitan of Gaza to be his vicar or exarch, defender and interpreter of the two patriarchal tomes (*i.e.* the Answers previously sent to Moscow), yea and the most confidential mouthpiece of all the synod; and to direct the trial of Nicon, in conjunction with the sacred synod of the local bishops, *presiding* in it as representing the person of the patriarch of Constantinople for that particular affair only, to its final settlement' (vol. iii. p. 89, 235, 370). But there is no reason to believe that Nicon gave any charge, or mission, or letters to Agathangelus on his own behalf. The only letter of that kind which

[52] Paisius seemingly was outwitted by his former friend, being blinded by anguish at the loss of his gains, and by a desperate hope of recovering at least a part of them.

he really did write was written and sent by a trusty messenger and relative of his own nearly a year later. But he was willing to help Agathangelus to make his escape if he could out of Russia, and he gave him a letter, perhaps, to the patriarch of Constantinople, to whom he had originally belonged, informing the patriarch how he had come to him after quarrelling with Paisius Ligarides, and had made statements respecting Ligarides corroborating, and even going beyond, those bad reports which had been previously current. Among other things, Nicon, as he says himself (vol. iii. p. 422), heard from Agathangelus that Ligarides had been excommunicated and anathematised (in A.D. 1660) by the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius: and this, no doubt, he would mention in any letter which he gave to Agathangelus to take to Constantinople.

Meanwhile, Paisius having suggested (see *Replies*, &c. p. 16; and vol. iii. p. 94, 491) that the order made by the tsar some years before, on Nicon's suggestion, for executing habitual murderers and robbers taken in the act, without first confessing and communicating them, was based on an erroneous doctrine, for which Nicon would incur by the canons censure and deposition, they sought occasion against the patriarch, how they might entrap him on this point. So 'on the 25th Feb. A.D. 1665, Kyr Joachim (by oukaz of the tsar, and by the blessing of Paisius Ligarides archimandrite of the Choudoff) was sent, together with the most confidential archon Dementius (one of the secretaries of the council), to Nicon, who was then in his hermit pillar, where he used to pass the time of Lent in retirement. They were charged to say: "*Most blessed* hospodin, *all the bishops* who are now in Moscow, to wit, Paul metropolitan of Kroutitz, Paisius of Gaza, Cosmas of Amasia, and Macarius of Greven,[53] have repeatedly and earnestly petitioned our most serene autocrat &c. no longer to forbid habitual murderers and robbers taken in the act to be confessed and communicated, but to order that only after being confessed and communicated they be led away to execution. . . . On this account we are now come with instructions both to inquire and to take down the judgment of *thy beatitude*; because when *thy all-holiness* was aforetime patriarch in Moscow, you laid it down, and persuaded the emperor, by words spoken only in conversation, that such pests as murderers and robbers, *making*

[53] Three foreigners, and one Russian consecrated for the tsar by a foreigner.

a profession of these crimes, *when taken in the act* should be put to death mercilessly. And now robberies have become frequent beyond all former precedent, so as to make it necessary to use all means *not improper* of correction. And the emperor wishes to have such a *written composition* as *thy wisdom and learning* may be able to supply, both for the full assurance of his own conscience, and also for a direct answer to the most reverend bishops and others[54] who recommend to him a contrary judgment, and distinctly undertake to refute that judgment of thine." In reply to this, Nicon said: "The desire of the great hossoudar is reasonable: tell him that within a few days by God's help I will satisfy this his demand."

'The commissioners returned to Moscow; and the synod expected *with the greatest eagerness* the composition promised by Nicon. But would God it had never come! For it emptied out upon me *insultingly* all the dregs of idle gossip, enumerating a thousand *calumnies*, which ought not to have been uttered *publicly*, and irreverently revealing them to all' (vol. iii. p. 91-98).

Nicon had warned the tsar before, in July A.D. 1663, when the tsar was *publicly* employing Paisius Ligarides, and had sent him as his own commissioner to Voskresensk. And now, when the tsar had placed all the Russian hierarchy under the blessing or initiative of the same man, and had sent him again as a *public* commissioner to reject for himself and for the Russian Church and empire the blessing of Nicon, and to order him to leave Moscow, Nicon warned the tsar again, and informed him what imputations against the character of Ligarides—still worse than any mentioned in A.D. 1663—had about this time come to his knowledge, and what need there was for investigation. And as the tsar was acting together with the council, it was natural that he should communicate Nicon's letter to the boyars. But Nicon did not address it to them, still less to the public at large. Even if he had done this, Paisius would have had no right to complain, having himself, by the Questions of the boyar Streshneff and his own Answers to them, really *published a libel* against Nicon, the very thing which he here falsely imputes to Nicon, as if done against himself.

'*Before* Agathangelus had been set at liberty' (and so, according to Paisius, before he had told Nicon anything, but this seems

[54] That is, principally, to Paisius Ligarides.

to be inconsistent with what he writes farther on), 'Nicon had *already* sent to Moscow the stories which had been fabricated and put together against me, so that *at the bare reading of them* the emperor *was utterly shocked*. And having called for the metropolitan of Gaza to the court, with certain special individuals of the grandees, he *showed them Nicon's letter*.

'The metropolitan of Gaza in reply said: "If there be only *so much as one* of all these calumnies which shall be *found to be true*, I will consent to be held guilty of *all*," &c.

'The emperor said: "The present is not a convenient time (for it was just at the end of the salutary Lent); but after Easter there shall be a searching investigation."

'After this, on Palm Sunday (in A.D. 1665 this was March 19), when the emperor leads by the bridle the white horse on which sits the bishop[55] in full robes, blessing the people—on the day of that high festival, I say, the *most absolute* sovereign, wishing *to gladden the metropolitan Paisius of Gaza in his tribulation*, presented to him a very handsome mitre (κίδαριν), so *making a display of his favour towards him*.

'Nicon heard of this while yet doubting' (what might be the effect of his information against Ligarides), 'and his heart was cut asunder. And he gnashed his teeth still more when he learned besides, that in the ceremony of the lavanda on Holy Thursday the metropolitan of Gaza had represented *St. Peter*.[56] Nevertheless he waited and watched what would be the final issue of the matter.

'And after the Sunday of St. Thomas, the metropolitan of Gaza wrote a petition imploring the emperor to *examine the deadly charges against him*. "For though," he said, "I am from the region of Jerusalem,[57] and *ought to be judged* by *my own patriarch Nectarius*, still of my own free will I submit myself to

[55] Now probably Paul, as before Pitirim: only Pitirim personated, however improperly, the patriarch whose vicar-bishop he was; but Paul could personate only that primate with whose blessing and by the imposition of whose hands he had been ordained, that is, Paisius Ligarides.

[56] And not inappropriately, seeing that whatever spiritual authority or initiative now existed in the Russian Church under the tsar was derived from him.

[57] Originally he was from Scio in the 'region' of Constantinople; then from the region of Rome; then again from that of Constantinople; then from that of Jerusalem till A.D. 1660; then from that of—what shall we say?—Poland? or from the region of the Dead Sea?

this synod of the *Russian*[58] bishops. Therefore I desire that the investigation concerning me should take place as speedily as possible, for my perfect clearing."

'Hereupon the emperor ordered that the *heads* should meet at the palace and examine with the most searching accuracy *those two principal and deadly points: first*, whether the metropolitan of Gaza is *orthodox?* and *secondly*, whether he cultivates *magic and astrology?*

'There were introduced in his favour a myriad of witnesses, who said that *his accusers were simply liars;* and that there was *no ground whatever* for their charges.[59]

'While this terrible ordeal was going on, Agathangelus was brought in (to Moscow) fettered; and the next day he was brought before the imperial tribunal. But he brazened it out, and *uttered slanders unblushingly;* or rather, he *set at naught the imperial court*, speaking loud and *fighting* with all. At last it was ordered that he should appear in the patriarchal palace *before the synod*, and duly *defend himself* touching all that had been *falsely* written and said against the metropolitan of Gaza.[60]

'However, this snorting declaimer was proved most clearly to be a slanderer of bishops; and he was sent away in irons to the monastery of the Ascension, where he was kept a long time, till he petitioned for grace, having first publicly declared *in the synod* that all that had been said and written[61] [by himself, that is, and by Nicon] against the metropolitan of Gaza was false. A *complete* acquittal of the metropolitan was pronounced *afterwards*, on a review of the matter, by the *three*[62] patriarchs. But

[58] He should have informed us what Russian bishops, if any, had come to Moscow since *this* 'synod' was last mentioned. *Then* it consisted only of Paisius himself and two other bishops, *foreigners* like himself, and one Russian ordained by them for the tsar.

[59] See, however, vol. i. p. 550, 586; iii. p. 360, 391, 422, 424, 547, and 548.

[60] So that this had now become his chief offence; and having 'fought against the court' on this subject in the council, he is now sent to *the synod* (as it were, to Paisius of Gaza himself), to be by it forced to speak the truth.

[61] What Nicon had written then, and what here Agathangelus himself had written and deposed before Nicon, is here jointly alluded to as the subject-matter of the inquest which was being held concerning Paisius, when Agathangelus was brought to Moscow, though Paisius asserts elsewhere that Nicon's letters to the tsar were written (some days after 26th Feb. certainly) before Agathangelus had come to him.

[62] That is, not till A.D. 1667, by Paisius of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, and Jonaph II. of Moscow, *after* the first two had not only communicated with Ligarides as with a brother of good repute, but had been following his

so soon as the much-desired coming of the two patriarchs was *announced*,[63] all was *economically hushed up*, and allowed to go to sleep, as *there was need to turn to other matters*' (vol. iii. p. 92-101).

What fresh imputation against Ligarides it really was—not certainly that of Latinising, or of casting horoscopes — beyond those made known to him in A.D. 1663, might be guessed from Ligarides' story, noticed above, of his having already in July A.D. 1663 whispered into the ear of Nicon a certain nameless word of obloquy. But there is no need of guessing. Nicon in his letter to the patriarch Dionysius of C.P., written in Dec. A.D. 1665, intercepted and read out as evidence against him in the synod of Dec. A.D. 1666, has mentioned it plainly. In that letter, while repeating the same reports and imputations which he had made known to the tsar in A.D. 1663, Nicon wrote thus:

'The tsar listens to him (to Paisius Ligarides) as to a prophet of God; a man of whom it is said by some *who have known him*, that he is a Roman, and *held* the Roman faith; that he was ordained deacon and priest by the Pope's authority at Rome; and that when he was in Poland,[64] with the king (*i.e.* in A.D. 1660-1662), he celebrated the mass in their kostels after the Roman fashion. And priests and *deacons*, who *have lived with him in Moscow*, say of him that he does nothing becoming the episcopate; that he eats flesh-meat, and drinks, without regard

guidance and instructions in the synod of Dec. A.D. 1662 against Nicon; and Jonsaph II. had been even consecrated by the imposition of the hands of Paisius Ligarides in conjunction with those of the two Eastern patriarchs.

[63] 'Many months before they actually arrived,' writes Ligarides, 'the coming of the patriarchs was *announced* at Moscow. For the patriarch of Antioch was in Georgia [having entered Georgia in A.M. 7173, A.D. 1664-1665: see vol. ii. p. 133], and, learning that the patriarch of Alexandria was waiting for him in the Persian city of Tiflis, he departed out of Mingrelia, which is at the top of the Black Sea, and having opened a communication with Kyr Paisius of Alexandria, suggested that this latter should go on to Samach, a Persian port on the Caspian, he himself joining him there later, when the tsar's vessel should be come thither from Astrachan. So he left Tiflis on the 4th April A.D. 1666, and joined the patriarch of Alexandria at Samach on Easter day, the 15th; and there they waited still a while before the vessel came for them from Astrachan. But it was not till the 2d Nov. in A.D. 1666 that they actually arrived at Moscow' (see vol. iii. p. 101, 111, 119).

[64] After he had been, in A.D. 1660, degraded from his *Greek episcopate and priesthood* and anathematised by the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, to whom, according to his own words in his *History*, he belonged, and by whom alone he could rightly be judged concerning the *calumnies* invented against him.

to times; and eats and drinks first, when he is going to officiate, and then celebrates afterwards; and—that he *commits sodomy*.

'And having written a letter (in the spring of A.D. 1665), detailing *the assertions of such witnesses*,[65] I sent it to the tsar's majesty, and—*it made no difference*. But all those persons (who had so witnessed against Paisius) he banished to different places' (vol. iii. p. 392).

The tsar also himself examined Agathangelus, after Nicon had heard from him that Paisius Ligarides had been excommunicated and anathematised by the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius: and from what Ligarides has written of the impudence shown by Agathangelus under examination, and of the calumnies uttered by him, there can be no doubt that the tsar also heard from his lips the same that Nicon had heard; and probably also he heard *for what crimes* Ligarides had been so excommunicated and anathematised. But still—it *made no difference*. There was still need of his services: so the question about his character was economically hushed up, and his calumniators punished.

Thus the second scab of the spiritual leprosy which had come out in the spring of A.D. 1661, by the translations and ordinations of bishops then made with the blessing and by the initiative of Paisius Ligarides, and by the imposition of his hands, spread and deepened by his second mission as commissioner to Nicon on the 18th Dec. 1664 to reject the offer of Nicon's blessing, and to order him to leave Moscow; and by disregard of Nicon's second warning, sent against him in the spring of A.D. 1665, and by the continued acceptance of his blessing, without any serious investigation, even after it had become known that he was said to have been excommunicated and anathematised by the patriarch Nectarius, and that he was said to be still guilty, while living at Moscow, of—*sodomy*.

[65] So *after* Agathangelus, who is plainly alluded to, had come to him.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROPOSALS MADE IN WRITING BY NICON IN JAN. A.D. 1665, AND LAID IN FEB. A.D. 1666 BEFORE A SYNOD OF ALL THE RUSSIAN BISHOPS CONVOKED BY THE TSAR.

§ i. (Roll VIII.) *Memoir of the patriarch Nicon of the coming to him to the Voskresensky monastery of the archimandrite of the Choudoff Joachim and the secretary of the council Dementius Minich Bashmakoff.*[1]

THE humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch: In the year 7173, A.D. 1665, there came to the Voskresensky monastery of the New Jerusalem the archimandrite of the Choudoff monastery Joachim and the secretary of the council Dementius Bashmakoff, and ordered themselves to be announced to the patriarch Nicon. And the patriarch Nicon gave orders to say to them, that if they were come in the tsar's name they might come into the monastery, to his cells. And they, being come into his cells, said: 'Great hospodin, most holy Nicon patriarch, the great hossoudar the tsar &c. has ordered us to inquire after your health.' And the patriarch Nicon said: 'By God's mercy, as you see, I am alive.' And having done obeisance, he said: 'How is the goodness of God towards him the great hossoudar the tsar?' &c. And they &c. replied: 'When we left Moscow, the great hossoudar the tsar &c., by the blessing of God, was in good health.' And the patriarch Nicon asked them: 'What is the cause for which you are come to our humility?' And they replied: 'The great hossoudar the tsar &c., with all the palace and all the sacred order, have sent us; and the hossoudar the tsar, and all the imperial synclete, and all the spiritual order have ordered us to say: Thanks be to thee for this, that thou

[1] On the old cover of a MS. copy of it, this memoir is headed: 'Sheets written *by order* of the patriarch Nicon, about the coming to him,' &c. &c., 'of the archimandrite of the Choudoff Joachim, who is *now* the most holy patriarch, and the secretary of the council Dem. Min. Bashmakoff, who is now the keeper of the seal (*pechatnik*').

hast cleared thyself by sending to the tsar that mischievous letter, and hast not kept secret the knavery of Nikita Ziuzin and his accomplices, who fluttered thy pontifical soul, and drew thee into thy strange act of going to Moscow, and would fain *have brought the great hossoudar into collision with the sacred synod of the clergy and with all the empire.* And now for the future listen not ever again to such plotters of dissension or forgers; but if there should be any other like plotters of dissension, do thou, O patriarch Nicon, give information of them also in the same way.

'Farther, thou didst send to the great hossoudar from the selo Chernevo, by Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk, and by the okolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff, with his colleagues, a message, thus: If it please him the great hossoudar, why should he send to the œcumenical patriarchs?[2] It is possible without that to arrange the matter, so that I shall be no more patriarch in Moscow, and shall not intermeddle with anything belonging to the patriarchate. And thou wouldst leave it to the will of God, and to the command of the tsar, and to the synod of the clergy to elect and make a patriarch. And about this thou wast ready to send to the great hossoudar a letter under thy hand.'

And I the humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, calling to witness God, the Holy Trinity, and our Blessed Lady &c., and the holy angels, and all the saints, and the holy Church of God, and the holy and sacred things, and heaven and earth —for so of old Moses also, in giving God's law to Israel, called to witness heaven and earth, saying: 'Give ear, O heaven, and I will speak; and let the earth hear the words of my lips,' &c. And the prophet Isaiah, saying: 'Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have begotten sons, even you, and have brought them up, but they have rebelled against me,' &c. So also Jesus the son of Nun, giving his last injunctions before his departure, set great stones before all the assembly of Israel, in witness of the keeping of the commandments of the Lord. And when Jacob was making peace with Laban, they heaped up a great heap of stones, and testified before the heap

[2] Nicon foresaw the mischief and disgrace which might be brought on the Russian Church and empire, and on the whole Eastern Church, and was willing to avoid it, so far as his own person was concerned, by allowing himself to be set aside.

that had been made;—even so I also now testify and declare that [if this my proposal is accepted]—

1. I shall live from this present year 7173, A.D. 1665, Jan. 14th, in the monasteries of my own foundation; that is, either in this of Christ's holy Resurrection of the New Jerusalem, or in that of Our Lady surnamed the Iverskaia, or in that of the Holy Cross, or in any of the other lesser monasteries founded by me and annexed to these, at will.

2. I shall observe, living in these monasteries, as my rule for their government in all things, the commandments of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ; that is, his commandments in the holy gospel, and the constitutions and canons of the holy apostles and of the holy fathers of the seven œcumenical and of the other local councils, and severally the holy books and rules of every holy father which the holy catholic and apostolic Church has received; also the additional imperial sacred laws and constitutions which have been delivered to us, the holy creed as corrected by us from the Greek, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, with the advice and concurrence of the holy œcumenical patriarchs; also the ecclesiastical rules or forms delivered to the Church by the holy fathers, that is, the holy liturgy; or, to say all in one word, the Service-book and the Office-book (the *slujebnik* and the *trebnik*), and the other holy books corrected from the old Greek. And I shall observe the order and rule of the holy Eastern Church of the New Sion; that is, of the church of the Resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ at Jerusalem. And I will maintain love and unity with the holy œcumenical patriarchs in all things without fail.

3. And the great hossoudar the tsar &c. shall regard us graciously as in time past. 4. And when I his majesty's beadsman may have occasion to go to Moscow for any necessity, or for alms, to salute the icon of Our Lady, and to see his majesty's face, to give him peace and our blessing, and to pay my respects to the throne of his glory, he shall be so gracious as not to forbid me. 5. And I, when there in the capital, shall do nothing uncanonically, without order from the great hossoudar, and mutual understanding with our brother his holiness the patriarch of Moscow and all Russia.

6. Also, as touching the great hossoudar's confirmatory letters or charters given to us for the Voskresensky monastery of

the New Jerusalem, and for the Iversky and the Krestnoy monasteries, and other lesser monasteries of our foundation or annexation belonging to them, which, after our departure, *were seized and taken to the great hossoudar to the palace above;* and all other titles, deeds, papers, and books *which were our personal property*, his majesty shall be pleased to *restore* them to me his beadsman, and to his majesty's oratories the Voskresensky, Iversky, and Krestnoy monasteries, and others also founded by us and annexed to them.

7. Also as touching such estates, acquired by purchase or gift, as we had given to the aforesaid monasteries, but which have not hitherto been confirmed in his majesty's prikazes, nor entered and registered in the books, the tsar shall be pleased to confirm the possession of these properties to the aforesaid monasteries, and cause them to be entered and registered in the books in his courts as belonging severally to those monasteries to which we have given them.

8. Also, whereas in years past, when we were in the chair, we, with the knowledge and concurrence of the tsar, made an order to enter in books of transfer and to annex to the monastery of Voskresensk such waste lands belonging to the Church as lay near and around that monastery (the books of transfer for those lands are in the patriarchal prikaz), the tsar shall be pleased to confirm these same waste church-lands also to the monastery of Voskresensk, and to exempt them from the payment of obrok.

9. Also, whereas, when I was in the chair, I had many sacred ornaments made for the cathedral from presents given by the great hossoudar, and from the surplus of my own personal revenues, some of which the hossoudar the tsar was pleased to offer in return for my personal services during the plague, and others the hossoudarina the tsaritsa offered in like manner (and those precious objects were worked up and set on sacred episcopal vestments and on mitres, all of them; and this is known to be so by the great hossoudar himself, and the sacred objects themselves which are in the great sacristy attest the same); and when I left Moscow, I took with me from among those sacred objects one sakkos—that which seemed the worst—and one mitre, and my omophorion; and that set of vestments has now been worn out by use in the church, except the mitre, which, *on hearing*

that the great hossoudar was annoyed about it, I sent back to Moscow; these things being so, the great hossoudar shall be pleased, with the concurrence of the most illustrious synclete and the blessing of the sacred synod, to grant to me his beadsman, from among those sacred vestments of our making, for use in divine service, such articles as he the great hossoudar shall think proper, and one mitre, either that from Constantinople or that given by the hossoudarina the tsaritsa, and one encolpion or panagia to wear in officiating under the great one; also the cross which was lost in the journey during the plague, but which is now in the house-treasury (it is my personal property, and does not belong to the church, as the inventory-books will show): also one ewer and one ampulla, for the washing of the hands in the liturgy.

10. Also, whereas, from the tsar's munificence and from sources of my own, I made and caused an increase to the revenues of the cathedral church of the Assumption of 20,000 rubles a year, as the books will show, during the time that I filled the chair, the tsar and the imperial synclete and all the sacred synod shall be pleased, out of those same revenues, to grant to me his beadsman, as alms for my maintenance, such an allowance of bread and fish and money for necessary use as it shall please God to make them think convenient. 11. For the custom of the holy œcumenical Eastern Church is this, that when a patriarch resigns his chair voluntarily, or on account of any pressure of circumstances, they, by an act of the whole sacred synod, show him consideration, and give him for his maintenance one of the first metropolitan sees, with all its revenues. Likewise the canons of the holy fathers direct that 'if any bishop had a wife in the world [who has retired into a convent], or poor relations, he is not forbidden to supply in moderation their needs.' Much more, then, surely have we ourselves, who have laboured much for the advantage, in all ways, of the cathedral, a claim to a maintenance. And the Apostle says: 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.' And again: 'They that minister in holy things are to eat of what belongs to the sanctuary; and they that stand before the altar are to be partakers with the altar.' Farther, I am told that 12. When we were in possession of our chair, out of gratitude for the great affection and grace shown to us by the tsar, we

made an offering of an annual present to him from the produce of our fisheries of 2000 choice sturgeons from the Volga, and sometimes of double the number; and the great hossoudar keeps and receives this our appointment and blessing to the present day (and in *this* there is not either any *sin*): so now he may, if he pleases, make us a return in kind.

13. Also, he whom the grace of God shall choose to the primacy shall not attempt to exercise jurisdiction, either personally or by delegation, over our monasteries, which by the help of God, and by that of the tsar's munificence, we have founded; nor over their estates; nor in any manner of suits or causes; nor over the parish churches or the clergy; nor in any spiritual matters whatsoever of the peasants belonging to them. 14. In like manner, neither shall any metropolitan or archbishop or bishop exercise any jurisdiction whatever over any of the monasteries of our foundation which may be situate within his diocese, or over any lesser monasteries their dependencies, or over any estates belonging to such monasteries, or over any parish churches situate upon such estates; nor interfere, or take cognisance, or delegate any other to act for him, in respect of any matters of the peasants belonging to the same. 15. And in case there be need to consecrate or ordain for those monasteries archimandrites and hegoumens, priests and deacons, according to the grace of the Holy Ghost, it shall be done by me, either personally, so long as I may live and be able to do it, or, according to the custom of spiritual benevolence, by such metropolitan, archbishop, or bishop as I may think proper, and may by our letters request to do it for me.

16. After our departure from this temporal life, his majesty the tsar, with the concurrence of the honourable synclete, and the blessing of the sacred synod of the clergy, shall be pleased to order the aforesaid great monasteries of New Jerusalem—that is, of the holy Resurrection of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of Our Lady surnamed the Iverskaia, and of the Holy Cross, and the other lesser monasteries annexed to them—to be entered and registered in the books as belonging to the capital city of Moscow, to the *diocese*, but not to the patriarchal *house* of our brother and fellow-minister the most holy patriarch of the time being; inasmuch as those monasteries have been founded on wastes by our blessing, and with the surplus of our

revenues from the capital city of Moscow, and by understanding with his majesty the tsar Alexis Mich., but not by the blessing of any [diocesan metropolitans, archbishops, or bishops]; and so it is not equitable to make the same over to them, as the canons of the holy fathers also indicate.

17. Also, according to the amount of property [held by those monasteries], and the degree of their reputation, and the numbers of their communities, the tsar shall be pleased to give them a suitable rank in the public registers. And when there shall be synods held in Moscow by oukaz of the tsar, *and by the blessing of his holiness the patriarch* of Moscow and all Russia, and of all the sacred body of the clergy, the archimandrites of those holy monasteries shall be summoned with the rest, and shall be allowed to celebrate the holy liturgy wherever our brother and fellow-minister his holiness the patriarch shall permit. But without his blessing, in contravention of the divine canons, they shall do nothing.

18. Also, in accordance with the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, and with the imperial laws, neither we nor the archimandrites, hegoumens, vicars, and priests, nor any of the clerks of our monasteries, shall in any causes be forced to appear before secular courts and judges: but whatever matter shall arise, it shall be inquired into and judged according to the canons of the apostles and the holy fathers, and according to the imperial laws [*i.e.* those contained in the Nomocanon], *till some new accommodation.*[3]

19. Also, whereas in years past when I Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, was at Great Novgorod as metropolitan, I suffered many tribulations and assaults and murderous ill-treatment for the sake of duty, even to within a little of death; and by suffering what I did I stopped the treason that was going on, and prevented their making a joint conspiracy with the people of Pskoff, and broke them up by laying on them an anathema. For those robbers and traitors were sending to the kings of Poland and Sweden to transfer their allegiance. And I wrote word to the tsar of all this: and I engaged messengers at great cost, and bought up intelligence of all their secret plottings, and sent it to the tsar by many indirect ways. And all this is very well known to the tsar himself; and the records in the Novgorod

[3] These words are not in my transcript.

chetvert attest it. And the people of Pskoff wrote to me to engage me to favour their wicked design; and from many other cities they sent tallies, and traitorous letters, to get me to unite with the conspirators: and I gave no sort of encouragement to their plot, but took those traitorous solicitations and letters under their hands myself to the tsar. And for this service the tsar was pleased to bestow on me his beadsman, of his special favour, great gifts and grants of money: and with these moneys I bought a property near Moscow, the seltso of Mineyevsk and the seltso of Elinsk, with their derevnias, of Laurentius Boulatnikoff; and I gave for those selos something more than 6000 rubles of that money which he the great hossoudar of his grace and bounty had given me. And the books prove that that money was not paid from the treasury of the see, but was my own, my personal property, the tsar's bounty. At the same time the tsar granted to me for what I had suffered the pogost of Michaelovsk at the rapids of Petroff, in the riding of Novgorod, with 150 or 200 peasants on it, with all its rights and advantages, and with the fisheries there. And now the tsar shall, if he pleases, with the concurrence of the honourable synclete and of all the sacred synod, *grant* to me his beadsman the seltsos of Mineyevsk and Elinsk, with their derevnias, towards my maintenance, in consideration of my penury and of my former great sufferings, even to the shedding of my blood, in his service: or he may restore to me the money which I paid for those properties: or instead of that the great hossoudar may give me some other property elsewhere for my maintenance, wherever he pleases. And I in return shall be bound, with all the brethren of my monasteries, to pray to God for blessings upon the tsar Alexis Mich. and the tsaritsa Maria Ilich. and the tsarevich Theodore Alex. and the tsarevnas, and the honourable synclete, and for all the sacred synod, and for all orthodox Christians.

20. Also our name shall be written and reckoned in the lists of their holinesses the patriarchs of Moscow without change, in the present tense (not as '*late*' or '*ex*-patriarch'): and (21.) religious people of all orders and ranks *shall not be forbidden to approach us*, to seek our blessing, or to bring us their alms: they shall not be hindered nor forbidden. And (22.) they that on account of their affection for us, or through their own simplicity, having excited the tsar's jealousy or anger, are now in

exile and imprisonment in distant parts, and at hard labour, shall be granted their liberty and forgiveness of their offences, according to the divine commandments: 'When ye stand praying, if ye have aught against any man, forgive them their trespasses:' and as it is written: 'Take heed to thyself: if thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him: and if he sin against thee seven times in one day, and seven times in the day return, saying, *I repent*, forgive him.'

23. On the other hand, we Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, from this present time, A.M. 7173, A.D. 1665, Jan. 14, shall not style ourselves *patriarch of Moscow and all Russia*, but shall write ourselves, according to the custom of the œcumenical patriarchs (*i.e.* the patriarchs of Constantinople, when from any cause they resign the chair), at the head of all letters sent from us, '*The humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch.*'

24. Also, we shall not interfere in any spiritual affairs whatever of the empire of Moscow and all Russia, nor claim to take cognisance of them; but (25.) we shall observe strictly the canons of the holy apostles and holy fathers, who have decreed that no bishop is to ordain clerks or do any ecclesiastical act in the diocese of another, except by desire of the local bishop.

26. But if there should be occasion for us, for any spiritual interest, to attend a synod, we shall not be prohibited from so doing: and we shall have a seat next under the actual patriarch, above the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops. For so also Gregory Theologus, after he had vacated his chair, sat in the Second holy Œcumenical Council, as is witnessed by his writings; though some blundering critics call this in question, and will have it that Gregory Theologus after he had quitted his chair did no more any ecclesiastical acts; in which they are quite wrong. This his writings show abundantly. And if it had been true that in his own time, after vacating his chair, he was not styled patriarch, he would not either at this day be honoured by all the faithful under that title.

27. Moreover, as touching this, that after our departure from Moscow, being in bitterness of soul, and having great indignation, complaining to the Lord God, we uttered against the tsar's majesty, and against the honourable synclete, and against the sacred synod of the clergy the judgment of God, I will pray to the Lord God concerning this, that he may be merciful to

them; and, by the grace given from the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ to us bishops, who perform sacred functions in God's holy Church, to forgive sins on earth and to loose every bond of iniquity, we will, according to the rules of the fathers, loose with holy prayers this bond also.

28. And as touching the dust which we shook off from our feet when going forth from the capital city of Moscow, both in the centre of the Kremlin itself and at each of the gates which we passed through, repeating the divine command, and saying, 'O Lord Jesus Christ, our God! Thou hast said by thine all-pure and truthful lips: Into whatsoever city or village ye enter, inquire who in it is worthy, and there abide until ye go forth: and when ye enter into a house salute it, saying: Peace be to this house; and if the house be worthy, your peace shall rest upon it; but if it be not worthy, it shall return to you again: And whosoever will not receive you, nor hearken to your words, when ye go forth from that house or that city, shake off the dust from your feet: Verily I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment than for that city;—*let this be fulfilled on this city and this people*, which receive us not, but drive us out.' And one of the heads of the streltsi who stood by said: 'We will sweep up this dust.' And the patriarch Nicon said against him: 'The Lord God shall sweep you away to the four winds of the heaven by that divine besom-star which is now visible, and has been visible for many days in the heaven!' And from that time the comet turned itself towards Moscow: and that fact is known, not perhaps to all, but to many. And as touching this, I the humble Nicon, by the mercy of God patriarch, will pray to the Lord God that he will turn the dust which I then shook off into a testimony of blessing, and that our peace may rest upon the children of peace; and that the capital city of Moscow may not be condemned above Sodom and Gomorrha; but that the Lord will be pleased to accept its repentance, as he accepted the Ninevites when they repented; and that that divine besom be to sweep up and clear away all the snares of the enemy, and to portend vengeance only against them that injure us.

29. Also, as touching those bishops who have unjustly raised a process for judgment against me, unlawfully, and in contravention of all the divine canons, we will give to them also the

same pardon, and will absolve them with holy prayers, every one, that is, that shall repent and ask for pardon. But if any one will not repent, let him be under the divine sentence which saith, 'With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again.'

30. So also of the honourable synclete, and the boyars who reviled us unjustly and accused us falsely to the tsar of offences worthy of death, *as Simeon Lucian. Streshneff by his Questions addressed to the metropolitan of Gaza*, and Roman Babarikin, and Ivan Sitin, and all the rest:—whosoever, knowing what is in his own conscience, shall seek for pardon, we will absolve them and bless them, and we will pray to the Lord God according to the divine injunction, 'Pray ye one for another, that ye may be healed.'

And with them who may have wronged us in any worldly matter of property, movable or immovable, we will settle amicably what is to be done in the way of restitution.

But if even after this any one, departing from all divine justice, shall betake himself to any mischief, or to affronting or injuring us, on him too there shall lie the same divine bond unloosed. And we in our afflictions shall not be blamed if we recite the psalms of David: 'Judge thou, O Lord, them that wrong me, and fight thou against them that fight against me: lay hand upon the shield and buckler, and stand up to help me: draw forth the sword, and stop the way against them that persecute me.' And again: 'O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself. Arise, thou that judgest the world; reward the proud after their deserving!' and the like.

31. Also, as touching the following matter: When they were casting the great bell, a quantity of the brass escaped. And there was not brass ready to melt, to make it up. And all the deficiency, for which there was no brass belonging to the tsar to melt, I made up with brass of my own. And at that time there were taken from the warehouse of Ivan Stchepotkin 500 poods of brass, which went into the same bell: and a minute was given to him, to be presented to the prince Ivan Ivan. Lobanoff, for payment for 100 poods of brass: whereupon he, the said Stchepotkin, instead of petitioning the tsar to be paid for all his brass, paid himself for those 500 poods of brass out of soft stuffs of mine which had been intrusted to him to sell, silks, morocco, and

muslins, taking to the amount of 1500 or 2000. And for this robbery I excommunicated him. As touching this matter the men of business (the prikashchiks) employed on the two sides shall settle the accounts: and I will give to the said Stchepotkin posthumously my absolution and blessing. And for that brass of my own which was used for the bell, and which amounted for me to 500 poods, about that let it be as it may please the tsar.

32. These proposals I make, and solemnly promise to abide by. To anything different from this I will not consent.

33. In exchange for this our scheme of proposals there shall be given to us also a writing to the same effect from the tsar's majesty, and from the honourable imperial synclete, and from the sacred synod, in testimony of perfect fairness: as Gregory Theologus also, in vacating his chair, sketched out to the CL. bishops in his sermon, in § XXV., saying, 'What say ye, O bishops? Do we persuade you by these words, and have we conquered? Or need we still stronger words than these to persuade you? Nay, then, by the Trinity itself which we worship and ye worship, by our common hope, and the throng of this people, grant me this favour. Send us away with prayers. Let this be my proclamation, as of a successful athlete. Give me my writing of discharge, such as emperors give to soldiers; and if ye please, with a favourable testimony, that I may have my honour (*τὸ ἐπιτίμιον*). Or if not, as ye please: I will make no difference about this, until God shall see how my cause stands. Whom, then, shall we bring in instead? The Lord will provide himself a shepherd to be over his people, even as he provided himself a lamb for a holocaust. This one thing only I desire, *that it be some one of those who are envied*, not of those who are pitied; *not one of them who give way in every thing to everybody, but one of them that know how sometimes to risk giving offence for the sake of the higher good.* For one thing may be *here* more agreeable, when something else is *for the next world* more profitable. Do ye therefore meditate the words with which ye shall send us on our way: and I will perform to you what I have promised in these words of farewell.'[4]

34. And these things are so. But if anything shall be done otherwise, contrary to all the divine laws and constitutions and

[4] Λόγος μβ' (alias λβ') Συντακτήριος (supremum vale) *εἰς τὴν τῶν ρν' ἐπισκόπων παρουσίαν* habita Constantinopoli labente Junio A.D. 381. *Gregor. Theol. Opera*, ed. Benedict. vol i. p. 766, § XXV.

to the bond of charity, in respect of the patriarchate, *through the power of this world*, then the man chosen shall not rightfully be called a patriarch, but he will be as an adulterer and a robber. And (37.) instead of peace there shall be the sword of God and division, according to the divine word: 'Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I am not come to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man against his father,' &c. And again another scripture saith: 'Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house which is divided against itself shall not stand.' Amen.

These proposals of Jan. A.D. 1665, and the later documents connected with them, are a repetition and amplification of what had passed after Nicon's first withdrawal from Moscow in A.D. 1658. For as then, after his first withdrawal from his chair, he offered to make a complete resignation, and to concur in the appointment of another patriarch, provided only that he were treated with respect, and not as a criminal; so now also in Dec. A.D. 1664, after his unexpected reappearance in his chair, and his second departure from it, when he had been finally rejected by his flock, he repeated his former offer, dissuading the tsar at the same time from the plan of bringing the Greek patriarchs to Moscow.

And as, after his offer had been made verbally in A.D. 1658, they sent to him and desired him to make his proposals more formally in writing, so now also (in Jan. A.D. 1665) they did the same thing.

And as in Feb. A.D. 1660, a year and a half after his first departure from his chair, his written proposals for an amicable arrangement were laid by the tsar before a synod of the Russian bishops called only to treat him as a criminal, already out of the chair, and self-condemned; so now also, above a year after his second and final departure from his chair, his proposals, made to facilitate the election of a successor to himself without bringing the Greek patriarchs to Moscow, were laid before a synod convoked only to prepare for the coming of the Greek patriarchs by the reviewal and reënactment of all that had been done before by Nicon (in A.D. 1651-1656) against the raskolniks, and by the tsar and his synod (in A.D. 1660) against Nicon.

And as, in A.D. 1660, Nicon received no answer to his written

proposals—but only the acts and documents of that year, treating him as a criminal, show that they were laid before the synod, but entirely set aside—so too in A.D. 1665 no answer[5] was returned to his written proposals; and it is only by some apparent allusions in extracts made from the canons by the synod of Feb. A.D. 1666, and by a *draft* or project of synodal determinations respecting those proposals, that we know that they were laid before that synod of the spring of A.D. 1666, and considered by it.

This draft, which takes for its basis the *final* act of the synod of A.D. 1660, and which Subbotine even supposes to have been prepared by the same hand with that act, *i.e.* by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, is written in a spirit sufficiently hostile to Nicon, treating him throughout as a criminal who has completely vacated the chair by his own act, and has incurred besides deposition by the canons, so that his consent and concurrence are by no means needed for the election of a successor. At the same time, as it does not pretend, like that earlier resolution of the synod of A.D. 1660 which was afterwards modified or set aside, that he has incurred absolute degradation from the episcopate and from the priesthood, it gives him still the title of patriarch, and proposes to allow him an honorary precedence in any synod or other ecclesiastical meeting to which he may be invited, after the sitting patriarch of Moscow: also it proposes to let him retain, as a supreme archimandrite rather than as a bishop, the three monasteries of his own foundation, but without the power to do any episcopal act whatever *even in them*, except with the cognisance and by the permission of the bishop within whose diocese each of his monasteries is situate: these monasteries too are to be deprived of all their lesser dependencies, and of a part of their estates: and the name of the *New Jerusalem* is to be suppressed. One other concession may be mentioned as an illustration of the spirit of the whole document, namely this: that *if Nicon should be consulted* on any matter by the tsar, it shall *not be forbidden* to him to *answer*. Such concessions or indulgences—not as if he had any right to them, but of mere leniency and compassion—the synod, which together with the boyars and the tsar himself he has (so it is said) in an unchristian spirit condemned and reviled, is willing to make.

[5] So Nicon himself writes in his intercepted letter to the patriarch of C.P., Dionysius. See vol. iii. p. 395, 396.

But, hostile as was this synod, and illiberal as were its concessions, if they can be called concessions, and entirely disconnected from that purpose for which Nicon's proposals had been at first offered verbally by him, and afterwards demanded of him in writing, viz. that of rendering it unnecessary to bring in the Greek patriarchs, these synodical determinations never got beyond the form of a draft: and they seem to have been put on paper and preserved only to show that there was a certain consciousness of inconsistency and injustice: that, as the first iniquitous resolution of the synod of A.D. 1660 for Nicon's complete degradation had been followed by some scruples and misgivings, and by a partial retractation, so the final approbation and reënactment of that same iniquitous decree by the patriarchal synod of Dec. A.D. 1666 should be preceded a few months earlier by a similar avowal of partial misgivings, and by a project inconsistent with that course which was in truth already determined upon, as it had been determined upon from the first.

Perhaps the explanation in both cases—of the two different and inconsistent courses taken at once, both in Feb. A.D. 1660 and in Feb. A.D. 1666—is the same, viz. that the tsar *personally* would have preferred to treat Nicon less *roughly* than suited the boyars, but was too weak to act by himself, independently of the council; and that the council *feigned* a willingness to consider those milder courses which the tsar would have preferred, only in order the more surely and effectually to set them aside. It is possible also that, as in the synod of A.D. 1660, it was now desired to have Nicon's proposals for the appointment of a successor to himself in writing, in order to use[6] them, when the Eastern patriarchs should be come, as a proof that he owned himself to be out of the chair; and that the written proposals sent by him from the Krestnoy in Feb. A.D. 1660 seemed in Jan. A.D. 1665 insufficient for this purpose, both on account of the length of time that had passed, and still more because Nicon had then quite recently, though it was only for a moment, reappeared in the chair of the primacy, and had taken into his hand the staff of St. Peter, and had been received by all the clergy and people who were present in the cathedral.

[6] They were, in fact, so used in the synod of Dec. A.D. 1666. See vol. iii. p. 428.

Of the synod convoked by the tsar in the spring of A.D. 1666.
From the History of Paisius Ligarides.

§ ii. Having mentioned those translations and consecrations of fresh bishops which had been made under his own blessing and initiative in A.D. 1664, Paisius Ligarides connects this recomposition of the hierarchy (the hostility of which against Nicon became by it greater than it had been before) with what was done by the hierarchy thus reconstituted later in A.D. 1666, writing that 'after a time *all* the bishops *were convoked* to a general meeting,'[7] *very agreeably to the divine canons*, &c.

'The bishops therefore, being assembled together early in February in A.D. 1666, reviewed and considered attentively all the acts and conduct of Nicon since his public abdication; and the former synodical decision and declaration of the bishops;[8] and how (in Dec. A.D. 1664) by a stratagem he had *invaded* the patriarchal chair, grasping at it *in contravention of all laws*, only of excessive vain-gloriousness, and had seated himself in it as a robber, had *disturbed the imperial court* of set purpose ['going about to bring the emperor into collision with the council'], and had drawn over to him *even* the then acting vicar of the patriarchate, the metropolitan of Rostoff, Kyr Jonah, as also the protopresbyter and the protodiacon, both named Michael, getting them by a stratagem to kiss his hand; and, above all, that he carried off, like a sacrilegious robber of churches, the episcopal staff of St. Peter the first metropolitan of Moscow, as a most expressive claim and token of patriarchal power.

'Farther,[9] there was a careful and particular review made of the matter of the metropolitan Jonah; and it was decided[10] that

[7] As they had been in A.D. 1660, and in A.D. 1663; the 'synod' so frequently spoken of at other times meaning only Ligarides himself and those two or three other bishops who might happen to be at Moscow, two perhaps out of the three being, like Ligarides, foreigners.

[8] That made by the acts of Feb. and Sept. A.D. 1660, to the effect that Nicon had by his own act absolutely vacated the chair, and that a new patriarch ought to be appointed.

[9] In point of time this was done first of all, Feb. 10, as a preliminary, in order that Jonah, after being perfectly rehabilitated, might be able to concelebrate, and to take part in the synod with the other bishops.

[10] *i.e.* decided definitively by this full synod; for the same had been already decided twice over a year before by the 'sacred synod' of those bishops who were present in Moscow, once of themselves alone, and again after writing to those other Russian bishops who were absent in their sees. See above, p. 563, 572.

all that that archbishop had done had been done involuntarily, from a sort of oblivion and confusion produced by the suddenness of the surprise. And for the more solemn testimony of his sincere exculpation there was performed over him (Feb. 10, A.D. 1666) the usual vesting with the epitrachelion and the omophorion over the holy table; which having been performed within the sanctuary, *we* were all completely assured that all the part that he had acted on that occasion had been without any ill purpose. In like manner (on the 22d Feb.) were set free from their suspension and pardoned all the rest also of the clerks who had fallen together with him, and had on that same occasion improperly kissed the hand of Nicon' (vol. iii. p. 102-105).

'One thing leading to another, a Stygian swarm of evils had burst forth, and had commenced an evil work (the raskol of the starobratsi), which was followed by a vast multitude of all the people, welcoming what was in truth a most grievous and wasting plague to the Orthodox Church of the Russians. And this was all through the excessive imprudence of Nicon, who, like Epimetheus, opened Pandora's box [by his withdrawal from the chair], and repented too late . . . . . For there sprang up suddenly, to the peril of the whole Russian Church, certain new schismatics named Lazarus, Abbakoum, Epiphanius, Nikita, Nikanor, Thyrsus, Gregory Neronoff, and others, who also wrote and disseminated a thousand insane falsehoods and fictions against *us*, as if *we Romans* (the modern *Greeks*, that is), after the lamentable capture of Constantinople, took our opinions from the Turks! whereas really—so he goes on through two pages of verbose rhetoric to assert—we retain the holy religion of our fathers inviolate . . . and our four patriarchs, like the four mystical living creatures, still, by God's grace, rightly divide the word of truth, and keep the traditions of the apostles and the divinely-inspired fathers, even to every iota, firm and absolutely uninfringed. Wherefore also *we* shall appear before the judgment-seat of our Lord, and shall be inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, as *having the perfect and genuine mark* of his lot and heritage. But away with strife! away with envy too, which is akin to murder! We are even still beautiful, we *Romans* (Ῥωμαῖοι), strong (ῥωμάλεοι) in courage, strong (ῥωννύμενοι) in creed, strong (ἐρρωμένοι) in doctrine, strong (ῥωμικοὶ) in mind, though *called* 'Greeks,' and seeming to be Hellenes.

'But against those presumptuous and headstrong men, who, while seeming to insist on retaining accredited customs as if legitimate, were wholly corrupting the ancestral traditions, we, by command of the emperor and of the synod, composed a book [the *Staff of Rule*], overthrowing point by point the doctrines of Nikita, that self-constituted divine, who had never learned even the first rudiments of theology: and this book was afterwards, in an abridged form, translated into Russ [from the Latin of Ligarides] by the hieromonach Simeon [of Polotsk], and finally printed' (*ib.* p. 108).

'Now, therefore, there were three bishops who appeared as true staff-bearers of the Holy Trinity, as foremost in the ranks, and leaders of the attack on the enemy: and their names were Paul, Paisius, and Hilarion. These zealously attacked and refuted those schismatics, who were actively disseminating their mischief on all sides, *nominally accusing Nicon, but really holding up to reproach us Romans, as having swerved from Orthodoxy, and from the traditionary faith of our fathers.* These, I say, we now irresistibly confuted about the alleluia, the sign of the cross, and the wording of the creed, and on a multitude of other points, as they were defined afterwards in the synodical articles' [of A.D. 1667] (*ib.* p. 110).

Documents of the same synod.

§ iii. How the metropolitan of Rostoff Jonah was on the 10th of Feb. A.D. 1666 freed from his partial suspension and rehabilitated, in order that he might be able to concelebrate with the other bishops, and take part in all that was to be done afterwards by the synod, has been already mentioned at p. 576, where the record of this is printed.

Mutual examination and profession of the Russian bishops on three points.

§ iv. (Roll VII. no. 3.) In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. In this year 7174, A.D. 1666, in February (Feb. 16 seemingly), we, the bishops of Russia, being assembled in Moscow, and seeing that there is at this time, by the permission of God for our sins, a disturbance and dissension caused by certain evil-designing men, think it our duty, all of us, to ask ourselves and one another mutually with love—

First, how ought we to think and profess concerning the

most holy Greek patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and whether they are orthodox?

Secondly, as to the Greek printed books and old MSS., which the most holy Greek patriarchs use, and by which they perform all the divine offices and rites of the Church, what ought we to think and say of them?

Thirdly, as regards the synod[11] held in Moscow in the tsar's palace A.M. 7162 (A.D. 1654), under our tsar Alexis &c. and the most holy patriarch Nicon, in presence of all the synclete, and subscribed by the bishops, what ought we to think and say of this synod?

✠ In the name &c. I Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod &c. confess the most holy Greek patriarchs to be down to this day orthodox. The Greek printed books and the old Greek MSS. &c. I confess to be orthodox; and I receive them unreservedly. The synod held at Moscow &c. in A.M. 7162 (A.D. 1654), after long inquiry made by us, concordantly with our brethren, I confess and hold to be orthodox in all things. And for the public confirmation of this, I the humble Pitirim &c. have written this my confession with my own hand. (Signed.)

✠ In the name &c. I Laurentius metropolitan of Kazan [as above, only with some variation at the end, thus]: 'after long conjoint inquiry I confess and hold undoubtingly to be orthodox in all things. And not only the Greek books and MSS., but also the books recently translated (or revised) from the Greek into the Slavonic, and approved by the synod held in A.M. 7162 and 7164 (A.D. 1654 and 1656), in which I was myself present and subscribed, being then archbishop of Tver, I confess and hold to be orthodox in all things' &c. (Signed.)

✠ In the name &c. I Jonah metropolitan of Rostoff [the same; mentioning that he also was present at the synod of 1654, and with a similar confirmation in words of his own at the end]. (Signed.)

✠ In the name &c. I Paul metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk [same as above, with the addition]: 'in which I also was present and subscribed, being then protopope of the church of

[11] All the three synods held by Nicon in A.D. 1664, 1665, and 1666, for the correction of the church books seem here to be included under the mention of the first of them, that of A.D. 1664, the Act of which shall be given in the Appendices, at the end of vol. v.

the Presentation in the Vestibule (*i.e.* of the palace, '*na Sieniech*') &c.] (Signed.)

✠ In the name &c. I Theodosius metropolitan from Servia [same as above]. For public confirmation I the humble Theodosius, by the grace of God metropolitan from Servia, heretofore of Oushitsa and Shabatz, have subscribed this my confession with my own hand in this present year 7174, A.D. 1666, Feb. 16.

✠ In the name &c. I Simon archbishop of Vologda &c. [the same; dated 7184 in Feb.] Amen. (Signed.)

✠ In the name &c. I Philaret archbishop of Smolensk [the same]. (Signed Feb. 16, A.D. 1666.)

✠ In the name &c. I Hilarion archbishop of Riazan [the same]. (Signed A.D. 1666, Feb.)

✠ In the name &c. I Joasaph archbishop of Tver [the same]. (Signed in A.D. 1666.)

✠ In the name &c. I Arsenius archbishop of Pskoff [the same; and at the end]: 'I was not then present; but I concur and hold it to be quite orthodox in all respects.' (Signed Feb.—)

✠ In the name &c. I Alexander bishop of Viatka and Great Perm [as above]: I confess the same. [And at the end]: And the newly-corrected books, and especially the symbol of faith, which for a clear testimony I have written with my own hand and give in to-day to the most reverend synod, I likewise receive thus, and embrace. And in like manner also of the manner of putting together the fingers, and whatever else was corrected in that synod, I receive it all without any manner of doubt. But what in time past I thought as a man on any of the abovementioned points, and especially about the adjective 'true' in the holy creed, as it appeared to my weakness—and of the error of that my opinion I was not conscious, but thought myself to be right—those my former doubts I altogether cast away, and renounce, and spit upon, because now I am truly and fully convinced on all those points; and especially respecting the adjective in the holy creed. I am convinced from old MS. books and from the Greek, that the holy Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church, our mother, never had, and has not now, this adjective in the creed. On this account henceforth I also without any manner of doubt thus hold, and from my heart confess; and for an undeniable proof I subscribe this attestation with my

own hand.] [Signature, and copy of the creed without the word 'true.']

✠ In the name &c. I Joasaph archimandrite of the Troitska Lavra of St. Sergius [the same; and subscription].

✠ I Joseph archim. of the Novospass, &c.

✠ I Theodosius archim. of the Yourieff of Novgorod, &c.

✠ I Misael archim. of the Preobrajensky at Kazan, &c.

✠ I Joseph archim. of the Spass-Khoutina, &c.

✠ I Arsenius hegoumen of the Znamensky of the B.V. in the old palace of the tsar, &c.

✠ I Bartholomew archim. of the Solovetsky mon. of SS. Zosimus and Sabbatius, &c. [And at the end]: And that synod (of A.D. 1654-1656) and the book called the *Skrijal* (Ηύραξ), of the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, I receive. Also I confess and believe as the Catholic and Apostolic Church has received to sing the creed of the orthodox faith [writing out the creed].

✠ Vincentius hegoumen of St. Nicholas of Ougriesh, &c.

Appended afterwards to the above.

In the name &c. I Arsenius Soltikoff[12] hieromonach [the same; and at the end]: I confess the holy orthodox symbol of faith, as settled by the seven councils; and as corrected by the present (the recent) synod thus [writing out the creed as corrected]: And I receive the corrected books; and the uncorrected I do not receive. And on whatever points in time past I have doubted as respecting the sign of the cross, or the putting together of the fingers, on these I now receive and hold as the holy Church teaches, and as the holy synod.[13] (Signed.)

In the year 7174, A.D. 1666, May 17, on being questioned by the heads of the clergy, that is, by the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, hegoumens, and all the sacred synod, the schimnik Serapion of the Simonoff, formerly protopope at Smolensk,[14] said: 'I acknowledge the four most holy œcumenical patriarchs as pious and orthodox; and I extol their

[12] In the extracts from Macarius' *History of the Raskol* in our vol. ii. p. 430, an *hieromonach Sergius* is said to have submitted and to have been absolved in session viii. of this synod, together with Serapion ex-protopope of Smolensk, and in session x. *Sergius Soltikoff hegoumen* of the Bizinkoff monastery.

[13] Instead of Arsenius, as above, the name signed in my MS. copy is 'Sergius,' and on the back of the roll '*Sergius* Soltikoff.'

[14] This was in session viii. of the synod. See vol. ii. p. 430.

Greek faith, and their old Greek books written and printed; and the church service (as they have it), and the creed, and the putting together of the fingers in making the sign of the cross, which is a figure of the Holy Trinity, I receive; and to the holy synod of the empire of Moscow I hearken and submit, and in nothing do I gainsay their synodical exposition. But what in time past I doubted of or held erroneously, through my own lack of understanding, or if in any point I have caused scandal to any orthodox Christians, of that my sin I now repent, and make acknowledgment to you the holy synod of God's bishops, and ask for pardon of all, and for your prayers. But if in the reading of the present corrected books it chance that any word be doubtful to me, of that it is my duty to ask the holy synod, that is, you the great bishops of God; and I will not set up my own private opinion.'

§ v. There is a letter from the synod (from the Russian metropolitans Pitirim, Laurentius, Jonah, and Paul, the archbishops Simon, Philaret, Hilarion, Joasaph, and Arsenius, and the bishop Alexander, but without the name of Paisius of Gaza, or of any other foreigner), of the date March 11, A.D. 1666, to Joseph archbishop of Astrachan, advertising him thus: 'In this year 7174' (which began from Sept. 1, A.D. 1665) 'we have been informed that there are coming to the tsar the patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, and with them the archbishop of Mount Sinai and the metropolitan of Trebizond;[15] and that they are coming by way of Astrachan.' The archbishop then is instructed that he is to receive them with honour, and to send them on. If they ask for what matters they are called to Moscow, he is to say that he knows not, Astrachan being so far distant; but he supposes it is *in consequence of the late patriarch Nicon having vacated the patriarchate*, and for *other grave ecclesiastical matters*. He is to speak as having no *personal* knowledge of any matter which he mentions; and in particular, he *must not tell them* that he was sent (in July A.D. 1663) to the patriarch Nicon with the tsar's boyar the prince Nik. Iv. Odoefsky. And in all respects he is to be cautious and reserved.

[15] Allured, according to Paisius Ligarides, by the Greek envoy Meletius, by '*honeyed discourses*' and '*most gold-beaming strings of words*' (vol. iii. p. 85), or, as the tsar himself wrote about it, for the sake of the tsar's alms. Ib. p. 477.

And he is to bid also the clergy and the lay people who may be with him to say nothing about that matter to the patriarchs or to any person of their company, but to be guarded in all respects [to this end, that they the œcumenical patriarchs may know nothing about these matters till such time as they be come to Moscow]. And when they shall be come to Moscow and shall see the tsar, then information will be given to them respecting the departure of the patriarch Nicon from the chair, and *respecting all that the synod has done* (see vol. iii. p. 402).

Extracts made from the canons concerning the withdrawal of Nicon, and the vacancy of the patriarchate.[16]

§ vi. (Roll XI. no. 6.) Canon xiv. of the Apostles: from the gloss, condensed: 'A bishop must not leave *his see* and go *to another* without consent of a synod, even though an allowable cause occur for the benefit of the faith and of the Church.' Gloss: 'Since even with a good cause this canon forbids to *go* [from one episcopal see, to become bishop of another] without consent of a synod, how much less can any one without good cause, of his own mere will, *go elsewhere*,[17] abandoning his chair, without incurring condemnation?'

This canon is now applicable to the case of the patriarch. Even though he did not make an abdication, still for this alone, that without necessity, and without consent of a synod, he absented himself for so long a time from his chair, he has offended against this canon.[18]

Canon xxv. deposes the bishop or priest who perjures himself. This too applies, if the patriarch swore, and made an imprecation against himself, abjuring the patriarchate, as some testify. And if this is true, he can no longer claim the patriarchate, being by the above canon deposed.

[16] Compare with these the extracts made in Feb. A.D. 1660, and printed above, p. 224-233. This and the two other documents, § viii. and § ix., which follow it, may very possibly belong to the interval between Feb. 16th and April 23d, before the tsar directed the attention of the synod to the *raskol*.

[17] *e.g.* to a monastery in his own diocese?

[18] He went to Voskresensk, no doubt, and perhaps he would have refused to come back except on certain conditions. What were those conditions? was the question really to be asked; and had he a right, or was it his duty, to exact them? As for the length of time, when once he had gone, they neither asked him to come back, nor would they have let him; and when once he did come back, they sent him away again.

Canon xxxiv. requires that the bishops of every tongue (or nation) recognise their primate, and do nothing in any ecclesiastical or other great matter without his counsel and consent. But neither is the primate himself, in like manner, to do anything[19] without the counsel of all.

This canon is now to the point. For if he had some cogent reason, as some say who speak now, and it was not possible to do otherwise than to go, still he ought to have done this with the counsel and consent of the most serene tsar and of the synod. And so he is guilty also of offending against this canon.

Canon xxxvii. enacts that twice a year there be a synod of the bishops held in every province for ecclesiastical causes and differences, and other needs which may occur among the bishops and other clerks, in order to the examination and correction of all that may need settlement or correction, after a godly sort, so that there may be peace and concord in the Church of Christ.

In this canon also there is something applicable to him. For whereas he said, and says, that the clergy and laity of his province (or patriarchate) did not obey him, but opposed him in ecclesiastical matters, and in many other things, it was his duty to convoke a synod of the bishops, so that all should judge together, and synodically correct in a suitable manner all manner of faults, instead of despairing, and becoming wroth, and abdicating, and rushing away in anger from his church and chair. So he is guilty of offending also against this canon.

Canon xvi. of the council called the First and Second enacts simply and most distinctly, in the second part of the same canon, that if any bishop, whether with abdication or even without abdication, go elsewhere, and remain *out of his flock*, without some

[19] The sense of this clause is not that the primate may not, without consulting the bishops, do 'anything,' absolutely, but not 'anything *extraordinary*' (πέρα τοῦ), as in the preceding clause about the bishops: and so in the gloss it is rightly paraphrased, 'anything of the same kind.' But it was charged against Nicon (and by implication even against the tsar himself), that Nicon's monasteries had been *uncanonically* founded, without consulting the *synod*. But for the legitimate foundation of a monastery the *canons* require only the consent and blessing of 'the *bishop*' (see vol. I. p. 94; iii. p. 506). As for convoking in Russia a synod to consult about the propriety of withdrawing from the tsar's wrath, the thing was impossible: the assertion that it was Nicon's duty to obtain also previously the *consent of the tsar himself* is absurd, and quite in the vein of Paisius Ligarides, who no doubt had a share, together with Epiphanius Slavenetsky, in putting together these extracts.

great necessity hindering his return, above six months, he thereby renounces the episcopal honour, and is put out from his chair.

This canon, even though a bishop does not abdicate, deposes him for this cause alone, that he absents himself *for so long* a time from his flock and chair.[20]

Of the abdication of bishops, Matthew Blastar writes very clearly, and shows from St. Cyril's epistle to Domnus, and from canon x. of St. Dionysius patriarch of Alexandria, and from the missive of the Third Œcum. Council to those in Pamphylia, that if any bishop renounces his chair and his flock, he is at once *stripped also of his priesthood;* and that he who renounces of himself appears to have offended more than he who for some offence is deposed. For he whom they depose for some offence can demand a trial and a council; but he who of his own will renounces his chair has no right whatever remaining, either to say or to do anything else afterwards, but must simply stand by that judgment which he has himself pronounced against himself.

Ch. ix. of the laws of the emperor Justinian pronounces, in conformity with canons xiv. and xxxiv. of the Apostles, and canon xvi. of the First and Second Council, that bishops are not to leave their *sees* and go *into other sees* without some pressing need, nor without the emperor's command. But if any bishop, on whatever other pretext, be absent from his chair above one year, he is to be deposed, and another is to be ordained in his room.

Farther, all the canons of the holy Apostles and of the holy

[20] But by the canon here quoted, a bishop might lawfully go even out of his diocese, even for his own pleasure and recreation, for any time under six months; and he might lawfully remain absent from his diocese even longer, if detained by sickness, or by the tsar's or the patriarch's command. But they have *omitted* these words. Or was there not necessity and compulsion, whether Voskresensk were in or out of his diocese? And again, they omit the words '*not being careful to tend his flock*,' because it was this very care to tend the flock himself, and not to let the tsar tend it, that caused his departure. The second part of the canon really stands thus: 'If any bishop *is not careful to tend his flock*, but goes away and remains away more than six months from his church' (*i.e.* from his diocese), 'not being detained by sickness or by the command of the emperor or the patriarch, let him be deprived of the episcopal rank and honour.' And the first part of the same canon, which it did not suit the extractors to write out, would have been still more to the point, standing thus: 'On no pretence whatever let any one go up to an episcopal chair the bishop of which is still living; for it is necessary that some sufficient crime must be charged and proved against him whom they wish to drive out; and then only, when he has been deposed, they may appoint another' (Kormchay of 1834, fol. 87).

councils and the imperial laws, import and decree that if a bishop, even without any act of abdication, merely go away *out of his church* [*i.e.* out of his diocese] without necessity, such as may arise either from the Church or from the emperor, and absent himself from his chair [*i.e.* from his diocese] above six months, or, by the latitude indulged by the emperor Justinian, above one year, not being hindered from returning by any great necessity, he is to be deposed, and another is to be ordained in his stead, without any opening being left for objection. And if any one renounces his chair of his own will, no single canon is found, nor any law, to countenance or justify him in afterwards reclaiming his chair, as if he had any right or option of doing so. But the power and the option respecting this lies only with the most pacific tsar, the council, and the synclete. If it seems to them needful and convenient to condescend to invite him to return to his chair, it is competent for them to do so, as appears in the written accounts of certain precedents at various times. But if not, by canon and by law he has no power to claim anything more from his former chair than a mere maintenance. But if the emperor, the autocrat &c., and the synclete are compassionate, and give him something for his retirement, with whatever measure of maintenance and rank they will him to be measured, in that he must remain obediently and peaceably, praying to the Lord God for the most exalted empire of the most pacific emperor and autocrat, and for all orthodox Christians, and for the salvation of his own soul in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

A Dissertation addressed to the tsar, who had asked for the writer's opinion on the above heads, and on the charge against the patriarch.

§ vii. (Roll XI. no. 7.) Our Lord God Jesus Christ, teaching us not to neglect the gift that is in us, even to the suffering of death, has commanded in the gospel, saying: 'The good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep.' And the prince of the apostles Paul, the great teacher of the universe, who was caught up into the third heaven, and heard there unspeakable words, says: 'Feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof, not of compulsion, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but with zeal' [1 *Pet.* v. 2]. And to Titus, his true disciple and apostle, he

writes: 'Appoint priests and teachers in every church, as I have commanded thee.' And again elsewhere the same chosen vessel and great apostle teaches us that we ought not only in peaceful times to keep the chair and feed the flock, but also in time of pressure and disorder, *especially when, through some ignorant men, the Church of Christ is troubled;* and he commands, saying: 'Brethren, pray without ceasing;' showing us that without God's help we can do nothing successfully. As also our Lord Jesus Christ said: 'This kind'—that is, [the evil spirit of] scandal—'goeth not out but by prayer and fasting;' and, 'Watch and pray.' And again, the vessel of election teaches us that not only when men praise us, and when those below us give us blessing and obedience, we ought to give thanks, but also when at times things fall out adverse, we should seek to correct the evil by long-suffering and patience, and to direct all to good. For he says: 'In all things give thanks.' And again, the same great teacher of the universe commands that no one be self-willed, so as to leave his chair and go where he wills, when he says: 'In that calling, brethren, with which any one is called, therein let him abide.'[20] But if any bishop is found to despise the precepts above cited, and the divine canons and apostolical constitutions which, through the Holy Ghost, the holy apostles and the holy fathers of the holy councils have written, and have straitly charged that no man presume to infringe them or change them in anything; then, as the apostle himself commands, 'If any man will announce to you anything beside that which I have announced to you, let him be anathema.'

Nevertheless, O holy autocratic tsar, it appears in the Old Testament that even that great Moses sinned at the water of strife, as David says in the Psalms: 'And Moses was angered (ἐκακώθη) because of them' (Ps. cvi. 32). For God said to him: '*Pacify* the people, and say to them that they put their trust in me; and I, who delivered them from their bondage, will reward them; and if anything is needful, I will give it. And say to them that God hath said to me: I will strike on this rock, and water shall flow out of it.' But his heart failing him, he was angry because the people all ran together when they saw him, and asked him for water, importuning him. And he did not *pacify* them with the words of God, but with great anger

[20] This is the text which Nicon sought in vain to impress upon the tsar.

and asperity said to them: 'Am I God, to strike on this rock and give you water?' And O the miracle! the word of God immediately took effect, and there gushed forth from the rock twelve streams of water. And for this strife or chiding God interdicted Moses, that he should not see the land of promise, that is Jerusalem; and so he died on the mount. Again, when God desired to make the prophet Elias know the weakness of human nature, and make him feel compassion for men: because God had compassion for men; for all living things cried out for meat and drink; and he, for the zeal which he had, did not grieve for it so as to ask God to send rain; for God would not make void the word of the prophet by sending rain without his will. But what afterwards did God do? The brook dried up, and the ravens brought him no more meat. And after a short while again there failed him a part of the divine grace, and there came to him fear and terror of heart; and hence he who had rebuked fearlessly one terrible king, saying, 'I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house,' now for the word of one woman, Jezebel, flies a journey of forty days without meat and drink. And from the prince of the apostles Peter he once withdrew for a time his grace, and he denied him thrice, that he might learn humility, and so teach others also not to be proud, and not to be too much angry against men, even though they sin as men, seeing that they also themselves have the same nature and the same weakness of the flesh. And though the sons of Zebedee, when they expected that Christ was about to reign on earth, asked to sit the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, yet Christ the Lord, showing that his disciples the bishops ought not to feed the flock as lords (with lordship and severity) and tormentors, but with doctrine and consolation, with meekness and other good works, said: 'It shall not be so with you, my disciples; but the first of you shall be the last of all, and the servant of all; for I, your Lord and teacher, have come not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give my life a ransom for the deliverance of the world.' For having taken on him the human nature, he was not only the sacrifice, but also the high-priest; and he communicated the high-priesthood, as needful for believers, to his holy disciples, and bade them communicate it to others after them in succession, that so no one of the Churches might be destitute of this grace.

Nevertheless, O holy, autocratic, most pacific tsar, it is clear from many places of written records that many bishops have left their chairs, some of them overburdened by the care of their people and by the disorderly conduct of the world, and have gone away and have sought for quiet in monasteries, others on account of other human passions. However, if any bishop, for any human passion, or for any temptation or scandal happening to him, not enduring to be scandalised, departs from his flock, of such Christ says: 'The hireling, and he who is not the shepherd, sees the wolf coming, and leaves the sheep and flies, and the wolf tears and scatters the sheep. But the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep.' In the same way too St. John Chrysostom commands, and says: 'Though there be disorder in the flock, depart not, if thou wishest to correct it. Pray to God in secret; shed tears; entreat; advise; show love to them that have sinned, if thou really wishest to heal and benefit them; clasp their feet; kiss their hands; that thou mayest not be ashamed. And if thou be affronted or humiliated, endure all for the sake of that love which for thy sake endured the cross. And do thou then, when the Church and the people need correction, if it be possible, refuse not even to lay down thy life for the word of Christ, who has said: "The good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep."'

And if Kyr Nicon the patriarch, neglecting all these precepts, and without any allowable cause, without necessity or violence, merely of his own wilfulness, flung himself out of his chair, and renounced and abandoned the flock committed to him by Christ at the time when he was well-established in his honour, according to canon xvi. of what is called the First and Second Council, and refused to feed his people, and having left his flock, abode not only more than six months, but more than eighteen months in *another place*,[21] no necessity preventing his return to his chair—if it be thus, he is by this present canon rightly deprived of the episcopal honour and seat. Still more, if he really with his own lips said anathema against himself if he should return to the patriarchate: in that case, he uttered judgment against himself, subjecting himself to anathema, and by the anathema he pro-

[21] *i.e.* from July 10, A.D. 1658 to Feb. A.D. 1660. Also, note that the Iverskoy and the Krestnoy monasteries, being stauropegias, were not in the diocese of another bishop, to say nothing of the tsar's consent or command that he should go to them.

nounced his own complete deposition. The divine word says: 'A strong trap for a man are his own lips;' and, 'he shall be taken in the bonds of his lips.' For he who has bound himself by the profession of his mouth is fastened up in meshes which cannot be loosed, and can in no way be set free; but he must stand and abide by those things which he has vowed and uttered. And still more, in such a case, if he appear to have transgressed, just retribution awaits him, and from his deserved punishment he cannot fly. If this was truly so, he is hereby guilty: and by canon xxv. of the holy Apostles. And he cannot any more hold his chair, *nor* lay claim to it; for so he becomes a breaker of his oath.

So then, according to the above-cited canons of the holy apostles and the fathers and the councils, and according to the imperial laws and the divine and sacred gospel, and the rest of the sacred scriptures, Kyr Nicon the patriarch has transgressed. But let it be as thy great empire and as the synod shall bid.

There are found farther, O holy tsar and great autocrat, in the written documents of our Church precedents showing that some bishops at certain times have left their chairs; and some of these have also after their abdication retained their priesthood, yet have not had it as by right of themselves, but on their petition to synods; as Eustathius of Pamphylia, and others. And though the canon of the holy fathers enjoins that if any bishop leaves his chair, the *dignity of the priesthood also is taken away from him*, still, the *emperors* of that time and the holy synods, being earnestly petitioned, were compassionate towards them, used condescension with them, and allowed them still to have the priesthood in some suitable fashion, as a small consolation. In like manner now, if thy holy and great empire and the holy synod and the synclete so order, it is possible to use towards Kyr Nicon a condescension and humanity, like that which was shown by the Third Œcumenical Council in the case of Eustathius bishop of Pamphylia; because, though Kyr Nicon in *other external* matters *and* in his abdication has sinned as a man, still in the dogmas of the pious and orthodox faith he was *most religious and upright;* and *in the traditions of the apostles, and of the fathers of the Eastern Church he was very zealous.* And on this account, though he of himself renounced his chair, he may still be allowed, *by the compassion and humanity of thy holy empire*

and of the sacred synod, to have the dignity of the priesthood, *after a suitable fashion*, as some small consolation, in such manner as thy holy empire shall bid. And we hope that we may not appear to be troublesome in this, that we have written with boldness as to a most Christian and most mild and most compassionate emperor. May our Lord Jesus Christ and the God of all be pleased to bless and to confirm the most potent sceptre of thy holy empire, and cause thy holy empire to grow up and spread abroad for generations of generations, from one end of the earth to the other, for ages of ages, without end! Amen.

Appended to the above.

a. Patriarchs who have voluntarily left their chairs, without returning?

1. St. Gregory the Divine, who was raised by the Second holy Œcum. Council to the chair of Constantinople, left his chair voluntarily, and never returned, as is plain from his *Life* written by the priest Gregory. Of his voluntary abdication Armenopulus (lib. iv.) witnesses thus: 'Gregory the Divine, having been first bishop of Zasime, under Theodosius the Great, was named to the see of Constantinople, the chair being confirmed to him by the synod, as he had laboured much there, and had delivered the Church from the plague of heresies. But when the blessed man saw Nicias, a bishop from Egypt, to be very jealous against this arrangement, he delivered a synodal discourse, and voluntarily left the chair of the capital, having been bishop twelve years.'

2. The most holy patriarch of Constantinople Gregory Mammas, who, being a man inspired of God, prophesied that the city of Constantinople should be enslaved by the Hagarenes, voluntarily left the chair, and never returned. This resignation was attested by the clergy of Constantinople to the Sultan Mahomet. For when he had asked: 'Where is the patriarch? why has he not come to do homage to me as his emperor?' they replied: 'For a long time past we have had no patriarch; for he who was patriarch, while yet living, voluntarily left his chair;' as is also related in his *Ecclesiastical History* by Manuel Malaxas.

3. The most holy patriarch John voluntarily left his chair, and never returned. This most holy patriarch, when leaving his chair, said to the emperor Andronicus Palæologus these words:

'My holy lord the emperor, and ye my holy lords the bishops, I, seeing myself to be the chief of sinners, have done all that I could to escape from sin.' So George Pachymeres (lib. x. ch. ix.) relates.

4. The most holy patriarch Tryphon did the same. For this patriarch had consented to be patriarch only for a time, as Armenopulus testifies in his fourth book, writing thus: 'The monk Tryphon was bishop under Romanus for a limited time, until Theophylact, the emperor's son, was of age.'

5. The most holy patriarch of Constantinople Gennadius Scholarius did the same. Of this voluntary resignation Theodosius Zygomalas protonotary of the patriarchate in his *Civil History* testifies, saying: 'The most holy patriarch Gennadius, having been patriarch five years, and having fed well the Lord's people, after that embraced beloved privacy. He called a council of bishops, and made an act of abdication. But the bishops and clergy and all the people besought him to remain. But he, altogether refusing to listen to them, merely wrote his abdication in the book of the great church; and, having taken what things he had of his own, he went out to the monastery of the holy Forerunner; and there he died in peace.'

6. The most holy patriarch of Constantinople Metrophanes did the same. For this patriarch renounced not only the chair, but also the episcopate, as Manuel Malaxas in his *Ecclesiastical History* witnesses, saying: 'However, this patriarch made a written abdication of the patriarchal chair and of the episcopate.'

b. Patriarchs who have voluntarily left their chair, and have afterwards returned to it.

1. The most holy patriarch of Constantinople Pyrrhus voluntarily left his chair; and again, after the patriarch Paul, who succeeded him and sat twelve years, he was restored to his chair, and sat four months; as is witnessed in his fourth book by Armenopulus, who says thus: 'Pyrrhus, who had long been a priest of that church, a monk and superior of monasteries, and hegoumen at Chrysopolis, in consequence of certain dissensions abdicated, after being bishop two years nine months and nine days.' Elsewhere it is related that Pyrrhus was restored.

2. Dionysius patriarch of Constantinople voluntarily left the chair; and again after the death of Simeon, who had succeeded him, at the request of a synod and by command of the

emperor, he was restored, and was patriarch with great peace of the Church, as Manuel Malaxas in his *Ecclesiastical History* testifies, saying that 'When he, Kyr Dionysius, had come into the great church, and had taken again the patriarchal chair, there ran together the bishops, the clerks, and all the heads of the clergy, and all the people, and did reverence to him, and received prayer and blessing from him. And there was great peace in the Church of Christ.'

This patriarch Dionysius was slandered by some bad clerks, as if he had been circumcised by the Turks. But when, on a synod being assembled to examine about this calumny, the patriarch Dionysius cleared himself of the charge, the calumniators, being put to shame, asked pardon, and all the synod, kissing his feet, earnestly entreated him to be patriarch. But he, without yielding to the prayer of the synod, put off his epitrachelion and his omophorion, and left his chair, and went away to a monastery. Afterwards, when Simeon, who succeeded him as patriarch, had died, and Niphont had been expelled, and the chair of C.P. was again unfilled, the synod which met to create a new patriarch, remembering the above-mentioned Dionysius, prayed the sultan to command him, as being worthy, to take the patriarchal chair. And the most holy Dionysius, by command of the sultan issued at the request of the synod, having taken again the chair of Constantinople, held the patriarchate in a manner well pleasing to God.

c. Bishops who of their own will renounced the episcopate, and were allowed to act again as bishops:

1. Nicholas Muzalon archbishop of Cyprus, having of his own will renounced the episcopate, was allowed again to act as bishop. For, thirty-seven years after his renunciation, he was raised to the chair of Constantinople, and sat in it three years and four months; as in lib. iv. Manuel Malaxas testifies, saying: 'Nicholas Muzalon, the monk, who was first archbishop of Cyprus, abdicated, as many said, not only the archiepiscopal chair but also the episcopate itself; but others said that he renounced only the government of his church: and after having been in retreat thirty-seven years, he was raised to the chair of Constantinople, and sat three years and four months.'

2. Theodulus bishop of Macarska, after having voluntarily renounced in writing the episcopal rank, was again allowed to

act as a bishop. For having changed his mind, he went to the most holy patriarch of Constantinople Michael Anchialus, and besought him. And on its being made clear that his abdication was not on account of any sin or vice, but of humility, the above-named most holy patriarch judged that such a renunciation as this was not to be accepted. So Armenopulus in his first book says.

For a bishop who is worthy to be bishop, if he renounces the episcopate, renounces it uncanonically, according to canon ii. of St. Cyril archbishop of Alexandria, who writes thus: 'That is contrary to the canons and constitutions of the Church which is done by some bishops or priests, who offer libels of abdication. For if they are worthy to minister, let them minister: but if not, let them not be allowed to abdicate, but let them go out as condemned.'

3. Eustathius bishop of Pamphylia, after renouncing voluntarily and in writing his episcopate, was again allowed to enjoy the honour of the episcopate. For when, having changed his mind, he betook himself with tears to the Third holy Œcum. Council, and besought it that he might have the episcopal honour, it was allowed by the holy synod, *first*, that the said Eustathius should have the episcopal honour and be named a bishop; *secondly*, that, with the consent of the local bishop, he might do episcopal acts in the church, and ordain priests and deacons; *thirdly*, that it should farther be competent for the synod of Pamphylia to raise him to any vacant church which had no bishop. See the gloss on canon ix. of the Third Œcum. Council.

d. Cases in which a patriarch having left his church, another patriarch was appointed.

1. Gregory the Divine having left his chair, another, viz. Nectarius, while Gregory was still living, was appointed to be patriarch of Constantinople in his stead by the Second holy Œcum. Council, as is clear from the *Life of St. Gregory*, written by Gregory the presbyter.

2. Gennadius patriarch of Constantinople having resigned, another, viz. the hieromonach Isidore, was appointed; as Theodosius Zygomalas, the protonotary of the patriarchate, in his *Civil History* witnesses, saying: 'The patriarch, the most holy Gennadius, having sat five years, and having well fed the Lord's people, at length affectionately embraced retirement, called a synod

of the bishops, and made an act of abdication: and there was raised to the patriarchal chair Kyr Isidore, a holy spiritual man, whom in the city they called "our common good father."'

3. Pyrrhus patriarch of Constantinople having resigned, another, viz. Paul, was made patriarch in his room, as Armenopulus shows (lib. iv.); and after this patriarch Paul, Pyrrhus became again patriarch.

4. Dionysius patriarch of Constantinople having retired, another, viz. Simeon of Trebizond, and a second after him, viz. Raphael of Servia, and a third, Maximus surnamed Lagi, and a fourth, Niphont, were made patriarchs in his room, while he yet lived. And after all these the above-named Dionysius became patriarch again; as Manuel Malaxas witnesses in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

e. Cases in which a bishop having left his see, another bishop has been appointed.

1. Eustathius a bishop of Pamphylia having left his chair, another, viz. Theodore, was appointed to it; as is shown by canon ix. of the Third holy Œcum. Council.

While a bishop is still living and sitting in his chair, and enjoying the episcopal honour, another bishop is not to be appointed. For this is forbidden by canon xvi. of the council called the First and Second, held in the church of the Holy Apostles, which says thus: 'A bishop is on no pretence whatever to be made for a church, the bishop of which is still living and enjoying his proper honour, unless first he of himself renounces the episcopate. For it is necessary that first a bishop should be regularly tried and deposed; and then only another may be appointed in his room.'

If a patriarch or any bishop voluntarily leave his chair, and swear not to return to it, he cannot afterwards return to it. For if he were to return, he would have perjured himself; and every one who perjures himself is deposed by canon xxiv. of the Apostles, which decrees thus: 'A bishop or priest or deacon convicted of fornication, or of perjury, or of theft, is to be deposed.'

Therefore every one, whether patriarch or archbishop or bishop, who only voluntarily renounces his chair, though without swearing not to return to it, *may* return to it in two different ways: *first*, if the synod, seeing such a bishop to be a man of good manners, humble-minded, not walking according to his

own lusts,[22] but a good shepherd, shall entreat him to return to his chair, he may, if he pleases, return with honour: *secondly*, if the bishop, having changed his mind, betakes himself to the synod, and petitions it that he may be allowed again to enjoy his former honour, he may, if there be no crime to prevent it, by permission of the synod return to his chair.

A patriarch who has voluntarily renounced only his chair, but not also the episcopate, can perform episcopal acts. St. Gregory the Divine, after leaving his chair of Constantinople, went to Nazianzum, and there did episcopal acts. For there he ordained and appointed to be pastor a certain pious man named Eulalius, of Nazianzum, whom he greatly honoured.

A bishop who voluntarily leaves his chair and takes the humble schima (*i.e.* the greater *schima*) of monasticism cannot do episcopal acts, such a one being forbidden to do episcopal acts by canon ii. of the council held in the church of St. Sophia, which says: 'A bishop who has chosen to take his place among the penitents (that is, to be tonsured to the *schima*) is not any more to claim the episcopal honour: for the monastic vow has words of obedience and discipleship, not of teaching nor of presiding: it is not to feed, but to be fed, that they promise.'

f. The fitting characteristics and limits (i.e. *powers and functions, or definition*) *of a patriarch*,[23] *from the books of the laws of the emperors Basil, Constantine, and Leo* (i.e. *from the Basilica*), tit. ii. ch. i.

A patriarch is a living image of Christ, by acts and words imaging in himself the truth.

The first business of the patriarch is to preserve in piety and virtuous living the flock which he has received from God; then also to do all that he can to convert all heretics to orthodoxy and to the unity of the Church (but heretics, in the language of the laws and canons, are those who are not in communion with the Catholic Church), and farther, by his bright and attractive and supernatural life and conduct to strike unbelievers, and win them to become imitators of the faith.

The end of the patriarch is the salvation of the souls committed to him, and for himself to live to Christ, and to be crucified to the world.

[22] Not rebuking and offending the tsar and the boyars.

[23] See the same quoted by Nicon, vol. i. p. 64; and comp. vol. iii. p. 175.

The proper characteristics of a patriarch are, to be apt to teach; to place himself with facility on a level with all who come to him, high and low, without awkwardness or stiffness; to be gentle towards all who come to him; *capable of rebuking them that are froward and that oppose themselves, in the cause of truth and right;* and ready to speak of piety *even before kings* without being *ashamed.*

The body politic being composed, like the human body, of parts and particles, the most eminent and the most essential of these parts are the king or emperor and the patriarch; whence also the peace and prosperity of their temporal and spiritual subjects consists in the entire harmony and unanimity of these two.

g. Of causeless excommunications.

Canon v. of the First Œcumenical Council: 'Those who have been *excommunicated by their own bishops*[21] are not to be received by others; that is, unless the excommunication be from narrow-mindedness, or on account of some contention, or for some other such cause. For for this cause it is enacted that twice a year in every province there be held a synod; the first before Lent, and the second at the time of the vintage.' *The gloss:* 'It is fit, according to the proverb, that the same hand which has wounded a man should heal him. So, for him who has been excommunicated by his own bishop to be received by another without examination and without a trial of the cause, is not proper. But the causes also of the excommunication must be weighed, lest perchance it has been imposed not deservedly, but of narrow-mindedness; that is, of passion in the bishop, or owing to some contention, or some other like cause, affecting the bishop's will; such as would be implied, for instance, if he said: Unless you do this for me, you shall be excommunicated. But neither are they to be excommunicated who without any reasonable cause are excommunicated; nor are the bishops who have excommunicated them to be wronged by another bishop's receiving such without examination. For this cause the holy synod enacts that twice a year in every province there shall be held synods, that by common judgment of all the bishops of the province every question and ecclesiastical trial and every kind of contention may be decided. So also canon xxxvii. of the holy Apostles commands' (*Kormchaya*, fol. 33; but in the edition of 1834, fol. 13).

[21] As Paisius of Gaza, for instance?

Draft of synodal determinations on the proposals of Nicon of Jan. 14, A.D. 1665, *prepared by order of the tsar or of the synod of the Russian bishops, when the same proposals were laid before it by the tsar in the spring of* A.D. 1666.

§ viii. (Roll VI. no. 8.) In this present year A.M. 7174 (A.D. 1666), by command of the great hossoudar Alexis Mich. &c., the bishops of the Russian empire, the most rev. the metropolitans, the archbishops, and bishops, having the consent also of the archbishops of Siberia and Astrachan, who were absent, being assembled, invoked the Holy Ghost to give them his grace to judge justly of the writing sent to the great hossoudar from the most holy Nicon patriarch under his hand on the 14th Jan. in the year 7173 (A.D. 1665). In this there is written that—

1. 'From that day he the most holy patriarch Nicon shall live in the monasteries of his own foundation, viz. in that of the New Jerusalem, the Iverskoy, or the Krestnoy, or in any of the lesser monasteries attached as dependencies to these, at his own will.'

The sacred synod judges that the monastery of Christ's Resurrection is not to be styled by word or in writing *New Jerusalem*, but thus, 'the monastery of Christ's Resurrection, built after the pattern of the church at Jerusalem,' or 'the new monastery of Christ's Resurrection.' For the learned monk Maximus, the Greek, writes that 'there is one Jerusalem on earth, and one land of Judea, in which Christ was born, and was baptised in Jordan, and transfigured on Tabor, and crucified on Golgotha; and there too, hard by, he was buried; and after his resurrection, having lived with his disciples forty days, he from the Mount of Olives ascended up to heaven.' And secondly, because the people of the Russian nation are very much *scandalised*, being ignorant, by this name 'New Jerusalem,' *especially in these last days, upon which the ends of the world have come.* And in connection with this their scandal, there is very much obloquy against the most holy patriarch Nicon, *obloquy such as we cannot write.*[25] And for both these reasons it is not fitting to write or name that monastery of Christ's Resurrection, 'New Jerusalem.'

2. 'The most holy patriarch Nicon, living in those monasteries, shall keep to all the ecclesiastical traditions, and use the books corrected from the old Greek books, and the creed as corrected

[25] See *Replies*, &c. p. 67-89; and Shusherin's *Life*, &c. p. 90, 92.

under him, and shall maintain charity and unity with all the œcumenical patriarchs inseparably.'

But the sacred synod says that if hereafter, by command of the great hossoudar and with the blessing of the most holy patriarch of Moscow and of all the sacred synod, any farther corrections should be made by the help of the Greek books, he the most holy patriarch Nicon must receive those books also, and sing divine service and perform ecclesiastical offices by them. And he must both himself mention first the name of the most holy patriarch of Moscow and all Russia in all prayers both private and public, and order it in like manner to be mentioned first in all his monasteries and churches. And the patriarch Nicon must render obedience to the most holy patriarch of Moscow and all Russia in all things, just as the other bishops render obedience to the most holy patriarch; and he must mention the name of the most holy actual patriarch of Moscow in his prayers both in the church and in his cell.

3. 'The great hossoudar the tsar shall be graciously pleased to show to the most holy patriarch Nicon his favour as in times past.'

The sacred synod answers that on this point the great hossoudar is free to do so, seeing that the great hossoudar the tsar is gracious and long-suffering, and remembers not evil. If the most holy patriarch Nicon will be to him the great hossoudar and to the most holy patriarch of Moscow for the time being obedient in all things *in the Lord God*, and will not go about to cause any sort of *disturbances and seditions*, in any way whatever, then the great hossoudar will bestow upon him his imperial favour according to his imperial discretion, as God shall inspire him, since, according to the wise man, the king's heart is in the hand of God.

4. 'The most holy patriarch Nicon shall be free to come to the capital, to Moscow, whenever there may be need for any kind of business, and he shall be admitted to see the tsar's face, and to give him peace and blessing, and to pay his respects to the throne of the glory of his kingdom; and the great hossoudar shall be pleased not to forbid him.'

The sacred synod says that the most holy patriarch Nicon may come to Moscow after the following manner: First, he must write of his coming to the imperial city of Moscow, to the great hossoudar and to the most holy patriarch of Moscow, in like manner as the other bishops write of their coming. And when

the religious hossoudar the tsar gives the order, and the most holy patriarch gives his blessing, then by oukaz of the tsar and with the blessing of the sitting patriarch the most holy patriarch Nicon may come to Moscow; but without the oukaz of the great hossoudar and without the blessing of the patriarch he may not come to Moscow.

[Be pleased to say whether it be well that canon xxv. of the council of Sardica, fol. 111, be here appended?]

5. 'When he comes to the capital city of Moscow he shall do nothing contrary to the divine laws, nor without the oukaz of the great hossoudar and the consent of his brother and fellow-minister the most holy patriarch of Moscow and all Russia.'

The sacred synod says that the most holy patriarch Nicon, ex-patriarch of Moscow, is not to name the most holy actual patriarch of Moscow and all Russia his '*fellow-minister*,' but is to regard and name him as his chief pastor and ruler and head, and be subject to him in all things; and without his will and his blessing, whether in the capital city of Moscow or anywhere else, he is not only to do nothing contrary to the divine laws, but not either to do anything according to them, without his counsel and bidding; but he must do all things according to the oukaz of the great hossoudar and the blessing of the most holy patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, in like manner as the other bishops also do all according to his blessing.

[Is there any canon or any other writing which may be here cited as of authority against his calling the sitting patriarch his '*fellow-minister*'?]

6. Of letters of the great hossoudar. [Of this nothing is here said, as it belongs only to the tsar to grant or to refuse it.]

7. Of estates, bought and given, to be confirmed to his monasteries. [Nor of this, for the same reason.]

8. 'The great hossoudar shall be pleased to confirm to the monastery of Voskresensk the ecclesiastical waste lands which lie near round about it, and to exempt them from obrok.'

The sacred synod replies: Canon viii. of the Third Œcumenical Council says: 'In every province let the rights of the bishop to all that is under him be maintained faithfully and immovably. And if any one introduces anything contrary to this constitution, he shall lose his labour.' And the gloss of the same canon says: 'If any bishops have taken away anything from

another province, and taken it to be under their own hand, which did not belong to them originally, as field, or vineyard, or land, or anything else, whatever it be that they have taken from another diocese, they shall make nothing of that their own, nor retain it, but they shall restore it forthwith to the see under which the same things were before, and to which they belonged; since it is our duty to preserve faithfully and immovably to every diocese the possessions belonging to it; that there creep not in among us, under colour of the episcopate, the arrogance of secular power. If any one introduces another rule, speaking and contending against what is commanded by this synod, he shall prevail nothing, but labours in vain.' And canon xxxiv. of the Apostles suffers not that a bishop should do anything without his primate, but only every one what it belongs to him to do in his own eparchy; and in like manner it ordains that the primate shall do nothing without them. And the gloss says: 'It is not right either to sell or to give away any church-property.' Canon xxiv. of the synod of Antioch says: 'All the clerks of the cathedral should have accurate knowledge of all the possessions of the church, that when the bishop dies the property of the church may be distinguished and preserved, but what belongs personally to the bishop may go according to his will.' Canon ii. of St. Cyril of Alexandria says: 'It is a duty to preserve to the Church untouched, unplundered, unsold, her treasures and possessions.' Canon xv. of the synod of Ancyra says: 'If the priests sell anything belonging to the Church, the sale shall not be valid.' On canon xxv. of the Fourth Œcum. Council the gloss says: 'All the property of a vacant church shall be held by the econome, and he shall be very careful to guard all the property.' Canon xxxv. of the Sixth Œcum. Council commands that on the death of a bishop the clerks shall take care of the property: and the gloss to can. xxxv. says: 'After the death of a bishop neither his clerks nor the metropolitan ought to take to themselves anything of the property of the widowed church.' Canon xii. of the Seventh Œcum. Council, and canons xxvii. and xxxiii. of the council of Carthage, are to the same purpose. And according to these canons the most holy patriarch Nicon must restore those church-lands to the patriarchal house, as they were before, and not transfer them to the monastery of Voskresensk, nor have them confirmed to it, nor exempted from obrok.

But when there shall be a most holy patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, then he may consult about this with the great hossoudar and with the sacred synod. But *we are not to be breakers of the canons of the holy fathers*, because the property of the Church is fixed and inalienable.[26]

10. 'From the increase of revenue obtained by the most holy patriarch Nicon for the house of our Lady, to the amount of 20,000 rubles annually, there shall be given him as alms for his maintenance in bread and fish and money for use such an amount as God shall inspire the tsar and the synclete and all the sacred synod to think proper.'

The sacred synod replies: This must be as the great hossoudar pleases, and as his imperial synclete advises. But we, without a most holy actual patriarch, cannot determine to give anything whatever from the house of our Lady, according to the canons mentioned under head 8. But the increase of revenue was obtained by the grace of the great hossoudar. But, according to the books of the revenues, all the augmentation accruing from improvements or additions of any kind in one year was 9000 rubles, and more than that there was not, nor is now. But for his maintenance there is an estate belonging to the Voskresensky monastery with houses of peasants, and houses of peasants belonging to the Iverskoy monastery, and again houses of peasants belonging to the Krestnoy monastery; and besides that, saltpans and fisheries. With these he may be content, according to the apostle: 'Having food and clothing, with these let us be content: but they that wish to be rich fall into temptation and snares and many unprofitable and hurtful lusts.'

11. 'According to the custom of the holy Eastern Church, when a bishop (a patriarch) leaves his chair voluntarily or on account of some pressure of circumstances, all the sacred synod gives him for his maintenance the first see (which may fall vacant), with all its revenue. And so the canons of the holy fathers enjoin: "If it so be that a bishop has had a wife in the world, or poor relations, he is not forbidden to give them of the property of the Church for their needs, in moderation."'

The sacred synod replies: What may be the custom now of the Eastern Church respecting bishops who have retired, as to

[26] Here a paragraph which we have marked no. 9 in Nicon's proposals is passed over unnoticed. See above at p. 590.

giving them a maintenance from their former see, we have not found written: only we have heard that the sitting bishop gives to the former bishop of the see, of charity, some monastery; and that is not written. But with regard to giving a maintenance to her that has been the wife of a bishop, canon xlviii. of the Sixth Œcumenical Council commands that the wife of him who is to be ordained a bishop, having separated from him, must upon his ordination go into some convent at a distance from his chair, and that she is to receive there for her needs from him who is now bishop, her former husband. But, as regards his own poor relations, canon xxxviii. of the holy Apostles bids the sitting bishop to give to them, as also to other poor persons. But as for this, that a bishop, after being deprived of his chair, is to have any maintenance from the second bishop his successor, out of the revenues of the see, we have found no such canon. Farther, canon xii. of the Fourth Œcum. Council forbids to divide one see into two. And the most holy patriarch Nicon should tell the sacred synod what he did himself when he took the metropolitan chair of Great Novgorod, while his predecessor the metropolitan Aphthonius was still living: what maintenance did he give him out of the revenues of the see of Novgorod? We certainly have heard that, beyond the daily bread for his subsistence in the Khoutinsk monastery, he had nothing whatever all the days of his life. But now what can we, the sacred synod, order to be given out of the revenues of the patriarchal see for the maintenance of the most holy patriarch Nicon? Without an actual patriarch we can order nothing whatever, because nothing is to be done by the bishops without their primate, according to canon xxxiv. of the Apostles, except what it belongs to each one to do in his own see. And canon xxiv. of the Fourth Œcum. Council orders that the econome shall very carefully guard the property of the Church during a vacancy till a bishop be appointed. The same is ordered by canon xxxv. of the Sixth Œcumenical Council. And even if there be such a custom observed in the Eastern Church as that of giving to the former bishop an allowance from the first see for his maintenance, this is uncanonical; and we know nothing about it. But our duty, according to the canons of the holy fathers, is to guard everything very carefully *for the future patriarch*. But as for the most holy patriarch Nicon, the great hossoudar has been graciously pleased,

and the sacred synod has given its blessing, and the tsar's synclete have consented, to give him for his maintenance not one only but as many as three monasteries. But if the most holy patriarch Nicon be willing to give up those three monasteries with all their possessions, and the great hossoudar be pleased to make order to give him something for his maintenance when there shall be an actual most holy patriarch with authority, he can give him what he pleases as alms. But for us to do this is impossible.

12. 'When I was in the chair I offered to the great hossoudar at the rate of 2000 large choice fish, and sometimes twice as much; and the great hossoudar retains to this day that custom and blessing; and in that there is no sin. And now he may, if he will, be gracious in return to the most holy patriarch Nicon.'

The sacred synod replies: The most holy patriarch had power, and it was open to him to do as he pleased. But for what he offered to the religious tsar, that was not his own, but *he gave to the tsar what was the tsar's, and of duty.* But with relation to him the most holy patriarch Nicon, the religious tsar and we ought not to do anything whatever without the actual patriarch that is to be; as we have said above.

13. 'The most holy actual patriarch shall not interfere with the monasteries founded by the most holy patriarch Nicon or their dependencies, or their estates, or any of their causes, or with the parish churches on their estates, or with their clergy, or with any kind of spiritual matters of their peasants; nor shall he send any one to them to act in his name.'

To this the sacred synod replies: *Every one ought to know his own measure, and keep within his own bounds,* and within those prescribed for him by the sacred canons. But there ought to be only one patriarch: and he must take cognisance of his flock which is committed to him by the grace of the Holy Ghost, and rule it in its full extent, without limitation or encroachment from any other, by canon viii. of the First Œcum. Council, which says: 'There cannot be two bishops in one city.' The most holy actual patriarch may bid the most holy patriarch Nicon to style himself patriarch; but it can never belong to him to do any episcopal act without his bidding, but he must regard the most holy actual patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, as has been said above (under head 5), as his chief pastor and ruler

and primate, and must submit himself to him in all things, and without his will and blessing do nothing whatever. Canon vi. of the First Œcum. Council, according to the gloss, says that 'each patriarch is to rule within his own limits, and none of them shall take any other province which has not been under his hand from the beginning; for this is the pride of secular power: but the bishops of each province are bound to know and to honour their primate.' And canon xii. of the Fourth Council says that one province is not to be divided into two; but if any one divides a province, he is to be no bishop: and see the rest of this canon, and the gloss. And canon viii. of the Third Œcum. Council orders that in every province the rights [of the metropolitan] and all [the territory and property] subject to it are to be kept unchanged. And canon xvi. of the First Œcum. Council enacts that the ordination of a priest or deacon by a bishop of another jurisdiction without the will of their own bishop shall be invalid or 'disallowed.' And canon xxxv. of the holy Apostles forbids any ordination to be made of a clerk from another diocese or by a bishop out of his own diocese. 'And if,' it says, 'any one dare to do this without the will of the local bishop, the ordination is to be null, and the ordainer himself unordained;' that is, both he and the person ordained by him are cut off. Hence, moreover, the most holy patriarch Nicon himself wrote in his proposals, in § 24, that he was not to meddle with nor to pretend to direct any spiritual affairs of the empire of Moscow and all Russia. And again, in § 25 he promised to observe strictly the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers, which enact that no one is to ordain clerks in the diocese of another, nor do any manner of spiritual acts without the bidding of the local bishop. And we now, according to the sacred canons, and according to the voluntary engagement of the most holy patriarch Nicon, written in articles 24 and 25, confirm this rule, that he is not to exercise any jurisdiction without the bidding of the most holy patriarch, or of the metropolitan, archbishop, or bishop of the district, in any province, or in any spiritual matters whatever, that we may not be responsible for his incurring by the canons the sentence of degradation. But whatever spiritual matters may occur in any of his monasteries, he must obtain the consent of that bishop to whose province (eparchy) the monastery or the estate in question belongs; and with his consent and

bidding, whatever he bids him to do, that let him do. But if he will not refer to the bishop, or if, after he has referred, the bishop will not permit him to do anything within his province, the most holy patriarch must by no means, without his bidding, presume to do anything whatever; as the sacred canons above cited enact, and as Nicon himself has promised.

[Whether it be well to copy out here canon xcviii. of the synod of Carthage, folio 157, be pleased yourselves to judge.]

14. 'The metropolitans, archbishops, or bishops, in whose dioceses any of the monasteries of the most holy patriarch Nicon's foundation, or any of their dependencies or estates, or parish churches of the same estates, may be, shall not meddle with the same, nor with any causes concerning their peasants, nor claim any jurisdiction over them, nor send any one to them for any matter.'

But the sacred synod orders that it shall be in all respects as has been laid down above under article 13, and that the dependent monasteries shall be in all respects as they were each one of them before they were made dependencies of the most holy patriarch Nicon; and henceforth the most holy patriarch Nicon shall not have power over them. For canon xxiv. of the Fourth Œcum. Council of Chalcedon says thus: 'A monastery which has been founded with the consent of the bishop is to remain unchanged; and whatever possessions it has are not to be alienated. But if any one begin to do otherwise, he incurs canonical penalties.' And canon iv. of the same council commands that every monk be subject to the bishop, and go not out of his monastery without his permission. And canon i. of what is called the First and Second Council commands that the bishop shall have jurisdiction over the monastery; and that all belonging to it, within and without, shall be under the power of the bishop; and without the will of the bishop not even the founder himself shall act as hegoumen, or appoint to it an hegoumen. Also canon lxxxv. of the council of Carthage decrees that monks are to be subject to the bishop of the diocese in which they are; and that no one belonging to another diocese may be made a clerk. But if those dependent monasteries are to be under even the external authority of the most holy patriarch Nicon, then the possessions within and without any such monastery will not be under the authority of the bishop of the diocese, but will be

liable to be taken anywhere where the most holy patriarch Nicon may please; and the monks of those monasteries will not be in all things subject to their own bishop; the bishop, that is, of the diocese in which the monastery stands; and they will go out from their monasteries without the permission of their own bishop, and will not obey him; and so the sacred canons will be infringed, and the bishops will be despised, and we, if we were silent, should be condemned. Therefore the most holy patriarch Nicon is to have no manner of lordship over those monasteries; that the canons decreed by the holy fathers may abide firm, and that we may not be condemned. But it is enough for the most holy patriarch Nicon for his maintenance and for all his bodily needs to have the monasteries of his own foundation with their estates, in which it has been determined that he is to live with lordship over the external possessions of those monasteries,[27] *except as regards all spiritual matters*, as has been said above.

15. 'In those monasteries archimandrites and hegoumens and priests and deacons shall be ordained by the most holy patriarch Nicon himself, as long as he shall live and be able to do it, or by such metropolitan, archbishop, or bishop, as he shall please, and as he shall request by his letters.'

The sacred synod says to this: Every bishop is to keep his own diocese entire, because canon xxxv. of the holy Apostles forbids that any bishop should ordain a priest or deacon out of his own limits, or ordain any coming to him from beyond the frontier of other dioceses. 'But if,' it says, 'he does this without the consent of the local bishop &c., he is to be punished by deposition.' And canon xiii. of the synod of Antioch in Syria says: 'If any bishop, without being requested, ordains a priest or deacon in another diocese, or does there any act of ecclesiastical authority, such acts are invalid and null, and he himself is to be deposed.' And canon xxii. of the same orders that every bishop shall rule in his own limits, and there ordain priests and deacons; but he shall not go into the limits of another, &c., without the will of the bishop of the see. But if he do otherwise, let him be deposed, together with the priest or deacon ordained by him. And canon ii. of the Second Œcumenical Council says thus: 'Let no one on account of bounds [a corrupt translation for 'out of his own bounds'] trouble the Church, nor ordain a

[27] *i.e.* lands, serfs, and cattle, so that he may fill his belly with food.

priest or a bishop.' Read too the gloss on the same canon. Farther, the most holy patriarch Nicon has confirmed by his writing, under article 25, all these canons, saying that he is to do no spiritual acts whatever without the counsel of the local bishop. And by these canons, and according to his own written engagement, he can ordain archimandrites and hegoumens and priests and deacons only till there be an actual patriarch of Moscow. But when it pleases God that there be a patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, then he must communicate in writing with the patriarch, and request him in any spiritual matter; and what the actual patriarch orders he must do, following in all respects his command; and without his bidding he must do nothing. But whatever monasteries are in the dioceses of the most reverend metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, the most holy patriarch Nicon must henceforth send such clerks of those monasteries as are to be ordained for ordination to the bishops in whose dioceses either the monastery or that estate of the monastery for which they are to be ordained is situated. Or if he wishes himself to ordain any, he must in like manner, as has been above laid down, after obtaining the mind and consent of the bishop, do what he bids. But unless the local bishop signifies his assent in any such matter, the most holy patriarch Nicon is without his will to do nothing whatsoever; that there be no infringement of the canons of the holy fathers. But if any one, without taking the sense of the local bishop, presumes to do any spiritual acts, that which is done is invalid, according to the above-cited sacred canons. But we all who are bishops ought not to attend to anything which may be written by the patriarch Nicon on any matter, as if in a tone of command; but we are bound all of us *to obey and to be subject to the actual patriarch of Moscow* and all Russia, and to what *he* writes.

[A bishop who attends not to the flock committed to him &c. (is deposed). N.B. To make search if there be any such canon.]

16. 'After his decease, the tsar, with the concurrence of the synclete and with the blessing of the sacred synod, shall order those monasteries to be attached to the [metropolitan] *diocese* of the capital city of Moscow, but not to the *house* of the patriarchate.'

The sacred synod decides that the monasteries founded by

the most holy patriarch Nicon shall be attached each of them to that diocese in which it is situate, and not to any episcopal houses; and that the dependent monasteries be henceforth in all respects as has been laid down under article 14.

17. 'In like manner they shall be entered in the *stepenni* [registers of grades and ranks]; and when there shall be any synods held in Moscow, the archimandrites of these monasteries shall be called to attend, and shall celebrate the holy liturgy without let where the most holy patriarch shall bid [*i.e.* bid, or permit]; but without his blessing, in contravention of the divine canons, they shall do nothing.'

The sacred synod replies: When it shall please God that there be a most holy patriarch of Moscow, then he may be synodically requested, after consultation with the great hossoudar, to enter in the *stepenni* the Voskresensky, Iverskoy, and Krestnoy monasteries with such grade (*stepen*) as may be suitable for each of them. But until there be a most holy patriarch, these monasteries must remain without rank.

[They say that the Iverskoy has already been entered in the *stepenni;* so James[28] was told. This should be ascertained.]

18. 'The archimandrites, hegoumens, vicars, directors (stroiteli), and others of the sacred order from the monasteries of the most holy patriarch Nicon shall not be brought by compulsion to be judged before secular judges; but whatever matter there be, it shall be examined, and brought to issue and decided according to the canons, and according to the imperial (*i.e.* the civil Greek) laws.'

The bishops answer to this synodically: As the sacred canons have ordained and the imperial laws, and as the custom holds in the Russian empire for the rest of the monasteries and churches, so also it shall be in respect of the most holy patriarch Nicon and his monasteries and all their authorities—the same custom shall be held to in all respects.

19. 'For what he suffered from the rioters at Novgorod,' &c. [This is passed over as belonging only to the tsar.]

20. 'In the *stepenni* of the most holy patriarch of Moscow his (the patriarch Nicon's) name shall be written without

[28] Probably the black pope James, called 'the Philosopher,' one of the fellow-labourers of *Epiphanius Slavenetsky* in the correction of the church books. *Subbotine*, p. 118.

change, as being patriarch at the present time,' &c. [Passed over as for the future patriarch to decide.]

21. 'People of all ranks shall not be forbidden to go to the most holy patriarch Nicon for his blessing, or to give him alms.'

The sacred synod pronounces: *If*[29] the religious tsar graciously allows it, and the actual patriarch gives his blessing, we also (the sacred synod of the clergy) permit, and the tsar's synclete does not forbid Christians to go to him; they may go, so long as there be no sort of disturbance or scandal.

22. 'They who have angered the tsar on his account, and have been banished to distant regions, shall obtain their liberty and pardon for their offences.' [Passed over as for the tsar only to grant or refuse.]

23. 'The most holy patriarch Nicon from this present date, Jan. 14, A.M. 7173, A.D. 1665, shall not style himself in word or writing patriarch of Moscow and all Russia; but he shall write himself: *The humble Nicon, by the mercy of God Patriarch.*'

The sacred synod assents, and judges that this shall be so as he would have it.

24. 'In all spiritual matters of the Muscovite empire he shall not interfere, nor claim to take cognisance of them.'

The synod highly commends this his voluntary proposition, and confirms it, decreeing that so it shall be. In addition, it ordains that the most holy patriarch Nicon shall not intermeddle in any of the *secular* affairs of the empire of Moscow and all Russia, except in those of the three monasteries given to him and their estates, in which, if he pleases, he may judge of secular matters which occur. But if it happen at any time that our religious hossoudar the tsar, and the most holy patriarch, and the sacred synod invite him, or write to him about any matter or question, *then it shall not be forbidden him to give an answer.* But of himself he shall not meddle in anything.

[29] *If* the religious emperor graciously allows it, *and* the actual high-priest gives his blessing, *and* we the sanhedrin, or the council of the court-bishops, permit it, *and* the emperor's senate does not forbid it, Christians may in that case go to Christ, or Peter, or Paul, or Chrysostom, so long as he *stir not up the people*, forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he is himself a king. 'He that sitteth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn,' &c. 'Set thou an ungodly man to be ruler over them—give them a *legislator* (constitue *legislatorem* eis),' &c.

25. 'He shall observe strictly the canons of the holy apostles and fathers, which forbid bishops to ordain in any diocese not their own, or to do there any kind of episcopal act, without the bidding of the local bishop.'

The sacred synod praises this as good, and decrees that so it shall be.

26. 'If for any spiritual object it be convenient that the most holy patriarch Nicon come to a council, he shall not be forbidden to do so; and he shall sit next under the actual patriarch, above the metropolitans and archbishops and bishops.'

The sacred synod consents, and orders that the most holy patriarch Nicon shall have this place; but it adds that he is not to come to Moscow or to any synod without being bidden. But he may come to Moscow or to a synod only in the manner above prescribed under article 4.

27. 'At the times of his two departures from Moscow, being in great pain and anguish, he complained to the Lord God against the tsar's majesty, and against the honourable synclete, and against the sacred synod, and uttered the judgment of God. And of this he shall now pray to the Lord God, that the Lord God be merciful to them; and he shall absolve them with prayer, according to the rule.'

The sacred synod says to this: When the most holy patriarch Nicon was in the chair of the patriarchate of Moscow, he then wrote in many writings, likening himself to Moses, but not imitating his meekness. For Moses, when the people of Israel had sinned against God by making the molten calf and worshipping it, and the Lord was angered against them, prayed to the Lord saying, 'If thou wilt forgive them this sin, forgive it; but if not, blot me out of thy book which thou hast written.' But the tsar's majesty, and the sacred synod, and the honourable synclete have *neither in anything manifestly offended against God* (and if as men they have sinned, who is sinless?), *nor has any one wronged in anything the most holy patriarch Nicon*, but *all honoured him* and *obeyed* him *in all things even as Christ himself*, and gave him honour above the Russian patriarchs who had been before him. But he himself did not keep his promise, but deserted *without cause* and left without a shepherd the flock which had been intrusted to him of the Holy Ghost; *without* either *notifying to the religious tsar any reason* for his desertion or to

the sacred synod, he went away whither he would; and when he was repeatedly called by the tsar's majesty through the boyars, and was entreated by the clergy who were present, and *by all the most excellent synclete* to continue to preside in the patriarchal chair, he persisted unmoved in his own obstinacy, and replied to them that besought him, saying: 'Henceforth I will not attend to the rational flock of Christ, but to myself: I will not feed the sheep as a shepherd, but I will be fed myself as a sheep: I will not care for the Orthodox Russian Church, but for the salvation of my own soul: I will not be a physician to heal the wounds of other men's sins, but I wish to heal the wounds of my own sins, that it be not said to me in the words of the proverb, Physician, heal thyself.' And after these his words he ought not to have complained against any one else, but should have made his lamentation to the Lord God only for his own obstinacy, and should have uttered the judgment of God against himself; but he ought not to have cursed those who were innocent of his departure. For even a just man, if he prays for evil, is not listened to by God. . . . And even if any one of his flock in anything had sinned, still he, as a shepherd, should not have cursed, but, like Moses, should have prayed to the Lord God, and should have been ready to lay down his life for the flock; and he should have applied the plaster of patience to the wound, as it is said in the Scripture: 'Ye that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of them that are weak.' And nothing is more dishonourable than an angry pastor. For he is the true shepherd who is able by his own charitable meekness and by prayer to seek out and to correct the rational sheep. But to curse *the innocent* is not the act of a shepherd. For if, says the holy Areopagite,[30] who is abundant in divine things, a bishop curses any from passion, 'the judgment of God does not go with him.' And the holy Apostle says: 'The wrath of a man worketh not the righteousness of God.' Let us consider, reverend brethren, whether he did not curse from his own passion. Yea, verily, it was altogether of his own passion that he cursed. But he ought now to pray to the Lord God that this may not be imputed to him as sin.

28. 'As regards that dust which he shook off from his feet, with prayer, for a condemnation, as he was going away from

[30] The Areopagite here seems to be Paisius Ligarides.

Moscow, and that sweeping away by the curse of God [which was portended] by the besom-star then visible in the sky, he the most holy patriarch Nicon will pray to the Lord God to turn the dust so shaken off to a blessing, and that the capital city of Moscow may not be condemned above Sodom and Gomorrha; but that the Lord God may accept their repentance, as he accepted that of the Ninevites when they repented; and that that divine meteor may be for a consolidation [not a dispersion], and for a defence against all designs of enemies, and for vengeance against those who may attack him (*yego*) unjustly.'

The sacred synod judges that the most holy patriarch Nicon committed an act of audacity in shaking off the dust from his feet, and praying that the dust so shaken off might be to condemn the capital city of Moscow above Sodom and Gomorrha: and such audacity no one of the patriarchs who were before Nicon ever committed, though it may be true that some one or other of them suffered expulsion, and was not received by some city or village. And in the first place, as regards our Lord Jesus Christ, when the time drew near for him to suffer, and he set his face to go to Jerusalem, he went not thither himself at once, but he sent messengers before his face: and they entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. He knew that the Samaritans would not receive him, yet he sent nevertheless; and they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem. And he, when thus treated with disrespect by the Samaritans, suffered it without anger.[31] But his disciples James and John, when they saw it, said: 'Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did?' But he turned and rebuked them, and said, 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them' (Luke ix. 51-56). The Lord, when he sent his holy apostles, bade them preach the gospel, saying, 'The kingdom of God is at hand.' And he gave them power first to heal the sick, to cleanse the lepers, to raise the dead, to cast out devils. But to the apostles themselves he commanded not to collect either

[31] So these men quote, and reason against themselves. For what else was Nicon doing by these present proposals but the very same thing; offering to be deposed personally, so long as the law of God should not be broken and insulted with impenitent audacity, nor he be treated as a criminal because his face was set to go to Jerusalem?

gold or silver. And when they entered into any house, he bade them say, 'Peace be to this house:' and if the house were worthy, the peace of the apostles should come upon it; but if the house were not worthy, the peace of the apostles should return back to the apostles. Also, if they will not receive the apostles, nor hearken to their words, that is, to the preaching of the holy gospel, then he bade them at going out from that house or city to shake off the dust of their feet for a testimony to them; which the holy apostles Paul and Barnabas did in Antioch of Pisidia: 'When the Jews .... were filled with envy .... and spake against those things which were spoken of Paul and blasphemed, Paul and Barnabas said to them: It was necessary that the word of God should first be preached to you: but since ye reject it, and think yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo we turn to the Gentiles. But the Jews stirred up the honourable and devout women, and the chief men of the city, and made a great persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.' They then, not simply, nor of anger, shook off the dust of their feet: against those who had not received but had rejected the word of God, and against those who had opposed themselves and blasphemed the preaching of the holy gospel, they shook off the dust of their feet; and they went to a Greek (Gentile) city, to Iconium, to preach there the holy gospel: because the Lord would not that his disciples should have even so much as dust cleaving to their feet from an impious land. For the Apostles made no gain whatever from the ungodly: and the dust was a figure of the labour which they had endured for their sakes. And at Corinth the holy apostle Paul having testified to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ, when they opposed themselves and blasphemed (Acts xviii. 5, 6), he shook his raiment and said unto them: 'Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles.' Hence every one can see that the apostles shook off the dust, and shook their garments, against the unbelieving Jews, who not only opposed themselves to them, but also blasphemed the word of God preached to them, and went away to preach the word of God to the Gentiles. But when they both reviled the apostles and beat them, but did not so blaspheme the word of the preaching of the holy gospel, then the apostles, who were persecuted or driven out and beaten, not only did not shake off the dust for

any evil that they suffered, but even went out with joy from their synagogue. 'When the chief priests that were in Jerusalem had beaten the apostles, and commanded them not to speak in the name of Jesus . . . they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they had been counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of the Lord.'

And that imitator of the good Lord Christ, and fellow-disciple of the holy apostles, John Chrysostom, being deposed unjustly from the episcopal rank, and driven from his church, on the third day after his expulsion gave himself up, and cursed no one. And when brought back from exile, and forced by the emperor and the empress to return, he would not enter the city till the people brought him in by compulsion. And at his second expulsion he rejoiced that he was expelled, but he cursed no one. And though a fire which came from God consumed the buildings which were there, this was not at his prayer. For he, though he certainly was expelled by persecution, still went out with meekness. And he commanded Olympiades and the rest to obey him who should be made bishop after him in the Church, whether by compulsion or by the counsel of all, as if he were John himself: 'For the Church,' he said, 'cannot be without a bishop.' And here too among ourselves what so happened in old time was repeated in the case of the metropolitan of all Russia, Philip, when in consequence of the calumnies of some evil men he was driven from his chair and from his flock with great insult and with dishonour and blows. For then that holy man, as a true shepherd, did not curse. Not only did he not curse the innocent, but he blessed even his traducers.

[Here write of the patriarchs Job and Hermogenes, who both quitted their chairs, how they behaved in leaving them.]

The sacred canons do not bid a bishop to curse people who will not receive him, as is shown by canon xviii. of the synod of Ancyra, which says: 'If any bishop after having been ordained is not received by the inhabitants of the province for which he has been ordained, and begins to disturb other provinces, let him be deposed. But if he is willing to be taken into the clergy, let him be reckoned among the priests. But if he afterwards causes any trouble to the local bishop, let him be deposed also from the honour of the presbyterate.' And canon x. of the synod of Antioch in Syria says: 'If any one has been appointed bishop, and

is not received by the people of the city, let him have the honour of the episcopate, and let him only celebrate, waiting till the bishops of the whole province in a synod decide the case.' Canon xvi. of the same synod says: 'He who without a full synod, in which the metropolitan is present, of himself invades the vacant chair of any church, even though he be himself at the time without a see, is to be deposed from the episcopate.'

Let us consider attentively as respects people who do not receive the bishop ordained for them, that the sacred canons not only do not direct that they are to be cursed, but even subject to deposition that same bishop, if he is disorderly, or invades any chair. But the most holy patriarch Nicon prayed against the capital city of Moscow, that it might be destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrha, neither according to any command of God, nor after the order of the holy apostles; nor on account of the preaching of the word of God (for the Russian people from of old time have the preaching of the gospel); nor from having been expelled. But after his ordination to the patriarchate, he was received and honoured above the former Russian patriarchs. And he of his own self-will deserted his chair and his flock in a disorderly way, and left them to be for many years without a shepherd, without any manner of cause, or consultation with others. And at that time, though he was much entreated, he did not return. But when many years had passed after his abdication, he coveted to have again the favour and glory of this world; and without either giving notice of his intention, or consulting with any other, or petitioning the tsar and the synod, he came back suddenly by night, and caused in the world great discussions and disturbance. And *in order to pass the city guard*, when challenged, he said that he was the archimandrite of the Sabbin monastery of Zvenigorod. And when he went out again to return, being overcome by anger, he shook off the dust from his feet, and added an impious prayer. For what else could this be but impiety and transgression, when he had received the priesthood, and still more the episcopate, to bless and to pray to God for the sins of the people and for the welfare of all the orthodox empire, and when he called himself, and to this day still calls himself, the tsar's beadsman, and the beadsman of all Christians, not their curser? And he ought now to repent of his audacity, and to pray to the Lord God in the sense in which

he also himself has promised to pray; and in so promising he has done well. But this his promise he ought indeed to fulfil, as it is said, 'Promise and perform.' And it is better not to promise than after promising not to perform.

But for what he says of a certain besom-star (the comet) pointed to by him, that he 'will pray that it may be for vengeance against them that wrong him,' of this the sacred synod says: The most holy patriarch Nicon ought rather, as a disciple of the Lord Christ, to pray for them that wrong him, that their sins may be forgiven them, as Christ our Lord himself has taught, saying: 'A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that so ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' And leading his disciples up to perfection, he taught them saying: 'Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you; bless them that curse you; pray for them that despitefully use you.' But the most holy patriarch Nicon, having been exalted to the highest rank in the episcopate, and not remembering God's commandment, which says, 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay,' prayed impiously that the comet which had then appeared, and which he calls a besom-star, might be to them that wronged him for vengeance; though what wrong there was, or who wronged him, we know not, except it were that he wronged himself—wronged both his own soul and his body—by casting away his primacy, and uttering against them that were guilty of no fault against him, but were orthodox Christians, words of impious imprecation. For how can such prayers as those of his be lawful? seeing that St. John Chrysostom says: 'If we pray against our enemies, whence shall we obtain a hope of salvation so long as we add this unlawful prayer?' And again: 'This is not what Christ taught thee. He bade thee not thus to make thy lips bloody. For such a tongue is more cruel than if your lips were actually red with human blood. For when thou sayest, Destroy him, and overthrow his house, and destroy them with utter destruction,—cursing thus, thou differest nothing from a murderer, or rather from a wild beast which devours men. Hast thou been wronged by any one? Be good to him: hate him not: as Christ, when he was going willingly to be crucified, rejoiced for himself, but prayed for them that crucified him. And still more let us show love towards them that grieve us, that we may

be like to God our Father which is in heaven. But if thou not only forgive not, but also speakest to God against him thine enemy, what hope shalt thou yet have of salvation, seeing that when thou oughtest to move him by prayer, thou rather angerest him?' And again: 'Of what great torments shall not they be worthy who not only forgive not, but even pray to God for vengeance against their enemies? And if we do good to our enemies, we obtain to ourselves great mercy. For so even in this present life all will love us: and what is more than all else, God will both love and crown us. Thus the holy apostles prayed. And Stephen the great martyr, when he was being stoned to death by the unbelieving Jews, prayed, saying: O Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And St. Paul prayed that it might not be imputed to them.' Of which St. Chrysostom says that not only did he not desire that they should be tormented, or suffer any severity, but he farther prayed that they might be forgiven. And our Saviour Christ himself, when he was crucified by the Jews, prayed to his Father, saying: 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'

29. 'To the bishops who unjustly and lawlessly, in contravention of all the divine canons, pretended to judge the most holy patriarch Nicon, he shall give pardon and absolution with prayer, *on their repenting of that their fault, and asking forgiveness.* But they that repent not will lie under the divine sentence, which says: "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again."'

The sacred synod says: To repent of this, and to ask forgiveness, is not possible, *as there is nothing to repent of.* For the most holy patriarch Nicon *was not rightly informed about this* by trustworthy witnesses; but some one lied to him, and slandered the sacred synod, and disturbed his soul. He supposes that when the synod was assembled in the year 7168 (A.D. 1660), it *pronounced judgment against him. But it was not so.*[32] It was thus: Our religiour hossoudar the tsar .... felt great anxiety on account of the widowhood of the cathedral church; and he desired that the sacred synod should consider about this,

[32] This is *curious.* But after Nicon's final deposition and degradation in Dec. A.D. 1666, the two Eastern patriarchs wrote to their brethren that they had only confirmed what the Russian synod of A.D. 1660 had previously, and *quite canonically*, determined.

according to the canons of the holy apostles and the holy fathers. And they, feeling the like anxiety for the Church, having assembled in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, received information by the written depositions of many credible witnesses[33] who had been present at the departure of the most holy patriarch Nicon, and heard from them, they being examined separately, but agreeing in what they said, that the patriarch of his own will abandoned his pastoral chair, and renounced the patriarchate, and declared that he would be no longer patriarch, and set the pastoral staff, according to his own self-willed resolution, at the patriarchal place, and so went away from his church and from his flock. And after that the most holy patriarch Nicon himself wrote to the great hossoudar with his own hand, thus: 'Nicon, *late patriarch*.' And they made extracts in writing from the canons on this subject, and heard them read attentively, and decided that another competent man should be canonically elected, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, to the primacy, and ordained and raised to the patriarchal chair, in like manner as in former times also it has been done with great profit to the Orthodox Apostolic church by synods. For when the pious bishop St. Gregory the Divine had voluntarily left his chair of C.P., another pious pastor, Nectarius, was by the holy œcum. council of C.P. forthwith elected, ordained, and raised to the patriarchal chair. And the most holy patriarch Nicon himself, before he was patriarch, was raised to the rank of metropolitan of Great Novgorod and Veliki Louki while the most reverend metropolitan Aphthonius, of the same see, was still living, but on the plea of age had resigned his chair. And again the most holy patriarch Nicon, while yet in the patriarchal chair, when Joseph bishop of Souzdal and Torouss had resigned his chair on account of ill-health (and he is still living to this day), ordained and raised to that chair the archbishop Philaret; and afterwards he translated the same archbishop Philaret to the higher see of Smolensk, and in his room ordained for the city of Souzdal and raised to its chair the archbishop Stephen, while Joseph the former archbishop of that city was still living. Again, when the

[33] The bishops then his suffragans, who had all been ordained by him, and had all sworn to obey him and to desire no other patriarch, did this, according to the statement here made, by the synod of the spring of A.D. 1666, upon evidence laid before them only by the tsar, without even asking a question of the primate himself.

most reverend archbishop Jonah had, on account of his age, resigned the archiepiscopal chair of Tver, Nicon ordained and raised to that chair the archbishop Laurentius, who now by the mercy of God is the metropolitan of Kazan and Sviajsk. And many such acts of synods there have been, which for brevity are here omitted. And all these things are done not against, but in accordance with, the canons. But the most holy patriarch Nicon *was never by any synod judged, nor condemned, nor driven out, nor sentenced to be exiled, nor degraded from his rank.* And what the most holy Nicon has written, *that the bishops judged him unlawfully*, contrary to all the divine canons, that he has written upon *false information.*

30. 'In like manner as regards the honourable synclete and the boyars who unjustly spoke evil of him, and accused him falsely to the tsar of crimes worthy of death, whoever, after examining their own consciences, shall ask for pardon, he shall absolve and bless them also. And if any of them have wronged him in any matter relating to secular property, movable or immovable, he shall be ready to compromise the matter in a spirit of equity and charity. But if hereafter any one, departing from all divine justice, betakes himself to any malice, or insult, or injury, then upon such the divine bond shall remain unloosed.'

The sacred synod says to this: In the year 7167 (A.D. 1659) there was a report that the khan of the Crimea had invaded the empire of Muscovy: and then the most holy patriarch Nicon, having already left his chair, came to the capital city of Moscow, but not to his chair; and when he was going out again from Moscow, he had an interview with the tsar's majesty; and going out from thence, *he gave to all together pardon and absolution for all that they had sinned against him, to some by name, but to the rest all together in a body*, without naming them. And how, then, does he now seek to absolve and bless the same persons, and *on account of the same offences?*[34] *If, indeed,* any one *since that* has sinned against him *in anything*, such a one, on examining his conscience, ought to seek forgiveness and absolution from him. Against this we say nothing, but ourselves join in desiring it. Not only from a bishop is it one's duty to seek forgiveness of offences committed against him, but also from private laymen,

[34] 'And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall light upon him; but *if not*, it shall return back to you.'

according to the words of Christ our Saviour: 'If thou bringest thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, go and reconcile thyself first to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.' And when the Apostle asked our Saviour Christ, 'How many times shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? unto seven?' our Saviour answered him: 'I say not unto thee unto seven times, but unto seventy times seven.' And again: 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will forgive you yours; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses.'

But for this, that 'if any one has wronged him in respect of any secular property' &c., the sacred synod replies: It is very proper that any one who has done any wrong to the most holy patriarch Nicon should be ready to give him satisfaction. So likewise it is right that the most holy patriarch Nicon, if he be found to be in possession of anything not his own, or even if it be not still found in his possession, but he himself remembers having taken it, or any other person can remind him of anything movable or immovable taken from him to belong to the most holy patriarch, he should be in like manner ready to restore all to him without any delay.

'But if any one hereafter betake himself,' &c. To this the sacred synod replies: It were well if all would cease from all manner of insult and wrong and malice, not only against the most holy patriarch Nicon, but against all men. But man is prone to fall, as it is said: It belongs to angels not to fall, but to men to fall and to rise again as often as it may happen. Christ being asked by the holy apostle Peter how often he should forgive his brother when he trespassed against him, bade him, without counting any number of times, forgive him *as often as he should repent*. Therefore also the most holy patriarch Nicon, knowing the proneness of man's nature to fall, as an obedient follower of our Saviour Christ, ought not to inveigh against him who has provoked him. And 'if any one is inclined to inveigh against him who has provoked him, this is anger,' as a certain divinely-inspired father writes. 'Let not the sun,' says the divine Apostle, 'go down on your wrath.' How much more, then, will it imply wrath to lay on offences still future a bond not to be loosed? which is more than applies to any sins, not only of

sins against men, but even against God, that they should not be loosed. But a bishop, as being bound to bear the burdens of all, is the last of all men who should be angry. And St. John Chrysostom says somewhere that 'others, if they get angry, may be pardoned, but a bishop never.' And the words of wise men say, that to retain any sin is to be revengeful. And Jesus Christ our Saviour, giving us himself for a pattern, both in words taught and by deeds illustrated this doctrine. For in words he taught it when he said, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart:' and by deeds, when he was not only provoked and reviled, being told that he had a devil, and that it was by Beelzebub that he cast out devils, but was threatened with being stoned; and yet he was not angry, nor laid on any an irrevocable bond, but went through the midst of them, and again did them benefits (as before), healing and teaching, making his sun to shine upon the good and the evil, and giving his rain to the just and to the unjust.

31. 'The most holy patriarch Nicon took from Ivan Stchepotkin,' and what follows (see p. 597), to 'and on account of that injury the patriarch cursed him the said Ivan,' &c.

The sacred synod judges that that curse of the patriarch against Ivan is of no effect, and very cruel and sinful of him the patriarch, because, as the patriarch himself also witnesses, Ivan took what he took for his own brass, and the brass had been taken from him by the patriarch. But [if it be said that] Ivan ought to have petitioned the great hossoudar for payment for that his brass, in what prikaz should he have so petitioned, seeing that it was not to any prikaz that the brass was taken from him? It would have been more proper that the most holy patriarch himself should have petitioned the great hossoudar for that brass, or for its price in money, in order to repay Ivan. But to curse Ivan for that was not proper. Though Ivan had possessed himself of property intrusted to him belonging to the patriarch, he ought to have written of that to Ivan's men of business, that they should return him what was his due; but to curse him was by no means proper, nor for a little corruptible material of no consequence to deliver to the curse a soul redeemed from the curse by the blood of Christ, and so destroy it for ever; and that unjustly, since it was, in fact, on account of Ivan's own property that he had cursed him. If he had even gained the whole

world, but destroyed a soul, or caused its loss, he could give nothing in exchange for that soul. Because 'the destruction of one soul,' says St. John Chrysostom, 'is such a loss as no word can express; for the whole world is not equal in value to one soul.'[35]

31. 'If the matter of the patriarchate be settled in any other manner, contrary to all the divine canons and laws, and to the bond of charity, *by the power of this world*, then let not him who shall be elected be called a legitimate patriarch, but let him be regarded as an adulterer and a robber, and instead of peace, let there be the sword of God and division, according to that word of the Lord: "I am not come to bring peace, but a sword."'

The sacred synod to this replies: As of old it used to be observed in the election of a patriarch of Moscow, that the tsar's majesty elected not without the sacred synod, and in like manner the sacred synod sought assistance from the tsar's majesty in the election of the patriarch, so now also, when it shall please God that there shall be an election of a most holy patriarch of Moscow, the religious tsar and the sacred synod will conjointly elect a man faithful in orthodoxy and well acquainted with the divine Scriptures; one who has had the experience of many years in the sacred order; *not in contravention of the divine canons*,[36] but as the sacred canons command, and as is the custom of the Russian empire, that the patriarch should be ordained by his own bishops, *with the consent and blessing of the most holy œcumenical patriarch of Constantinople*; but secular authorities (without *the* spiritual) have never elected, *nor will* [*now or ever*] *elect*. But *the bond of charity*[37] will thus be maintained, if the most holy patriarch Nicon will in all things be obedient to the most holy sitting patriarch of Moscow, and will on all occasions both himself commemorate his name first, and cause it so to be commemorated in the monasteries under him, and in all their churches, and will regard him as his chief pastor and superior, and will not cause in any way any sort of disorders, or questions, or disturbances. And so the most holy sitting patriarch will love him the patriarch Nicon, and be good to him, and will honour him, as having been in time past his brother. But if the most holy

[35] Here two paragraphs in Nicon's proposals, numbered by us 32 and 33, are passed over unnoticed. See above at p. 598.

[36] Nicon being still alive, and 'unjudged hitherto and uncondemned.'

[37] Towards Nicon?

patriarch Nicon will not commemorate first the name of the most holy actual patriarch, nor honour him and regard him as his chief pastor and superior, and shall begin in anything to disobey him, or to cause, by himself or through other people, any sort of questions, and disturbances, and dissensions, in any way whatever, then it will be the duty of the most holy actual patriarch even to judge the most holy patriarch Nicon according to the sacred canons, that there be not two patriarchs equal to one another; and he shall not be called an adulterer and a thief, but a pastor feeding with the rod of power, by the authority given to him, those who do not submit to him and turn away from him, but feeding in the spirit of meekness them who follow him.

'Then in place of peace let there be the sword of God and division, according to the word of God' &c. But as regards that word of God which was spoken, 'I came not to send peace, but a sword; I am come to set a man against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law;' these words Christ spake *not of any kind of authority or rule or punishment*, but, as St. Theophylact says, *of the faith*, which cuts men off from the love which was between them and from their relatives, who become their enemies *on account of the faith;* for he does not speak merely of separation from friends and kinsfolk, but of their not only not following the faith, but becoming enemies on account of it. But at the time of the election and ordination of a patriarch, for what division or sword is the patriarch Nicon to pray to God? For there is one faith in all the orthodox Christians who are under the tsar's majesty. Only the most holy patriarch Nicon and all of us ought to pray God that that sword may be against *those who gainsay, and who do not submit themselves* to the holy Eastern Orthodox Catholic Church, and to the most holy actual patriarch of Moscow, and to all the sacred synod (and even now many such persons are to be found); and that that sword may be to them not for destruction, but for the fear of God and for the knowledge of the truth, and for conversion to the holy Eastern Catholic Orthodox Church. But if any one thinks or wishes that that sword and division may have place respecting the election and ordination of a patriarch, such a man is double-minded; and he shall not be directed in all his ways. Because from the same lips there goes not forth bless-

ing and cursing, and God maketh men of one mind to dwell together in his house.[38]

Address made by the great hossoudar &c. to all the sacred synod and the synclete in the stolovaia hall of his imperial palace A.D. *Apr.* 29, 1666 (*a*).

§ ix. In the year 7174, April 29, on the Sunday of the Holy Women (τῶν μυροφόρων), the great hossoudar the tsar &c. was pleased to be present in the stolovaia (the banqueting-hall) of the palace, and with him the hossoudar there were present the metropolitans Pitirim of Novgorod and Veliki Louki, Laurentius of Kazan and Sviajsk, Jonah of Rostoff and Yaroslaff, Paul of Sarai and Podonsk, the archbishops Simon of Vologda and Bielozersk, Philaret of Smolensk and Dorogoboujsk, Hilarion of Riazan and Mourom, Joasaph of Tver and Kashina, Arsenius of Pskoff and Izborsk, Alexander bishop of Viatka and Veliko-Perm, and divers archimandrites &c., and his the great hossoudars' boyars, and okolniks, and people of the council. And the great hossoudar spoke to the assembled dignitaries the following speech:

Holy fathers, I make known to you the cause of your being assembled (*b*). By the favour of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who is the great King, and terrible over the kings of the earth, and by his holy ordinance, ye the most reverend metropolitans and archbishops and bishops are now assembled in his blessed and beloved and divinely-guarded city of Moscow on account of certain momentous, most momentous, spiritual and ecclesiastical matters (*a*, *b*).

In the fruitful field of the Orthodox Russian empire the heavenly Lord of the household sowed the wheat of pure orthodoxy, first by the labours of the holy apostle Andrew, the first-called; then by those of SS. Cyril and Methodius: after that he quickened it by the protection of the grand princess Olga: and lastly he abundantly watered it and caused it to grow up by the waters

[38] On the other side of this roll is written: 'To the religious and christ-loving hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia.' Dec. 24, A.M. 7173 (1664), the answer of the archbishop of Riazan was delivered by Bogdan Eliin.

'To the hossoudar the tsar &c. A.M. 7173, Dec. 24, the answer was given by the sotnik of streltsi Phers (Φῆρς) Kopaeff. At the patriarchal prikaz.'

of the baptism of Vladimir, so that it also bare fruit abundantly for the heavenly granary.

But now for our sins there have sprung up in this field soul-destroying tares, schisms which threaten to choke the pure wheat of orthodoxy (*c*). For in this capital city of Moscow and in the other cities [schismatics and robbers are multiplied against the Church of God. And (*a*)] there have arisen many simple and unlearned demagogues, who seduce the people of God from the Church, and pervert the law of Christ (*a*), teaching men not to reverence the cross and the icons, but to regard them as abominable; and teaching men to avoid the mysteries of Christ, and not to go to communion in them (*a*, *b*). They revile you bishops and priests, and call the Church no church, the oblation and consecration (*προσφόρα* and *εὐλογία*) no oblation and no consecration, the cross no cross, and baptism no baptism (*a*).

And therefore I have assembled you here, knowing that it is the work of your calling to cleanse the field of God from tares (*c*). But do ye, all ye most reverend bishops and all the sacred synod, who are assembled by the grace of the Holy Ghost, from whom ye are all ordained to the great episcopal order, and by whom ye yourselves ordain others to the priesthood, exert yourselves, *according to the grace of the Holy Ghost given to you*, to pluck up and extirpate from the Church of God these tares, and to bring back to the right way the people that have strayed from it. But them that are disobedient in the truth to you bishops, do ye denounce to us the great hossoudar. And it is my duty, and the duty of this imperial synclete, to be ready, for the faith and for the Church of God and for the dogmas of the faith which we hold, to risk all that we have, and even our lives, and to humble [that is, put down, or reduce to submission] schismatics and agitators (*a*).

But as a means of distinguishing and refuting those preachers of sedition and schism, *I have found* in our imperial palace (*b*), and now lay before you (*a*), an inestimable *chrysobullon*[39] (lit. *pearl*,

[39] The chrysobullon is meant: but the text, which seems to be corrupt, instead of 'chrysobullon' has both here and in another place below the word '*pearl*.' The contents of this chrysobullon were embodied by Nicon in the act of the synod held by him in A.D. 1654. He, not the tsar, who is now mimicking him (see vol. ii. p. 419), first '*found*' and put forward in the synods held by him the text of the creed contained in the chrysobullon of A.D. 1593, and worked also in pearls on two sakkoses sent from Constantinople a century and a half earlier. See the act of the synod of A.D. 1654 in the Appendices.

unless there is some error in the text), adorned with many and divers jewels, and above all with four precious square diamonds, that is the four patriarchs, Jeremiah &c. of Constantinople, Meletius &c. of Alexandria, Joachim &c. of Antioch, and Sophronius &c. of Jerusalem, with the subscriptions of their hands and with their seals, and with those of the other prelates the metropolitans and archbishops under them.

This inestimable chrysobullon, in which is contained the orthodox holy creed, was sent in the past year 7101 (A.D. 1593) from them to Moscow to our ancestor the great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Theodore Ivanovich, &c. and to the primate the great hospodin the most holy Job patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and of all the regions of the north (*a*, *b*).[40] But be pleased to hear and to bless us to read it.

And the great hossoudar was pleased to sit in his imperial place; and he bade the spiritual dignitaries and the boyars to sit likewise. And the hossoudar read himself the act [which was sent together with the creed, that is, the act of the synod of Constantinople of A.D. 1593, for the establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow] sitting. But the creed (when he came to it in the act) he read standing:

I believe in one God, &c. to the end. And having read through this symbol of the faith, he kissed it.

And when he had finished reading the act sent with it, he kissed that also.

And then, continuing, he asked the prelates: Is this the belief and confession of the chief pastors of the Russian Church?

And the most reverend Pitirim metropolitan of Novgorod and Veliki Louki[41] replied (*b*): We receive it as the true shield

[40] The shorter MS. document *a*, dated 23d April, here continues: 'Which creed stands thus: "I believe in one God" &c. to the end. And having read through this symbol of the faith, the tsar kissed it: and having read also what was sent with it, he kissed that also himself, and gave it to the bishops &c. to kiss in like manner. And the most rev. Pitirim &c., and the rest of the bishops with him, having received that priceless pearl (the chrysobullon), with affection, kissed it, and answered thus: "*Religious great hossoudar*," &c.' As if the tsar had read out first of all the creed, and then the rest of the chrysobullon, which contains but does not begin with the creed.

[41] Here the MS. document *b* continues thus: 'spake to the great hossoudar a speech, "*Religious great hossoudar*," &c. And to the question [about the chrysobullon, and the creed contained in it] he replied: "We receive it" &c. to "as is written in that document." So the session ended. And the great hossoudar having kissed' &c.

of the faith: so we believe; so we hold as is written in that document.

And the metropolitan Pitirim, in the name of all, spoke to the great hossoudar a speech thus:

Religious great hossoudar, our tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich! &c. Christ the almighty God has raised up thy empire as that of the apostle-like Constantine the first Christian emperor, who convoked of old the sacred bishops, to drive away the enemy who warred upon the orthodox Church, and for the confirmation of the true faith. So also now thy sovereignty has commanded our humilities to assemble together for the expulsion of them that are sowing tares in the Church of Christ, and who revile the sacred writings of thy god-preserved empire. And we are bound to preserve the holy faith entire and free from all damage, without any addition, or diminution, or change. And the enemies who submit not themselves to the holy Church we are bound, by the power given us of the Holy Ghost, as with a broom to sweep out, and drive far from the Church, thy most powerful arm aiding our humility (*a*, *b*).

And the great hossoudar, having kissed the holy and orthodox creed [in the chrysobullon], gave it to Pitirim (*b*). And the metropolitan Pitirim, and the rest of the bishops with him, having received that inestimable chrysobullon with affection, kissed it all of them. And after them in like manner all the imperial synclete, the boyars, the okolniks, and the people of the council, and the archimandrites kissed the creed (*a*, *b*). And the metropolitan Pitirim gave that creed to Joachim the archimandrite of the Choudoff, and bade him carry it before him into the cathedral of the Assumption of the holy Mother of God.[42]

Of the same synod: From Macarius' History of the Raskol.

§ x. The tsar Alexis having received a number of petitions from the raskolniks, not only calumniating Nicon as an absolute apostate and as a 'Roman heretic,' but also reviling the Greek

[42] The above is put together from three different accounts, *a*, *b*, and *c*, two of which, *a* and *b* (*a* being apparently an abridgment of *b*, and dated, or misdated, Ap. 23 instead of 29), are from the MS. collections of M. Mouravieff; the third, *c*, is that of Michaelofsky, who gives no references, but adds one or two passages not contained in *a* and *b*. Macarius, in his *History of the Raskol*, relates that the tsar was present in the synod only once, viz. in the session of the 29th April. However, he says also that there were *twelve* sessions, and then reckons only *eleven*, calling the '*eleventh*' the '*last*.'

patriarchs and bishops and all the people as *not having true baptism*, and the Greek books as being full of heresies and corruptions, and seeing that nothing as yet done had availed to stop them, called a synod, to meet in Feb. A.D. 1666, against those schismatics and disturbers of the holy Orthodox Catholic Church. This synod held *twelve* sessions. (Its acts have been printed in the *Supplement* to the *Acts of the Historical Commission* v. no. 102, p. 439-467.)

At the *first* session, Feb. 16 [not reckoning that preliminary assembly of the bishops on the 10th, which freed the metropolitan of Rostoff, Jonah, from his partial suspension, and now enumerating only eleven instead of twelve sessions], there were present only the bishops, in the krestovaia, where, after first reading out the creed, they proposed to one another three questions: How ought we to think, 1. of the Greek patriarchs? 2. of the Greek books? and 3. of the Moscow synod of A.D. 1654? [including under this the synods also of A.D. 1655 and 1656, which were held by Nicon as continuations of it, and for the same purpose of correcting the church books.] To these questions all answered unanimously and all subscribed the same answers, and appended to them the creed.

[In session ii., held April 23 in the stolovaia of the palace, in presence of the tsar and the synclete, the tsar made an address, given below.]

In session ii. [iii.], held April 29 in the stolovaia, in presence of the tsar and the synclete, the tsar again made an address [in substance nearly the same with that of the 23d, and imitating what Nicon had done in his synods of A.D. 1654, 1655, and 1656], read aloud the tome of the chrysobullon sent from C.P. to the tsar Theodore in A.D. 1593, and asked whether they all thus held the creed as read out from it, and the rest of the doctrines? Pitirim the metr. of Novgorod replied in the name of all [in the same words as on the 23d].

In the other sessions, which were all held in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate without the presence of the tsar and the synclete, they went to work in detail.

In session iii. [iv.] the bishop of Viatka, Alexander [who, in A.D. 1663, had presented a petition against Nicon in a sense favourable to the starobratsi] was forced to submit.

In sess. iv. [v.] the protopope Abbakoum stood out obsti-

nately, and reviled them as being all heterodox; so he was anathematised and degraded, May 13th; and after other fruitless admonitions, he was banished to the Poustozerski Ostrog.

In sess. v. [vi.] the petition of the pope Nikita was read; and he too was anathematised; and he was sent to the Ougresh-Nikolaefsky monastery, whence, soon afterwards, he sent in his submission.

In sess. vi. [vii.] the deacon Theodore was anathematised and degraded. And he too was sent to the same monastery with the pope Nikita, and like him he made his submission. This enraged Abbakoum against him; but he soon relapsed: and presently, after fresh admonitions, he had his tongue cut out, and was banished to Poustozersk.

In sess. vii. [viii.] Ephrem Potemkin submitted himself.

In sess. viii. [ix.] the hieromonach Sergius, and the monk Serapion ex-protopope of Smolensk, submitted themselves.

In sess. ix. [x.] there was read the petition of Lazarus, who stood out, but had some months allowed him within which to make his submission.

In sess. x. [xi.] professions of repentance were obtained from the hieromonach Gregory Neronoff, from Theoctist hegoumen of the Zlatooustoff, from Gerasimus Thyrsoff monk of the Solovetsky, from Antony archimandrite of the Spassky at Mourom, from the hieromonach Abramius, and from Sergius Soltikoff hegoumen of the Bizinkoff monastery.

In sess. xi. [xii.], which was the last, a general *Instruction to the Clergy* respecting the schism was written and subscribed; and this was sent about all Russia. In this, besides exhortations to receive the books corrected by the patriarch Nicon, and after his deposition approved by the synod, they added instructions about the prosphorae; respecting the four-ended cross, &c.; respecting baptism, chrism, the eucharist, the collocation of the fingers in making the sign of the cross and in blessing, the prayer to Jesus, the triple Alleluia, &c.

The same synod revised and printed, May 7, A.D. 1666, the book entitled *The Staff of Rule, of Confirmation, of Instruction, and of Correction, composed by Simeon of Polotsk*,[43] in which the

[43] Translated only, or translated and abridged, by him, that is, from the Latin of Paisius Ligarides; if what Paisius writes in his *History* (vol. iii. p. 108) is to be believed.

Petitions of the priests Nikita and Lazarus are refuted point by point; and it added a constitution as follows:

'We, all the bishops of the empire of all Russia, metropolitans, archbishops, and select men of all the other ecclesiastical orders, archimandrites, hegoumens, and protopopes, having assembled in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, have examined minutely during a long time the newly-corrected and newly-translated printed books, and have compared them with the old parchment Slavono-Russian MS. books; and we have found nothing discordant or corrupted or contrary to our Orthodox faith in the newly-printed books, but all in agreement with the old Slavono-Russian parchment MS. books, in which we have seen also the holy creed without the addition, such as it stands also in the newly-printed books, and the *Alleluia* prescribed to be sung thrice: and of the sign of the cross to be made with the three fingers, and of the prayer to Jesus, and of the order of the holy liturgy and the rest of the ritual, we find all in the old Slavono-Russian parchment MS. books to agree with what stands in the newly-corrected printed books.

'And inasmuch as Nicon, heretofore patriarch, made order to correct the books and to translate them, not of himself alone, but by command of the most religious hossoudar our tsar and grand prince Alexis &c., and with the blessing and counsel and consent of the most holy œcumenical patriarchs, and with the consent of the bishops of all the Russian empire, and of all the sacred clergy, it was decreed synodically to correct the books from the Greek and from the old Slavono-Russian parchment MS. books: and these old Slavono-Russian parchment MS. books we ourselves have now examined and looked through accurately, in presence of our hossoudar &c., and of all his synclete, and of his imperial palace, and have set forth, and read, and attested them; from which also we have shown some things in the krestovaia hall to all the priests of the capital of Moscow, as, for example, the creed without the addition, the triple *Alleluia*, and all the rest, just as in the newly-corrected books' &c. (*Suppl.* to *Acts of the Hist. Comm.* v. p. 456, 484-583; and our vol. ii. p. 429-431).

The Act of Nicon's synod of A.D. 1654.

§ xi. [This Act, adhered to by the tsar's synod of Feb. —

May, A.D. 1666, and containing that *chrysobullon* of A.D. 1593 which the tsar, imitating Nicon, read out in his own synod, and proposed as a basis for its acts, will be found in the Appendices.]

Letter of Nicon to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople.

§ xii. Meanwhile, in Dec. A.D. 1665, about the same time that the tsar and the council of state were repeating with more urgency their request to the Greek patriarchs that they would come to Moscow, and were convoking the Russian bishops to prepare matters against their coming, Nicon also on his side, having in vain before dissuaded the tsar from bringing disgrace on himself and his empire, wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople Dionysius, as not willing that his only information should be from the tsar's prikaz of secret service, and seeking from him, as from his fellow-minister and superior, counsel and support. Nicon wrote to the patriarch a long letter (printed in our vol. iii. p. 381 to 400), in which he gave an exact and detailed account of the circumstances of his own elevation to the patriarchate of Moscow, explained the beginning of his disagreements with the tsar, enlarged especially upon Pitirim, Methodius, and Paisius Ligarides, and lastly asked Dionysius to give upon his case an impartial and strictly just judgment.

'And this we beg of your holiness'—so Nicon concluded his letter—'that you judge about us and about the tsar's majesty justly, how things ought to be, as you wish yourself also to be judged in the day of the second advent of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ; and speak to us of all justly.

'But as for ourselves personally, neither do we strive after any such end as that we should be patriarch in Moscow, but only not to do anything against the will of God.

'But if there should be in this matter any unjust[41] decree of yours, our Lord Jesus Christ shall require that of you in the day of judgment according to justice. Farewell.'

A Greek hieromonach, of them that were living with Nicon in the Voskresensky monastery, translated this letter into Greek; and thus translated it was sent from Nicon to Constantinople.

[41] Nicon before had advised the tsar not to bring shame on himself before 'the *œcumenical* council'—for such it ought to be, if it met at all; but here he shows that he had already a shrewd suspicion what sort of a council it was likely to be, and what the tsar's alms might effect with the Greek patriarchs.

But it was intercepted on the way by order of the most religious tsar, and brought to him; and—adds Michaelofsky—'it deeply grieved his *gentle* heart.' See vol. iii. p. 371.

Solovieff writes that 'Nicon wished to inform the *patriarchs* exactly of his case from his own point of view. But it was difficult for him to transmit letters to them. An opportunity offered when, in Dec. A.D. 1665, the hetman of the Zaporog Kozaks Briuchovetsky was leaving Moscow. Nicon had with him among his *dieti-boyarskie* a relative of his own, Theodot Tim. Marisoff of Koumish, whose mother was Nicon's first cousin. This Marisoff he sent to Briuchovetsky, requesting that he would take him with him to Little Russia, and thence pass him on to Constantinople. But the hetman refused. Then a young monk of Nicon's attendants, John *Shushera* (Shusherin), who afterwards wrote the Life of Nicon, *bribed* a Kozak of Briuchovetsky's suite, and he (for fifty rubles and fifty zolots) took with him Marisoff, pretending that he was his nephew, who had been taken prisoner in the campaign of Boutourlin (A.D. 1655) before Lvoff. Marisoff got away from Moscow successfully; but the council soon heard of it; and in Jan. A.D. 1666 a courier was sent to Briuchovetsky, desiring him to arrest the patriarch's messenger, who was taken with the letters. These letters were read. In them Nicon related circumstantially to the *patriarchs* how he had been forced to accept the patriarchate, and had accepted it only on certain conditions; how the tsar at first was desirous of learning and doing in all things what was right, according to the commandments of God; but at length began to be proud, &c.; till at last it came to open insults: and how he withdrew from the tsar's wrath to Voskresensk,' &c. Nicon related also in his letter how he had excommunicated (in A.D. 1662) the boyar Simeon Streshneff, and the first delegate of the tsar's usurped spiritual supremacy Pitirim. *Solovieff*, vol. xi. p. 381; and see Nicon's letter at full in our vol. iii. p. 381-400.

Absolution of the boyar Simeon Luc. Streshneff.

§ xiii. Of all the boyars, no one perhaps had contributed more than Simeon Streshneff to alienate the tsar, his nephew, from Nicon: and certainly he did more than any other man of them towards their final triumph, if it were only by introducing to the council and to the tsar so efficient an instrument as P. Ligarides.

From those xxx. Questions which, through him, Ligarides in A.D. 1662 addressed to himself and answered in writing, all the later proceedings against Nicon were developed; and the profaneness with which Streshneff made a mock of holy things would have prepared one to expect that he would die as he had lived without change.

But this was not so: In the spring, seemingly, of A.D. 1665 (following in this the example of Morozoff, who had died in A.D. 1661), Streshneff asked and obtained from Nicon his pardon and absolution, promising thenceforth to be the servant of the monastery of Voskresensk. And he did in fact afterwards render it many services; and a year and a half after he had been absolved he sent alms to it in money, probably only a little before his death. The tsar, however, seems to have been vexed rather than edified by this repentance of his uncle. For when, in the synod of Dec. A.D. 1666, that passage of Nicon's letter to the patriarch Dionysius was read which mentioned the excommunication of Streshneff, and the boyar Peter Soltikoff had observed that before the date of that letter Nicon had given Streshneff a *written absolution*, the tsar (in that conversation which he had with Nicon apart) uttered on this subject a spiteful and offensive and entirely groundless sneer, saying: 'The boyar Simeon Luč. Streshneff had been excommunicated by thee, and thou didst take 100 rubles from him and absolve him;' confounding together the customary written absolution which Nicon gave on the death of Streshneff, soon after he had sent to Voskresensk those alms, with that absolution which took off the anathema, and which had been asked for and given a year and a half earlier. See Solovieff, vol. xi. p. 389; and our vol. iii. p. 426.

The continuation and appendices in vol. v.

Works translated by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, M.A.

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